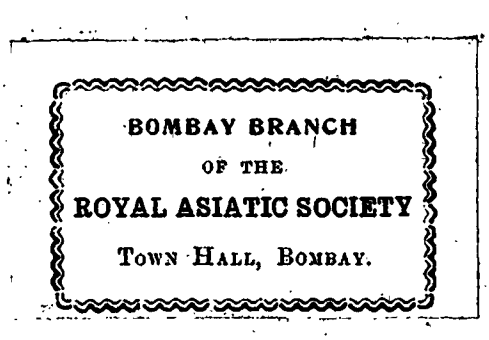
00060242



Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 15 June, 2016

INFORMATION

RESPECTING THE

HISTORY CONDITION AND PROSPECTS

OF THE

INDIAN TRIBES of the UNITED STATES

Collected and prepared under the

direction of the **BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS** per act of Congress

of March 3rd 1847.

BY HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT L.L.D.

Illustrated by

S. EASTMAN, CAPT. U.S. ARMY.

60242
ac.

RX a11

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

RX
A
11

Published by authority of Congress.

Part II.

PHILADELPHIA:

LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO.

00060242

INFORMATION

RESPECTING THE

HISTORY, CONDITION AND PROSPECTS

OF THE

INDIAN TRIBES OF THE UNITED STATES:

COLLECTED AND PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION

OF THE

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,

PER ACT OF CONGRESS OF MARCH 3D, 1847,

BY HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT, LL. D.

ILLUSTRATED BY S. EASTMAN, CAPT. U. S. A.

Published by Authority of Congress.

PART II.

PHILADELPHIA:
LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & COMPANY,
(SUCCESSORS TO GRIGG, ELLIOT & CO.)
1853.

TO

MILLARD FILLMORE,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

THE GREAT FATHER OF THE RED MAN,

THIS VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY THE

COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

NOVEMBER 12, 1851.

INTRODUCTORY DOCUMENT.

WASHINGTON, *August 14th*, 1851.

HON. LUKE LEA,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs.
Department of the Interior.

SIR:

I have the honor to submit for your consideration, the Second Part of my investigations respecting the statistics and condition of the Indian tribes of the United States, made in conformity with the provisions of an Act of Congress of the 3d of March, 1847.

The statistical tables, to which I invite your attention, taken in connexion with those heretofore published, indicate some facts of leading importance to the welfare of the Indian tribes. The principles of the census, wherever they have been applied, denote, that a hunter-population does not reproduce itself at a ratio, which can be, even in the most favorable circumstances, accurately appreciated and relied on; while it is subject to sudden fluctuations, such as do not pertain to a fixed community.

The rate of reproduction is so small, and the causes of depopulation so great, that, until the period of their colonization, neither to increase, nor decrease, but barely to keep up their numbers, is the most favorable view that can be presented. In a survey of two hundred years, so far as facts can be gleaned, many of the bands and sub-tribes have most rapidly declined, and yet a greater number of them have become entirely extinct. The policy of pursuing the chase is so destructive to human life — so subversive of every principle of increase and prosperity, that it is amazing that the Indians themselves have not perceived it. But when this fatal delusion is coupled with the policy of petty, predatory, tribal warfare, as it has been for all

the period that we have been in proximity to them, it is only wonderful, that of the tribes who were in North America in 1600, there is a descendant left to recount their history.

The republic of the United States has had charge of these people three quarters of a century, (dating from 1776.) During this period, it is demonstrated, that the estimates of numbers for the old area of the Confederation have been either greatly exaggerated, or the decline of the tribes in immediate contact with civilization, has been extraordinary. In most cases, which have been examined, both causes have manifestly operated. But as these seventy-five years constitute the era of their greatest disturbance from frontier wars, and as the details from which we must judge, are still very imperfect, the statistical facts cannot be thrown into regular periods with the exactitude of inference which is demanded.

In 1764, when the efficient Colonel Bouquet crossed the Alleghanies with an army, which brought the hostile tribes of the Ohio Valley to terms, he estimated the strength of the Indian tribes of the British Colonies of North America at fifty-six thousand five hundred fighting men. Estimating five souls to each warrior, which is found to be a reliable ratio, the entire Indian population within British jurisdiction, at that day, was two hundred and eighty-three thousand souls. No part of the tribes of Texas, New Mexico, California, Oregon, or Utah, was included in his estimates; but it embraced Hither Louisiana and the remote tribes north and west of the Mississippi, known to the French and English traders, as is perceived by the details of the schedule. The preliminary estimates, including partial returns of the aboriginal census, begun in 1847, submitted in my first report, (Part I., p. 528,) denote the entire population of the tribes, at this day, in the present enlarged area of the Union, to be about four hundred thousand. From this aggregate, it is essential, for the purpose of comparison, to deduct twenty-four thousand one hundred for the acquisition of Texas — ninety-two thousand one hundred and thirty for New Mexico — thirty-two thousand one hundred for California — twenty-two thousand seven hundred and thirty-three for Oregon, and eleven thousand five hundred for Utah; making an aggregate, for the newly acquired territories, of one hundred and eighty-two thousand five hundred and ninety-four. These numbers deducted from the gross estimates of 1850, before referred to, give a population of two hundred and five thousand six hundred and thirty-five, for the same area embraced by Bouquet, — denoting the number of deaths in the tribes to exceed the births by seventy-seven thousand three hundred and sixty-five, in a period of eighty-seven years: — a ratio of decline, which, if it could be taken as absolutely reliable, and continued to be equally depopulating, would extinguish the entire Indian population of the United States in about two hundred years. These figures are but approximations to the actual state of decline in the hunter-life, and may be adduced to show the importance of statistical data.

The permanent causes of Indian decline cannot, however, be mistaken. Their

progress of deterioration is seen to have been linked, as by an indissoluble chain, with their scanty means of subsistence and non-industrial habits and character, wherever they have been located, and however they have wandered.

The cultivated field, the plough, and the bow, are not more unmistakeably marked, as types of habit and condition, in the Indian than the European races. And these causes are seen to be fundamental. They exist so strongly in the minds of the Indian tribes generally, as to have led them to flee before the approaches of civilization, as if it were a pestilence. On the contrary, the influences of agriculture and fixity have been, in a marked manner, suited to promote the growth of those bands which have betaken themselves to them — to foster the best capacities of the man, and to protect him against the arts of cupidity and the allurements of indulgence. Above all, it has been a policy from the foundation of the government, through the eras of thirteen Presidents, beginning with Washington, to demonstrate to the tribes the folly of their internal and external wars, as well as the waste of their energies in the chase; and to preserve peace on the frontiers. The first twelve sections of "the Intercourse Act," may be singled out, in an especial manner, as designed to protect their rights and interests against the whites on the frontier; and the colonial history of the most humane nations does not furnish a body of treaties, laws, and public acts, to protect an aboriginal people, which have been pursued, through every adverse mutation, so perseveringly and successfully. Fixity of habits and industry have at length crowned these efforts with the elements of success, so far as respects the more immediate tribes operated on, who have been removed to positions favoring the practice of agriculture, letters, and morals. This is, it may be affirmed, the position of the colonized tribes, the first steps to the policy of which were taken in 1824. It was a result not to be compassed in a short period, and it is a point deserving the attention of the nation; and he must shut his eyes to the evidences of the benign effects of civilization upon aboriginal barbarism, who does not see in this policy, that it has been, to the extent stated, successful. The Cherokees, the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, and the Muscogees or Creeks, are the living monuments of rescued nations, who are destined to take their places in the family of man. The statistics which belong to this subject, have been sought with diligence, and notwithstanding obstacles yet existing, are in the process of successful collection, and will be in due time laid before you. Thus far of the colonized tribes.

With respect to the wild hunter-tribes of the forests and prairies, additional information is presented in section V. B. The first part of this relates to the predatory and mounted tribe of the COMANCHEES or Näünë — a tribe which, by the vocabulary printed in section IX. A., is perceived to belong to the wide-spreading Shoshonee stock — a group of tribes whose home appears, at least from the sources of the Missouri,[1] to have

[1] Lewis and Clarke.

been, from an early time, the Rocky Mountains. It is perceived, that it embraces the degraded Bonacks or Root-diggers of Utah and the Snakes and Shoshonees of Oregon, spreading also through parts of Texas, New Mexico, and California. It is probable that the cognate dialects of this language cover a larger area, though much of it is barren and mountainous, than any other stock of tribes in the United States.

The second part of the information now submitted relates to the large and widely-spread tribe of the Ojibwas or Chippewas, of the Algonquin group of our history, and secondly, to the great Prairie group of the Dacotas west of the Mississippi. These two important groups of tribes have, from an early epoch, occupied much of the central and upper parts of the Mississippi Valley; and the former have furnished, by cession, a large part of the territorial area of the Western States, as will fully appear from statement A. in part III. of section XII. of Statistics and Population, B., herewith submitted. The Sioux, or Dacotas proper, have but just (1851) entered into general treaties with the United States, ceding an important area in Minnesota, which must become the theatre of several new States.

That the hunter and non-industrial tribes still cling with great tenacity to their native forests and native habits — that they view with distrust, and even contempt, the promises of labor and letters — that they glory in a wild independence and freedom from restraint, and are fascinated with all the fallacious allurements of the chase, your recent journey to Minnesota must have given you abundant means to observe; and the fact of their attachment to forest-life is not surprising to the mind that contemplates human history with enlarged views, nor does it offer ground for discouragement. We are but required to persevere in our efforts, and to make them broader and fuller. Years will be demanded to reach, with practical influences, the roving bands, who are still strongly fascinated with the wilderness, and who now hover fitfully around the broad bases of both sides of the Rocky Mountains, the high table-lands of New Mexico, and the Sierra Nevada. Many of these tribes will probably perish; but the question of time, which must develop results, cannot alter our duties as a nation entrusted with the highest type of civilization, to collect the data of their vital statistics and condition, and to spread them before the people of the country and the world.

The subject is one that requires to be viewed from exalted points, and with expansive feelings. Facts before us denote that the Indian *can* be reclaimed. No new principles are necessary to be eliminated — no old ones to be obliterated. He is alike amenable to that law, which governs the races of white and of red men, and of whom we have the divine sanction for saying, "In the sweat of thy face, thou shalt eat bread." The sound and practical experiment of one noble man, in 1746, were there no other on record, would demonstrate this.[1]

Fiscal and vital statistics denote that it is not the curtailment of their territory that

[1] Brainerd. Works of Jonathan Edwards, Vol. X.

has led to Indian depopulation. It is the ruinous policy of the tribes of keeping large areas, untouched by the plough and in a desert state, that these territories may produce wild animals. They have, therefore, perished rather from the *repletion* than the *diminution* of territory; and from the excess of indulgence, resulting from mal-application of their large fiscal means. If any fact is beyond dispute, it is this. It is the standard by which, like the fluctuations of the thermometer, the momentum of Indian prosperity or depopulation may be measured. By the statistics published, it is shown that the payment of heavy annuities in coin to the non-industrial tribes has been detrimental. The small tribes, with large annuities, have constantly declined, as is witnessed in the Miamies; while large tribes, whose funds are invested, or tribes of equal numbers, with *small*, or *no annuities at all*, who have not felt the depressing effects of the periodical affluence of these payments, have kept up or increased in their numbers: for, of all things hurtful to our hunter-tribes, ready money is seen to be by far the greatest — as if invested by it, with the poisoned shirt of Nessus, they seem tormented until relieved from it.

Next to the want of industrial habits, in the inter-forest and prairie tribes, nothing has had so great an influence, in keeping them at the zero of human society, as the neglect or non-appreciation of education. The statistics of schools, including the facts embraced in the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, are too incomplete and fragmentary to permit the details to be as yet submitted; but the importance of the subject may be deemed a sufficient reason for referring to some of the results indicated. Indian education is, perhaps necessarily, expensive. If my data are correct, the average expense, owing to the want of avidity for knowledge, which causes a thin attendance on the schools, exceeds very greatly that of the same kind of instruction in civil life. From the number of pupils taught, in the boarding-schools, compared with the sums expended, it is perceived that the average amount per scholar has nearly equalled, in some cases, that required annually to carry our students through an academic course.

The statistics of occupation embraced in my first report denote few natives as having embraced any of the learned professions, or as teachers of primary schools, or mechanics: but we cannot decide that this ratio will not increase, nor that the eloquence which has commanded admiration for centuries, in their primitive convocations, is not destined to make itself felt in the forum and the pulpit. The highest talents, united to decision and practical energy of character, are doubtless required, on every ground, in the superintendents of academies and beneficiary institutions located in the Indian country; but it would promise more favorable results from these nurseries of labour and letters, if we could see the red man himself entering more fully than he does, into all the departments of mental action essential to the reformation and reconstruction of Indian society. What the tribes most require is, steady personal exertions and a deep personal interest in the great problem of their

reclamation. No tribes can be substitutionally taught the arts of life. Individuals from amongst themselves must not only take the ferule, and occupy the desk, but they are required to take hold of the plough and hammer. It is perceived, in those tribes which have taken the lead in civilization, and who hold a high pre-eminence over, and offer a noble example to the rest, that these results, so far as we have been able to procure the facts, are unmistakeable, and worthy of all commendation; while at the same time, it is lamentable to contrast them with the state of the erratic and hunter-tribes, who raise no grain, and keep no cattle, but continue to waste their time and energies in the precarious toils of the chase and in plans of ferocious warfare — struggling without substantial recompense, and passing throngh life without a rational object.

Other facts relative to the present condition, prospects, and history of the tribes, are herewith presented. They are suggestive, in some cases, of the remedy for admitted defects. Often the questions require wisdom to adjust; and there are points respecting which, indeed, it would perhaps be premature to form plans, until the body of information to be acted on, has assumed greater maturity and been rendered more full, comprehensive, and complete. The character and idiosyncracies of the Indian tribes are required to be better understood and appreciated. Modes of thought and action on their part, which have been the growth of centuries, with the habits under which they were superinduced, require to be overthrown; — and we err, doubtless, in our estimate of the period in which a nation of high progress can practically accomplish reforms in the minds of a barbarous people, so peculiar in all their moral and intellectual organization and forest-training as the Indian race.

My former report indicates the utter fallacy of Indian tradition on almost every concrete point of their history, which aspires to antiquity, except that embodied in the picture-writing of Mexico. Among the United States tribes, the period is almost entirely hypothetical beyond a few hundred years. As a proof of which, it may be mentioned, that the expedition of De Soto, which was, by its striking incidents, so well suited to impress the Indian mind, has wholly perished from the traditions of the large Appalachian group of tribes — a stock of people, who are shown to have ever possessed active, energetic minds, and determined courage. Their cranial developments, as denoted by a memoir on the physical type of the Indians, herewith published, (vide section VIII. A.,) are demonstrated, by the most careful admeasurements made by the late Dr. Samuel George Morton, to be superior to those of the Toltecs, Aztecs, or Peruvians. The same conclusion of intellectual vigor is sustained by their powers of numeration, which are introduced in the section on Intellectual Capacity, (vide section VI. B.)

In order to construct the ancient history of our tribes, and thereby to arrive at some determinate theory of their origin, it is deemed essential to arrange them into generic groups of families, between whom analogies of words and syntax may be pointed out.

This species of research has commanded my deepest attention for a long period, and a commencement of the publication of the materials collected on the subject is made in section IX. A.

In submitting the tables of Statistics and Population (vide section XII. B.) one remark on the expanding influence and fiscal importance of our Indian system may be offered. It is, the striking progress of it, shown by the number of tribes with whom the intercourse is held; the quantity of lands which have been acquired by treaties; the amounts paid to them, and the gross amount of departmental expenditures. For the purpose of comparing the expenditures of the office, the year 1820 has been selected. In this year, the amount of annuities paid to the tribes, according to a statement of the Secretary of the Treasury, (Period II., Statistics B., p. 545,) was one hundred and fifty-two thousand five hundred and seventy-five dollars per annum; and the whole sum paid for public lands, from the Declaration of Independence, is shown to have been twenty-four millions two hundred and twenty-seven thousand dollars. Taking a period of thirty years, subsequent to this time, as the era of comparison, which brings us to 1850, it is shown, that the natural growth of the country and its demand for new cessions from the tribes, had so increased, (vide Period I., Statistics, p. 503) that the regular Indian annuities for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851, reached the large amount of eight hundred and sixty-nine thousand four hundred and forty-five dollars, besides special estimates, asked of Congress to complete the payment of treaty obligations of prior periods, amounting to two millions four hundred and twenty thousand seven hundred and twenty-two dollars and sixty-six cents. The sum vested for Indian account is shown to be two millions two hundred fifty-one thousand one hundred and fifty-nine dollars and eighty-eight cents.

In the tables of Period III. (Statistics, p. 601) attention is called to the quantity of land which has been purchased from the aborigines since the establishment of the government; the several tribes from whom purchases have been made, and the compensation awarded. It is shown, that from 1789, when the present constitution was formed, and when, indeed, the demand for Indian lands, other than such as had been possessed by the British colonies, commenced, there has been purchased, up to the year 1840, where the tables stop, four hundred and forty-two millions eight hundred and sixty-six thousand three hundred and seventy acres; for which the aggregate sum of eighty-five millions eighty-eight thousand eight hundred and three dollars was paid.

The twelve years that have passed since these returns were submitted, have added largely to the amount of the cessions and the payments for the fee of wild lands purchased, stretching, as they do, widely into the area of the West; and they have, probably, somewhat increased the *proportion* of funds vested to those paid to the tribes. But taking the years 1840 and 1850 as the respective epochs of comparison, the proportion of money vested to the amount received, is (omitting fractions of

millions) as two are to eighty-five — denoting but little forecast in the Indian race, or disposition to hoard their means. Even this is far more favorable than at any other period, and the majority of the funds belong to colonized tribes.

In directing my investigations to the subject of population, attention is given to its varying phases, under the plan of colonization west of the States and Territories, commenced in 1824, and to the interesting problem of the ancient state of Indian population in America at the earliest periods.

The whole body of facts and researches brought together, in the papers now submitted, are commended to your attention and examination. In preparing them, the introduction of full Roman figures and letters, at the heads of the several primary sections, into which the work is divided, will denote the serial and general plan which connects the whole, and ensures the preservation of the order of discussion.

It is designed to submit an authentic body of materials, illustrative of the history, manners and customs, languages, and intellectual capacity and character of the whole number of tribes now within the territorial boundaries of the United States; with their numbers, means, condition, and prospects. It is intended to form them into great family and ethnological groups, on the basis of their languages and grammars. Order is thus sought to be restored, in an enlarged sense, where there has heretofore been little but confusion; and the grouping of these generic stocks will impart a degree of unity to the subject which is, on all hands, very desirable. The idea of covering the United States, and indeed, the whole continent, with an endless multiplicity of diverse languages, which has been advanced, is one which has served to obscure, rather than to elucidate their history; and is not sanctioned by the philosophy of history. Already, it is perceived, that a few stocks have originally overspread the entire range of the Atlantic coast, — the elevations of the Appalachian and Alleghany mountains, — the great Lake basins, — the Mississippi Valley, — and the vast prairies extending to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, the plains of Texas, and the banks of the Rio del Norte.

I am, sir,

Very respectfully,

Your ob't serv't,

HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT,

Agent Statistics, &c. of the Indian Tribes of the United States.

SECOND PART.

DIVISION OF THE TOPIC.

I. GENERAL HISTORY . . . . . B.
II. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS . . . . . A.
III. ANTIQUITIES . . . . . B.
IV. PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE INDIAN COUNTRY . . B.
V. TRIBAL ORGANIZATION, HISTORY, AND GOVERNMENT . . B.
VI. INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY AND CHARACTER . . . B.
VII. TOPICAL HISTORY . . . . . A.
VIII. PHYSICAL TYPE OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN . . . A.
IX. LANGUAGE . . . . . A.
X. STATE OF INDIAN ART . . . . . A.
XI. PRESENT CONDITION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS . . . A.
XII. STATISTICS AND POPULATION . . . . . B.

4. Genealogy — Affection for Children 49
5. Self-sacrifice of Bianswah 49
6. Transitive Character of Names 50

C. Forest Teachings 50

7. Children Early Instructed in the Arts of Hunting and Fishing 50
8. Instance of the Early Use of the Snare 50
9. Hunting at large 50
10. Spearing the Muskrat (Plate) 51
11. Fishing through the Ice (Plate) 51
12. Setting Nets through the Ice 51
13. Fish-dams of Poles 52
14. Nami-kow-a-guns, or Stone Dams 52
15. Fishing with Scoop-nets 52
16. Shooting of Fish (Plate). Hook-fishing 52

D. Art of Hunting 53

17. Knowledge of the Habits of Quadrupeds 53
18. Deer-hunting 53
19. Fur-hunting 53
20. Ingenuity of Tracking 54
21. Success of Noka in One Day 54
22. Fight with a Moose 54
23. Strength of Iawba in the Chase 54
24. Encounter with a Grizzly Bear 55

E. Sugar-Making 55

25. Sugar-making a Carnival 55
26. Average Product of each Wigwam 55
27. A Time of Hilarity and Enjoyment 56

F. War and its Incidents 56

28. Its Fundamental Importance to the Barbaric State 56
29. Popular Opinion directed to this End 57
30. Scalping (Plate) 57
31. Preparation and Dancing of the Scalp (Plate) 57
32. Feather of Honor (Plate) 57
33. Scale of Merit in its awards 57
34. Trait of Wisdom in Excusing Acts of Want of Courage 58
35. Bands on the Frontiers brought to a High State of Courage by Appeals and Addresses 58
36. War Parties are Volunteers 59
37. How Enlisted. Strong Appeals to Military Glory 59
38. Character of the Addresses 59
39. War-Songs actually employed 60

G. The Wigwam and its Mates 63

40. How Order is Preserved in its Circle 63
41. The Bride and her Husband 63
42. Division of Labor 63
43. Domestic Character of the Man 64

H. Birth and its Incidents 65

44. Lightness of Parturition 65
45. The Bestowal of Names 65
46. Infancy in the Wigwam (Plate) 66

I. Death and its Incidents 67

47. Pictographic Memorials of Adults 67
48. Eulogy of the Dead 67
49. Dressing the Corpse 68
50. Belief in Immortality 68
51. Address to the Dead 68
52. Indian Burial-places 68
53. Barrows and Heaps of Stones 69
54. Former Custom of Burial among the Mississippi Valley Tribes 69
55. Burial among the Prairie Tribes 70
56. Veneration for the Dead 70
57. Forests and Valleys favorable to Civilization 70
58. Horrid Instance of Sepulture among the Chinooks 71

K. Games of Chance 71

59. Kun-ta-soo, or the Game of Plumb-stones 71
60. Pugasaing, or the Game of the Bowl 72

L. The Indian on his Hunting-ground 74

61. The Social State of the Hunter 74
62. Patriarchal State of the Chiefs and Heads of Families 74
63. Feasting 75
64. Topics of Remark at Meals 75
65. Modest and Moral Conduct of Females 76
66. Feasts for the Young 76
67. Severity and Suffering in Winter in High Northern Latitudes, and Hard Condition of Women 76
68. Mother's Care for her Children 77
69. Extreme Wretchedness produced by Hunger 77
70. Attachment to the Habit of Smoking 77
71. Trust in Providence 77

M. Miscellaneous Traits 78
72. Ball-playing 78
73. Moving Camp 79
74. Dog-dance 79

III. ANTIQUITIES.

1. Floridian Teocalli, or Elevated Platform Residences of the Native Rulers and Priests.... 83
2. Antiquities of Lake Erie 85
A. Ancient Eries 85
B. Antiquities of Cunningham's Island 86
C. Sculptured Rock or Erie Inscription 87
3. Archæological Articles from South Carolina (Plate) 88
4. Archæological Relics from Western New York (Plate) 90
5. Antique Aboriginal Embankments and Excavations at Lake Vieux Desert, on the Boundary of Wisconsin and Northern Michigan (Plate) 91

IV. PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

1. Notices of the Natural Caves in the Sioux Country, on the Left Bank of the Upper Mississippi River. By N. J. Nicollet 95
2. Physical Data respecting the Southern Part of California included in the Line of Boundary between San Diego and the Mouth of the River Gila; with Incidental Notices of the Diegunos and Yuma Indian Tribes. By Lieutenant Whipple, U. S. A. 99

V. TRIBAL ORGANIZATION, HISTORY, AND GOVERNMENT.

1. The Naüni or Comanches of Texas. (One Plate) 125
2. Oral Traditions respecting the History of the Ojibwa Nation. (Two Plates) 135
3. Contributions to the History, Customs, and Opinions, of the Dacota Tribes. (Six Plates) 168

VI. INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY AND CHARACTER.

A. Numeration 204
1. Choctaw 204
2. Dacota 206
3. Cherokee 209
4. Ojibwa of Chegoimegon 211
5. Winnebago 214
6. Chippewa 216
7. Wyandot 218
8. Hitchittee 220
9. Cumanche 221
10. Cuchan or Yuma 221

B. Art of Recording Ideas 222
1. Pictography 222
a. Indian Census Roll 222
b. Magic Song 223
c. Medicine Animal of the Winnebagoes 223
d. Haökah — a Dacota God 224
e. Indian Signatures 226
f. Mnemonic Symbols for Music 226
2. Alphabetical Notation 228
a. Cherokee Syllabical Alphabet 228

C. Oral Imaginative legends 229
1. Transformation of a Hunter Lad 229
2. Origin of the Zea Maize 230
3. The Wolf Brother 232
4. Sayadio 235

VII. TOPICAL HISTORY.

1. Mandans 239
2. Pontiac Manuscript: Journal of the Events of the Siege of Detroit by the confederated Indians, in 1763 240
3. Anacoana, Queen of the Caribs 309

VIII. PHYSICAL TYPE OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS.

I. Physical Characteristics 316
a. Osteological Character 316
b. Facial Angle 317
c. Stature 317
d. Fossil Remains of the American Race 319
e. Complexion 320
f. Hair 321
g. Eyes 323
h. Artificial Modifications of the Skull 323
1. The Natchez 324
2. The Choctaws 324
3. The Waxsaws 324
4. The Muscogees, or Creeks 325
5. The Catawbas 325
6. Attacapas 325
7. Nootka-Columbians 325
8. Peruvians 326

i. Volume of the Brain 328
1. Mexicans 329
2. The Barbarous Tribes 330

II. Admeasurements of the Crania of the Principal Groups of Indians of the United States. By Mr. J. S. Phillips 331

Iroquois 335
Algonquin 335
Appalachian 335
Dacota 335
Shoshonee 335
Oregonian 335

IX. LANGUAGE.

I. Indian Languages of the United States. By H. R. Schoolcraft 340

II. Plan of Thought of the American Languages. By Dr. Francis Lieber 346

III. Essay on the Grammatical Structure of the Algonquin Language. By H. R. Schoolcraft 351

IV. Remarks on the Principles of the Cherokee Language. By Rev. S. N. Worcester 443

VI. Vocabularies 457

I. Algonquin Group 458
Ojibwa of Sault Ste Marie 458
Ojibwa of Grand Traverse Bay 458
Ojibwa of Saginaw 458
Ojibwa of Michilimackinac 458
Miami 470
Menomonee 470
Shawnee 470
Delaware 470

II. Iroquois Group 482
Mohawk 482
Oneida 482
Onondaga 482
Cayuga 482

Miscellaneous Vocabularies 494
Comanchee 494
Satsika or Blackfeet 494
Cushna (California) 494
Costanos (California) 494

X. STATE OF INDIAN ART.

II. Modern Art 511
a. Existing Handicraft Skill 511
1. Pipe Sculpture 511
2. Ornamented Pipe-stems 512
3. Canoes of Bark 512
4. War-clubs and Hatchets 513
5. Cradle 513
6. Musical Instruments 514
7. Various Domestic Arts 514
8. Apecun 515
9. Muskrat Spear 515
10. Dressing Skins 515
11. Forest Embroidered Sheaths and Cases 515
12. Wooden Implements: Ball Sticks 516

XI. FUTURE PROSPECTS.

I. Importance of the Pastoral State on Races of Men. By H. R. Schoolcraft 519
II. Means of Melioration. By John Johnston, Esq. 522
III. Moral Questions relative to Practical Plans for Educating and Civilizing the Aborigines. By Rev. D. Lowry 526
IV. Present Geographical Position, Number, and Means, of the Iroquois. By W. P. Angel, Esq. 538

XII. STATISTICS AND POPULATION.

I. Period of 1850. Official Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1850 547
A. Statement of the Amount of Investments for the Indian Tribes in Stocks drawing Interest 561
B. Statement of Interest appropriated by Congress for the several Tribes, of which the Government is trustee, in lieu of Investments 564
C. Estimate of the Current Expenses of the Indian Bureau at the Seat of Government 564
D. Estimate of the Funds required during the Fiscal Year (1st July, 1851, to 30th June, 1852) for the Payment of Annuities and Fulfilling Treaty Stipulations with the Indian Tribes 565
E. Estimate for Sums required during the present Year (to June 30th, 1851) for the Service of the Department 576

II. Period of 1820. Letter of Hon. W. H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, 1820 581
A. Annuities due to Indian Tribes in 1820 584

B. Appropriations and Expenditures for the Survey and Sale of Public Lands..... 590
C. Schedule of Sales before the Organization of Public Land Offices..... 590
D. Statement of the Amount of Sales from the Opening of the Land Offices to the 30th September, 1819..... 591
E. Estimate of the Number of Acres of Public Lands which have been Surveyed and Sold, and the Number which remained Unsold 30th September, 1819..... 592
F. Estimate of the Quantity of Land purchased from the Indians, to 15th October, 1820..... 593

III. Topic of Lands Purchased from the Indians..... 596
A. Statement of Purchases of Land made from each Tribe since the Establishment of the present Federal Government, chronologically arranged..... 598
B. List of Tribes, alphabetically arranged, who have ceded Territory since the Establishment of the present Government..... 602
C. Aggregates of Lands, Compensations, Exchanges, and Names of Tribes, from the Origin of the Government to 1840..... 605
Appendix to Statistics. — Population of the United States, — Tenth Census..... 607

LIST OF PLATES.

1. Landing in Virginia. 1584 ..... PAGE 22
2. Interview of Hendrick Hudson with the Indians. 1609 24
3. Interview of Massasoit with the Pilgrims. 1620 26
4. Ethnographical Map 28
5. Spearing Muskrats in Winter 51
6. Spearing Fish in Winter 53
7. Shooting Fish 55
8. Spearing Fish from a Canoe 57
9. Indian Sugar Camp 59
10. The Death Whoop 61
11. Scalps Dressed for the Dance 63
12. Scalp-dance 63
13. Feathers of Honor 65
14. Indian Woman dressing a Buffalo Skin 67
15. Indian Cradles 69
16. Indian Burial 71
17. Game of the Bowl 73
18. Indian Woman playing the Game of the Bowl 73
19. Ball-play on the Ice 75
20. Ball-play on the Prairie 75
21. Indian Travelling 77
22. Dog-dance of the Dacota Indians 80
23. Winnebago Wigwams 80
24. Valley of the St. Peters 174
25. Transporting the Wounded 180
26. Indian Woman procuring Fuel 183
27. Indian Council 185
28. Dacota Encampment 190
29. Dacota Village 192
31. Map of the Dacota, Ojibwa, Menomonee, and Winnebago Country 137
32. Combat between the Ojibwas and the Sacs and Foxes 142
33. Emigrants attacked by the Comanches 133
34. Map of Cunningham's Island 84
35. Earth Works on south side of Cunningham's Island 84
36. Earth Works on north side of Cunningham's Island 84

37. Antiquities from Cunningham's Island 86
38. Antiquities from Cunningham's Island 86
39. Antiquities from Cunningham's Island 86
40. Inscription on Rock north side of Cunningham's Island 88
41. Inscription on Rock south side of Cunningham's Island 88
42. View of Inscription Rock south side of Cunningham's Island 88
43. Antique Clay Pipes 90
44. Antiquities from South Carolina 90
45. Antiquities from New York and South Carolina 90
46. Antiquities from South Carolina 90
47. Antiquities from New York 90
48. Antiquities from New York 91
49. Antiquities from New York 91
50. Antiquities from New York 91
51. French Antiquities from Western New York 91
52. Earth Works on Vieux Desert Island 91
53. Ruins of Old Fort Mackinac of 1763 242
54. Census of a Mille-Lac Band of Ojibwas 222
55. Magic Music, Medicine Animal of the Winnebagoes, and Haokah 224
56. Indian Signatures 226
57. Dacota Written Music 228
58. Indian Burial-ground 97
59. Skull of a Chinook (side view) 318
60. Skull of a Chinook (front view) 320
61. Skull of a Chinook 322
62. Skull of a Winnebago 324
63. Skull from Columbia River 326
64. Skull from Columbia River 328
65. Skull from Columbia River 330
66. Skull of a Flathead (side view) 332
67. Skull of a Flathead (back view) 334
68. Skull of a Californian 335
69. Dacota Pipes 512
70. Pipes 512
71. Pipe-stems 512
72. Canoes 512
73. War-clubs 514
74. War-clubs 514
75. Musical Instruments 514
76. Fish Spears, Hair Adze, Skin Dressers, Ice Cutter, and Burden Strap 516
77. Implements 516
78. Implements 516
A. Cherokee Alphabet 228
B. Specimen of its Application 228

I. GENERAL HISTORY. B.

GENERAL HISTORY. B.

A. TRACK OF MIGRATION.

1. WHEN Sebastian Cabot reached the North American coasts in 1497, the Indian Race was spread through the present area of the United States wherever he touched.

That intrepid navigator made the land in latitude 56°, and ran down the coast to about the latitude of Albemarle sound, 36°, where the crew mutinied.[1] He thus connected the field of oceanic discovery, generally, with the primary track of Columbus five years earlier. Cabot did not land frequently, but his discoveries had the effect to make known to Europe the development of the continent in the North Atlantic, as that of his contemporary, Americus, did in the south.[2]

Those who followed him, in the career of discovery, found the race of Red men to be divided into an infinity of tribes; living in disunion, speaking ostensibly different languages and dialects, and, so far as there was anything like government, acting on the maxim, "Let him take who has the power, and him keep who can."

2. The sea-captains of a bold maritime age, finding that the newly-discovered race seated along the North Atlantic were wild men, without laws, polity, or arts, and degraded to the level of the lowest hunter state, treated them as mere animals on two legs, and irritated them exceedingly, and offended their native sense of justice at almost every point of their first landing, by capturing and carrying off persons. A flagrant instance of this kind happened on the New England coasts six years before their settlement. John Smith (of Virginia notoriety) had been sent out in 1614 to those coasts

[1] Memoir of Richard Biddle, p. 80–86.

[2] Americus Vespucius discovered the coast of Paria the same year. Ten years afterwards, namely, in 1507, this skilful navigator first published at Vicenza, in Italy, his collected voyages, under the title of "The New World, and Countries newly Discovered." It was never disputed that he had made the voyages and discoveries recorded by him, and his name was applied by readers as a generic to the new continent to which, generally, he thus called public attention.

by the English company for establishing a settlement and trade. On returning to Europe, he left one of his vessels in command of one Kent, an Englishman, a man of a half buccaneer character, who, after procuring a cargo of fish, set sail to dispose of it in the Mediterranean, whither he took twenty Indians, who had been decoyed on board his vessel, and sold them as slaves. "This avaricious and pernicious felony," says Cotton Mather, "laid the foundation of grievous annoyances to all English endeavors of settlements, especially in the northern parts of the land, for several years ensuing. The Indians would never forget or forgive this injury, but when the English afterwards came upon this coast in their fishing voyages they were still assaulted in an hostile manner, to the killing and wounding of many poor men by the angry natives in revenge for the wrong that had been done them; and some intended plantations were thereby entirely nipped in the bud."[1] This mistaken policy was productive of hatred on the part of the Indians, and served to increase their natural distrust and suspicion when the country came to be colonized. A still more horrible act of kidnapping was perpetrated by Vasquez on the coast of Chicorea, now South Carolina, who, having traded amicably with the natives at the mouth of the river Cambahee, at last invited them to view his two vessels, and when the holds were filled, ordered the hatches closed and sailed for San Domingo. One of the vessels foundered on the way; the natives in the other were taken to work the mines, but were sullen and gloomy, refused food, and most of them died of despair or voluntary starvation.[2]

3. England, it appears, had no thought of availing herself of Cabot's discoveries for nearly a century afterwards. Meantime, Spain founded her vice-royal empire throughout South America, with Portugal, France, and Holland only as rivals for part of the continent, and for the Caribbean group of islands. The rage for the precious metals, and for the discovering of an open passage to the East Indies—the original thought of Columbus—had set Europe in a blaze, and animated every adventure fitted out for the New World.[3]

Not only the equinoctial and torrid zones were left by England to the influence of this type of civilization, but North America seemed destined to be thus exclusively colonized. Mexico was invaded in 1519, and finally conquered in 1521; and the Floridian coasts, which were known in 1512, became the object of two notable expeditions of discovery, both of which eventuated in discomfiture. The first of these, led by Pamphilo de Narvaez in 1527, resulted most disastrously to him and his followers.

---

[1] Magnalia Christi Americana. B. I. ch. 2. Fol. ed., London, 1702.

[2] De la Vega.

[3] The French, when they first set out from the head of Montreal Island to explore the St. Lawrence and the interior westward, were animated with the hope of reaching China, and have left a testimonial of that opinion in the name they bestowed on "La Chine," their parting encampment, which it still bears.

The escape of De Vaca with three or four companions, and their wanderings west for eight years across the whole continent, till they reached the Gulf of California, furnishes one of the most adventurous of narratives.[1] His account denotes a remarkable agreement in the character and customs of the North American Indians, till he came among the tribes of the present area of New Mexico, to whom he applies the name of "Jumanos." Among these he observed the "cotton blanket," and found "houses."

In 1539, De Soto repeated the attempt to explore Florida, with more ample means. His exploring army had not only every appointment to ensure success, but was animated by the highest spirit of chivalry, heightened by the thirst of conquest, wealth, and glory, which had made Cortez and Pizarro the prominent heroes of Mexico and Peru. He had, himself, been one of the most celebrated captains of the latter. But the expedition melted away, month after month, amidst the dense and tangled forests of Florida, and along the magnificent rivers and mountain peaks of Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Tennessee. It wended its way, with giant strides, from river to river, leaving relics which are symbolized by vague tradition. The Indians did not rally in bodies to oppose De Soto by pitched battles, but glided aside with policy, to let the "monster power" pass. It weakened itself, as there is sufficient evidence to show, by detaching sub-exploring parties, who penetrated to surprising lengths, and performed herculean labors; and this vaunted expedition, which struck the tribes with fear and amazement, after suffering all the evils of a defeat at Mauvila, finally reached the Mississippi river, about the present site of the town of Memphis. Such an expedition, in its amount of sufferings, feats of daring, and wanderings, America, and perhaps the world, had never seen, and it has probably furnished food for some of the most striking imaginative tales of our tribes, who have veiled the appearance of mail-clad men under the name of the "Stone Giants."[2]

4. There are archæological evidences that the death of De Soto did not quench the daring spirit of discovery which had animated his extraordinary descent into Florida, under its ancient limits; and that the country northwardly was extensively ransacked, at subsequent dates, in the delusive hope of finding gold and silver mines, both by the channels of the Mississippi and its tributaries, and along the open Atlantic coasts, as far, at least, as north latitude 42°. It is these archæological evidences, mingled in some antiquarian fields of the true aboriginal antique, and, in a few instances, with an apparently *elder* epoch of it, that have served to puzzle antiquarians, and to generate theories of civilization in these latitudes, which there are no sound reasons for supposing to have existed. They are, if attentively scrutinized, found to be the vestiges of an

[1] The "Narrative of Abar Nunez Cabaca de Vaca" has just (1851) been given to the public, in a translation by Mr. Buckingham Smith, through the enlightened liberality of Geo. W. Riggs, Jun., of Washington, D. C., in a handsome quarto volume, with plates.

[2] Notes on the Iroquois.

extraneous era of arts, not homogeneous or sui-generis with those of the true antique aboriginal period.

5. The first peaceable interview of the French with the North American tribes took place in 1535, on the waters of the St. Lawrence, under the same triple thirst for conquest, the discovery of the precious metals, and a false belief in a western passage to China and India. This was four years prior to the descent of De Soto on the coasts of Florida; but although twenty degrees farther to the north, it did not exhibit tribes at all inferior, but rather superior, to the native Floridians in energy, expertness, courage, and forest arts. And the two expeditions of Jacques Cartier to these northern waters, though crowned with no golden discoveries, had the effect to make Francis I. a rival of Charles V. for the division of the new continent, and laid the foundation of the future viceroyalty of New France.

6. It was not till 1584, when ninety-one years had elapsed from Cabot's discovery, and forty-five years after the expedition of De Soto, that England, under the grant to Raleigh, visited and named Virginia, and thus asserted her title, by right of discovery, to the present area of the United States. Sir Francis Drake was, a year or two later, engaged in his half-freebooting operations on the Pacific: the banks of Newfoundland were also, at this era, well known to the maritime states of Europe, and freely visited by adventurous fishermen. Laudonniere had, in 1564, debarked in Florida, on his celebrated plan of colonization, and, by these and other means, North American discovery had reached a point at which several other nations began earnestly to put forth plans of colonization.

The landing in Virginia (Plate 1) took place at the Island of Wococon, in July, 1584. The emigrants afterwards took possession of, and founded their infant colony on Roanoke Island. The Indians, who, from fear of kidnapping, had fled away, kept aloof for three days, at the end of which, three persons in a canoe ventured furtively near, and suffered themselves to be taken. They were treated kindly, loaded with presents, and permitted to depart. The next day brought many boats, with forty or fifty men, among whom was Granganimo, "the king's brother." Leaving his canoe at a distance, he came with his train to the first interview with captains Amidas and Barlow. His attendants spread a mat on the ground, upon which he fearlessly seated himself, and evinced perfect self-possession, though the Englishmen were completely armed. He made gesticulations of friendship by stroking his head and breast with his hand, and repeating this ceremony on his visitors.[2] He then arose and addressed them

[1] Hackluyt.

[2] This custom of passing the hand on the face and breast was noticed by De Vaca in tribes west of Arkansas, about 1536. To rub the hand on an admired surface, as is done on fine cloth, is a generic trait. Jacques Cartier also found this custom, in 1534, in the tribes who visited his ships in the St. Lawrence.

Capt. S. Eastman U.S. Army del.

Pl. 1

C.E. Wagstaff & J. Andrews Engr.

LANDING IN VIRGINIA, 1584.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILAD.A

in a "long speech," all his attendants standing in silence. Presents were now laid before him, and before four other persons who appeared to be officials, which, at the close of the interview, he directed to be taken away, as all belonging to himself.

An English artist, named John Wyth, accompanied the expedition, by direction of Queen Elizabeth, to draw the topography, dress, and customs of the natives; from whose pencil we have the earliest designs on the subject. De Bry, of Frankfort-on-the-Main, who was, about this time, preparing the celebrated work which he began to publish in 1590, went to London in 1587, and procured copies of Wyth's drawings. How truthful these are to the forms of the Indians it would be difficult now to inquire. There is a fulness of muscle and development of limb in the figures which are not characteristic of the present race north and west, but really existed in the southern tribes; and, with one exception, namely, the woman eating, the postures conform to present usage, while the articles of dress, arts, and employments, leave no reason to suppose that they are not entirely faithful transcripts from scenes presented on the first interview with the Virginia Indians.

In the latitude of Roanoke Island, and during the month of July, the Indians were nearly nude. The men of most note wore moccasins and leggins, the azean, shell necklaces, copper ear-rings, and a head-dress of some sort. A robe of skins, the muttatos of the Algonquins, was thrown about the chiefs. The women are drawn without moccasins or leggins, and depicted with a not ungraceful leather-fringed kirtle or matchicota which reaches half-thigh. The hair is left to flow untied down the neck, (a doubtful point) with a head-band around the forehead, and a necklace of shells.

7. Twenty-five years later, namely, in 1609, the United States of Holland determined to share in the sovereignty of the new continent, by despatching a single ship of discovery, under Hendrick Hudson, to the new field of enterprise. This vessel entered the noble river now bearing his name, sailed through the Highlands, and is thought to have reached, and made her final anchorage, above the present city of Hudson, and in plain view of the magnificent Catskill range. (Plate 2.)

The natives had manifested very marked hostility on the lower parts of the river, particularly the Manhattanese, who killed one of the seamen with an arrow; consequently, Hudson could not land on that island. But the people encountered above the Highlands, were of a different temper, and an amicable intercourse ensued. Hudson had no sooner cast anchor in this part of the river, and landed from his boat, than he held a friendly conference with the natives on shore. (Plate 2.) According to the notions of the hospitality of his times, he offered them a potation of ardent spirits; which produced a stare of astonishment. To show them that he did not intend to give them what he would not taste himself, he drank off a cup of the liquor, and it was then filled and passed round to the Indians; but they merely smelled of it, and passed it on. It had nearly gone round the circle untasted, when one of the chiefs, bolder

than the rest, made a short harangue, saying it would be disrespectful to return it untasted, and declaring his intention to drink the potion, even if he should be killed in the attempt, he drank it off. Dizziness and stupor immediately ensued: he sank down and fell into a sleep—the sleep of death, as his companions thought—but in due time he awoke, declared the happiness he had experienced from its effects, asked again for the cup, and the whole assembly followed his example. Thus the physical powers of the mighty chiefs of the wilderness were at first prostrated by an element truly fascinating, as it led them into hallucinations so consonant to their own mythology,—the Indian Elysium — the land of dreams.[1]

8. Eleven years after this exploratory trip, the English Pilgrims set sail from Holland, and reached the coast in one of the involutions of Massachusetts Bay, to which they gave the name of Plymouth, at a spot which, if there be truth in Icelandic Sagas, that nation of bold mariners had visited some centuries before.[2]

The landing took place on the 22d of December, 1620, in a severe season, when snow covered the shore, when the forests were leafless and drear, and sickness, which had swept with great mortality among the natives, soon carried off many of the colonists.

9. No colonists had heretofore reached the shores from Europe with the views that actuated this people. Cortez, Narvaez, and De Vaca, De Soto, Laudonniere, and Cartier, had exhibited to the Indian race what may be called the Romaic element of European civilization. They were now to behold the English type of civilization as seen in the cognate colonists at Roanoke, Plymouth, and Manhattan — to encounter, indeed, the old Gothic, under the sterner stamina of which Rome itself had fallen. The minds of the pilgrims had been formed in the school of adversity. Poverty had sharpened wit, and suffering made the tyranny of royalty hateful. They were, in truth, the unsubdued residuum of the commonwealth under Cromwell. They had fled from the religious intolerance of the Stuarts, to take shelter in the forests of the New World. It was a crusade on nobler principles than that preached up by Peter the Hermit. They were cemented together by the closest principles of Bible obligation.

With the notions of English liberty which were the result of the workings of the British government through centuries, with such examples in patriotic energy as Hampden, with the current literature of England, in which the names of Bacon and Boyle, Newton, Shakspeare, and Milton were household words, they set up the framework of a political scheme, founded on strict personal morals and ascetic manners, which offers a striking and instructive phenomenon in the history of colonies.

---

[1] This tradition of the Mohegans has been misplaced and postdated by Mr. Heckewelder, who, from Indian tradition, relates the drinking scene as having taken place on the island of Manhattan. It was not until the next voyage that the Dutch gained a footing there. Hist. and Lit. Com. Phil. Trans., Vol. 1. Phil. 1819.

[2] Antiquitates Americana.

Capt. S.Eastman.U.S.Army. Pl.2. Robert Hinshelwood.

INTERVIEW OF HENDRICK HUDSON WITH THE INDIANS.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT GRAMBO & CO PHILAD^A

Unlike the colonies of Libya, Carthage, and Rome, it was not based on a love of the fine arts, or the refinements of philosophy and manners. Instead of this, the columns which these persecuted colonists desired to erect were those of faith, hope, and charity. Their principles of government were not those recognized by Herodotus, Livy, and Tacitus, but those of Moses and the prophets—Paul and the apostles. They were careful to cultivate a just and friendly policy with the Red race, who received them kindly.[1]

The first meeting took place a few days after their arrival, near the spot of landing. (Plate 3.) Massasoit, the celebrated chief of the Pokanokets, came to visit them. He was received by Governor Carver and his retinue with every attention. There was military music and a salute of musketry; mutual embraces followed. They then sat down side by side; "a pot of strong water" was brought forward, from which both drank. The chief, not knowing how to graduate his draught from ignorance of its strength, was thrown into a violent perspiration, which lasted during the interview.

These initial points of landing among a peculiar variety of the race of men who were destined to be our neighbours, and one of the chief objects of our humanitarian exertions for centuries, have been described for the purpose of calling attention to the character, affinities, and subdivisions of that race, as they then existed. The two hundred and fifty years which have elapsed at the date of writing these sketches, have multiplied in an almost infinitismal degree the number of the interviews and occasions of conference with the new race found by Cabot, by which our knowledge of them has been determined. Grecian and Roman history has told us nothing respecting their breaking off from the old races of men. We have examined the few and inconclusive points of their own traditionary evidence on this head in the prior pages (Part I. p. 19.) They are dim and shadowy; abounding in the necromantic and grotesque, and often bearing the unmistakeable impress of the symbolic. Their mythology, unlike that of what we may call the Japhetic type, too often contents itself with the droll, and never holds its gods responsible for higher principles of truth, honor, and humanity, than mere men.

11. Regarded as a Race spread through the United States, the ethnological tie which binds the *Vesperic*[2] tribes together possesses a singular unity. An Indian on the Gulf

[1] In a sermon preached soon after the landing by the Rev. Mr. Cushman, he says, "The Indians are said to be most cruel and treacherous in these parts, even like lions, but to us they have been like lambs; so kind, so submissive and trusty, as a man may truly say, many Christians are not so kind or sincere." Boudinot's Star in the West.

[2] The want of a more precise yet generic term to employ when it is necessary to speak of a division less than America is severely felt. America and Americans have indeed, from early times, been used to mean, par excellence, the territory and people of the Republic of the United States; but the term becomes imprecise in pursuing chains of investigation like this. Even the term of North Americans cannot be adopted without the strict

shores of Florida, as depicted by De Vaca, in 1527, and on the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, as he appears in the narratives of Cartier, in 1534, agree so completely in their leading traits, that there can be no hesitation as to their general affinities as a Race, though they are separated by two thousand miles of forests, lakes, and mountains. Examine the man, as seen on the coasts of Virginia in 1584, on the banks of the Hudson river in 1609, or on the shores of New England, as found by the pilgrims in 1620, and in what generic trait do they differ, save variations of languages, which are, however, generally dialectic, or in points of minor customs, often purely geographical? The zea maize, a tropical plant, was raised incidentally throughout all this distance—cotton, in no part of it. A wigwam of poles, with sheathing of mats or barks, characterized the whole area. The bow and arrow, and the spear and club, were the arms; and canoes of wood or bark furnished the means of navigation. It was not till reaching the broad table-lands and mountain valleys of New Mexico, that De Vaca found houses of stone, and the cotton blanket. This forms a strong line of demarkation between the hunter and semi-agricultural stocks — between the cotton-growing Toltec and the skin-clad Vesperic genera.

12. The tribes seated along the Atlantic, and spreading across the Alleghanies, at the respective dates of the settlement of Virginia, Nova Belgica, and New England, were found to be identical in their general character, and their low state of arts, in their notions of government, and in their means of subsistence. They were small independent chieftaincies, raising a little Indian corn, hunting the deer and other animals, at war continually with each other, and having, as a general fact, in their vital statistics, just births enough to replace those annually lost in battle and by natural death: occasionally rising and falling a little in numbers, but their stationary population forms one of the peculiarities of their history. Proud, cunning, (rather than brave,) idle, generous to their friends, and cruel and perfidious to their enemies: a celebrated divine of the early settlement of New England, calls them—"the veriest ruins of mankind."[1]

Here, then, is a great truth, a starting point which links them to the stocks of the Old World, and which imparts to the problem of their condition, history, and improvement, all its vitality. Low as they were in the scale of mankind, they were still men; they had hopes and fears; they were subject, in most things, to like passions with ourselves, and they present an object for the noblest humanitarian exertions.

13. The centres of general migration from which the North American tribes proceeded to the places occupied by them about the close of the fifteenth century appear

liability to include the tribes of Panama, Mexico, &c. Poetry has relieved herself by adopting the words Columbia and Hesperia; but history and ethnology are likely to be left, as at this day, to the toils of circumlocution.

[1] Cotton Mather.

Capt. S. Eastman, U. S. Army. Pl. 3. Andrews & Wagstaff

INTERVIEW OF MASSACOIT WITH THE PILGRIMS.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILAD'A

plain. Those tribes who penetrated the northern cordillera of the Rocky Mountains by the Unjiga and other passes, reaching quite to the termination of this chain in the Arctic Ocean, in latitude 70°, to whom the generic appellation of Athapascas has been applied by Mr. Gallatin,[1] migrated continually from their starting points on the Pacific towards the east and south-east (Plate 4.) On the settlement of New France, and particularly on the new vigor which geographical discovery assumed after the fall of Quebec, when the fur trade began to be pushed north, they had reached the dividing grounds or water-shed (*Wasser-chied*) separating the remotest tributaries of the Arctic Sea from those of Hudson's Bay. The Missinipi, Great-water, or Churchill river, (not to be confounded with the Mississippi,) is stated, by Sir Alexander Mackenzie,[2] to be their ultimate eastern limit, where they were met by an opposing wave of migration, namely, the Crees or Kenistenos, the van of the Algonquins, who had a widely different starting point.

14. The different tribes who compose this northern genus or family of tribes (Athapascas), speak cognate dialects (all except the band of Loo-choos, or Quarrelers). The most numerous tribe occupying the denuded and sterile plains between lat. 60° to 65° and long. 100° to 110°, are known by the Algonquin name of Cheppewyans (not to be mistaken for the radically different tribe of Chippewas), but who call themselves, with a more correct allusion to their geography, *Sa-essau-dinneh*, or Eastmen. Next in numerical importance rank the Dogribs, the Coppermine Indians, the Beaver and Rocky Mountain Indians, of Peace River, and the Tacullies and their congeners, of New Caledonia. Numbers of the minor tribes are very small, not exceeding forty or fifty men, or about 200 to 250 souls. They raise nothing, and depend solely for subsistence and protection on the bow and arrow, the snare and net, the gun and trap. They are stimulated to glean these vast solitudes for the small fur-bearing animals, which are exchanged for European fabrics by the traders. They do not, from the best data we have, number, north of the Churchill River, more than 2500 hunters, or about 13,000 souls, exclusive of the Esquimaux, and cannot be said to average, probably, one soul to fifty square miles.

ESTIMATES, DRAWN CHIEFLY FROM MACKENZIE.

	Men.	Souls.
Cheppewyans	800	4,000
Coppermine Indians	139	695
Dogribs	200	1,000
Edchautawoot, Strong-bows	70	350
Mountain Indians	40	200

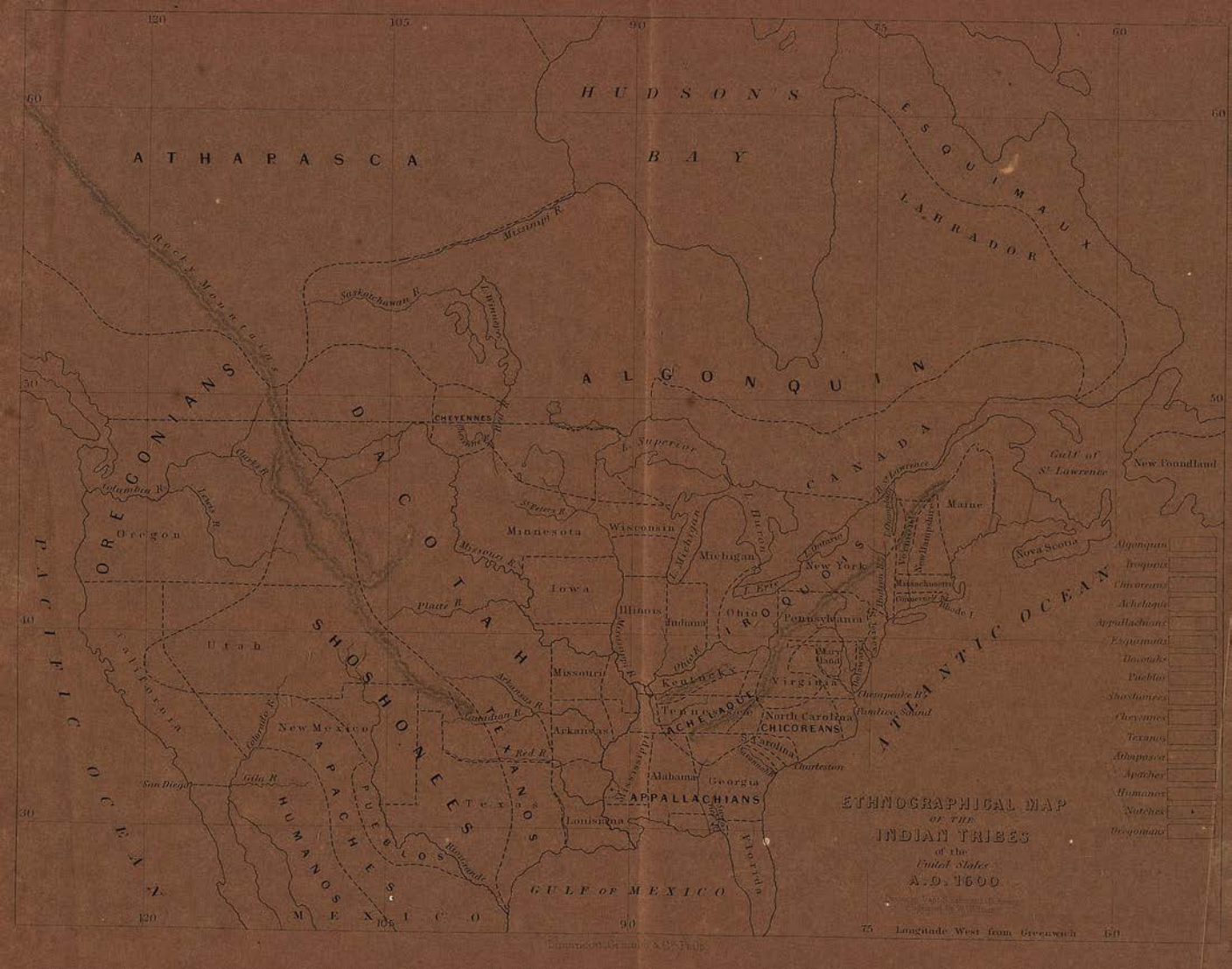
[1] American Ethnological Transactions, Vol. I.

[2] Voyages from Montreal, through the Continent of North America.

	Men.	Souls.
Ambatawwoot	40	
Kancho, or Hare	50	
Deagothee Loochoo, or Quarrelers	70	1,300
Nohannies	40	
Tsillawadoot, or Brushwood	60	
Beaver and Rocky Mountain Indians	150	750
Tacullies, Sicaunies, Nateotetains, and all the tribes of New Caledonia west of the Rocky Mountains	1,000	5,000
	2,659	13,295

15. The Esquimaux, who constitute the extreme northeastern and northwestern group of British America, offer the singular problem of the migration across the arctic fringe of the continent from east to west. They are traced from Baffin's Bay, Labrador, and even Greenland, to Behring's Straits and the continent of Asia, where the sedentary Tchuktchi are found to speak a dialect of their language. But this language is not traced farther among the Asiatic tribes of that coast. This group, whose mode of subsistence, stature, and customs, constitute the minimum point of depression of the Indian race, and who offer the most extreme example of the effects of latitude and longitude on manners and the physical type, is confined to a belt of some hundred miles wide, on the arctic coasts; and they have their extreme southern point of location within the Straits of Belle Isle, on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, lat. about 50°. They are doubtless the Skrœllings, or dwarfs, observed on the contiguous Island of Newfoundland, the ancient Hellueland, by the Scandinavians.

16. A very different starting-point must be assigned to the migrations of the multitude of comparatively populous tribes to whom we have applied the generic term of Vesperic or United States Indians. This large genus of the race who exist in separate groups of languages, but who are assimilated by a peculiar syntax and a coincidence of mental and physical type which very unequivocally marks them as a homogeneous race, occupy the entire area of the United States east of the Rocky Mountains, and east of the tribes of New Mexico, to whom De Vaca applies the term "Jumanos." (Humanos.) These latter inhabit the outer northern edge of the circle of the semi-civilized tribes of New Mexico. They retained at that era, (about 1530,) and continue to retain at the present day, the two striking elements of that type (the Toltec type) of civilization: namely, the zea maize and the cotton plant. We have no knowledge how the latter was fabricated. There was no indication then, nor is there now, that the distaff (one of the most ancient implements of mankind) was employed to form the thread. It is only said that they possessed blankets of cotton, and that they cultivated fields


HUDSONS BAY
ESQUIMAUX
LABRADOR
ATHAPASCA
Rocky Mountains
Missouri R.
Saskatchawan R.
ALGONQUIN
OREGONIANS
DACOTAH
CHEYENNES
L. Superior
CANADA
Gulf of St. Lawrence
Newfoundland
Columbia R.
Lewis R.
Oregon
Minnesota
Wisconsin
Maine
Nova Scotia
Michigan
New York
IROQUOIS
Iowa
Illinois
Indiana
Ohio
Pennsylvania
Utah
SHOSHONEES
Missouri
Kentucky
Virginia
Arkansas R.
New Mexico
Arkansas
CHEROKEE
North Carolina
CHICOREANS
Red R.
Alabama
Georgia
APPALLACHIANS
Texas
Louisiana
Florida
APACHES
PUEBLOS
HUMANOS
GULF OF MEXICO
MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Algonquin
Iroquois
Chicoreans
Acheleque
Appallachians
Esquimaux
Dacotahs
Pueblos
Shoshonees
Cheyennes
Texanos
Athapascas
Apaches
Humanos
Natchez
Oregonians
ETHNOGRAPHICAL MAP
OF THE
INDIAN TRIBES
of the
United States
A.D. 1600
Longitude West from Greenwich

of corn." Some amelioration of manners and customs was the consequence of this fixity of pursuits; and we find that De Vaca was escorted on his way to the Pacific without the rude, savage manners that he had encountered in Florida and Arkansas, and was uniformly attended by a retinue. Both the condition and position of the modern Navahoes and Moquies concur in favoring the supposition that they are descended from the ancient Jumanoes.

17. A limit, rather than a starting-point, is thus furnished for the wild hunter tribes whom both De Vaca and De Soto found in the Mississippi Valley, and in the present area of Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas. The evidence of these tribes coming from the southwest is found in their possessing the zea maize, which they carried with them, and cultivated to some extent wherever they went; and it constitutes one of the best evidences of the track of migration. Like confluent rivers pouring from the west, the stream of migration which passed into and across the Mississippi may have received, at successive eras, new and fresh accessions by way of the several passes of the Rocky Mountains south of latitude 42°, and extending to 30°, or even 25°; but it is by no means probable that in any such migrations the zea maize was brought over the bleak pass of 42°, where the plant was not raised; nor from the banks of the Columbia, where neither Capt. Grey, Lewis and Clarke, Ross Coxe, or the agents of John Jacob Astor, found a kernel of it as the product of aboriginal industry.

In 1527, De Vaca found the zea maize in very limited quantities in Florida, after he had got away from the mere Gulf bands, who lived mainly on fish, mollusca, wild fruits, and nuts. De Soto, who struck deeper into the country in his march twelve years later, found it abundantly among the ancestors of the present Muscogees, Chactaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees. In 1702, when Bienville was put to straits in sustaining the infant colony of Louisiana, this grain was so abundant among the Chactaws, who were the original occupants of the country, that the governor quartered the soldiers for months on that tribe.[1]

18. The Virginia tribes literally sustained the colony planted at Jamestown with supplies of Indian-corn from their own fields, and one of the prominent services which Capt. John Smith mentioned in his letter to Queen Anne, in recounting the friendliness of Pocahontas, was her leading these "conductas" of grain herself to the suffering colonists, without which they must have perished. The track of its spreading among the tribes along the Atlantic coast is clearly traced along the shores of the Atlantic into Massachusetts and all New England, where they raised the small and nutritious variety of white and yellow flint corn, and where their *no-ka-hik* constituted the sustaining food of their warriors.

[1] Gayarre's Louisiana. We quote this book for an isolated fact.

19. The Gulf of the St. Lawrence may be named as the most northerly latitude to which the Indians had carried this plant; but there is no evidence, that I have seen, of its having been cultivated, at an early date, on or near its shores. Cartier, in his voyages in 1534 and 1535, found none.

20. On ascending the St. Lawrence, by its rapids, into Lake Ontario, and penetrating into the country of the Iroquois, about 1610, the cultivation of the zea maize was found, by the French, to be practised in all the cantons; and the reliance placed on it is one of the unmistakeable causes of the progress to political power, made by this celebrated group of tribes. By means of it, they could sustain a more heavy population, and live in larger villages.

21. On proceeding to the ultra-montane regions west of the Alleghanies, this native cereal was found, by the earliest French and English explorers, in possession of all the tribes. It was cultivated, in small quantities, by the hunter communities of the Ohio, the Wabash, the Miami, and the Illinois; and by the nations along both banks of the Mississippi; for this river, in its descent from the Wisconsin and Illinois, where Marguette had reached it, was the reflex course of discovery to the respective points where De Vaca and De Soto had first found it. La Salle and Tonti followed it quite to the point in its delta where the level of the arable alluvial land sinks beneath the dominion of the waters on the Gulf of Mexico.

22. It is quite evident that the cultivation of the zea maize gave the ancient mound-builders the capacity of concentrating their numbers, and living together in large towns, which at once created a necessity for, and enabled them to construct and defend those antique works, the remains of which are still found in many places in the West. Nothing is clearer (if we admit some intrusive antiquities due to civilized sources before the fifteenth century) than that this ancient development of increased numbers and power had produced no very fixed general confederacies, or led to consolidated dynasties, like those of the Olmecs, the Toltecs, the Aztecs, and the Auricanians; that the tribes lived in continual political discord; that no high advanced state of civilization, manners, and policy had been reached; and that the failure of their partial and verbal compacts threw them back into the type of barbarism, leaving the remains spoken of, not only as monuments of the conflicts of opposing tribes, but of the state of wild discord that prevailed among them. If European or Asiatic science and art had furnished elements in this, they gave way to barbaric power. He must, we think, be an observer of a very imaginative temperament who perceives in these archæological remains a more exalted origin than has been denoted. We cannot say that the Syrian, the Carthaginian, the Scandinavian, or even the Cimbrian or Jew, were not here. There are rather vestiges than proofs of such a population; but it appears alike to have lost its arts and

its religion. Look where we will between the banks of Lake Superior and the Gulf of Mexico, there are few traces of the origin of the arts which denote a high civilization. There are no indications of the use of the iron hammer, the art of soldering, the use of the lathe, the potter's wheel, the art of glazing, or the distaff. The carving of pipes, from generally soft minerals and stones, was carried to considerable perfection, but will not, for an instant, bear comparison with the supposed contemporaneous arts of the Roman and Grecian, or even the Egyptian chisel. The greatest evidence of combined labor was not in the number of cubic feet of earth piled up in the western tumuli, and in evidences of corn-culture, but in the attempts at mining in the basin of Lake Superior, which have been developed since 1844. But even here, the hammers used were mauls of stone, and the power of artificial disintegration was the alternate application of fire and water to the surface of the rock. The mechanical powers of the wedge and the lever were, it is true, to some extent employed, and the operation of cutting masses of native copper was effected by means of chisels of the same material, hardened by an admixture of tin,[1] or in some way not exactly apparent. Pieces of native copper, in a state of rude manufacture, were scattered, at very early periods, in tumuli and graves, not only throughout the basins of the upper lakes and the valley of the Mississippi, from this prolific source, but over more than half of North America.[2] These ancient labors were manifestly due to the predecessors of the Vesperic tribes, whose vestiges are scattered in the Valley of the Mississippi. But even here, the element of the zea maize, and perhaps a species of bean,[3] must have been relied on to a considerable extent, as an article transported from contiguous southern latitudes. It was less than an hundred and fifty geographical miles, in a line south from the Michigan antique copper-beds referred to, to the Fox river valley of Green Bay, where the zea maize is known to have been cultivated by the natives from the earliest arrival of the French.

This cereal was raised on the ancient Winnebago fields, on the inner shores of Green Bay, and perhaps extended to the banks of the Menomonie river. The plant was not carried in that longitude, in its northern distribution, beyond the latitude of Wakanukkizzie, or the point called *L'arbre croche* by the French, on the eastern shores of Lake Michigan. In the valley of the upper Mississippi, its geographical dissemination was higher; and in proportion as that river was ascended westward in its discovery, at considerable distances above the Falls of St. Anthony, the climate favored its growth. I found this grain at Cass Lake, on the sources of the river, in 1832, and it was the current tradition of red and white men, that it had been raised, and came to perfection, so as to preserve seed, from a very early period, at Red Lake, near latitude 49°, and in

[1] It is confessed, we have no locality of tin in the United States, unless it be in the valley of the Kansas, referred to in Part I., p. 157.

[2] Vide Part I., p. 95, where a general view of this question is given.

[3] Part I., p. 54.

the valley of Red River of the North. To these remote points it had been carried in the migrations northwestwardly of the Ojibways, the Kenistenos, and the Assinaboines; and in these latitudes it ceases. The great Athapasca family, starting from an opposite centre of migration, did not possess it.

23. If the family of the widely diffused United States or Vesperic tribes, whose track of migration has now been sketched by the important element of the zea maize, be compared by general manners and customs, modes of living, and principles of syntax, there will be found a striking and close resemblance. Food and climate have created developments in the southern and western tribes which were rare, or comparatively unknown, in the extreme northeastern and northwestern stocks. The tribes who chased the buffalo, and lived almost exclusively on animal diet, were of a more vigorous physical and mental character than those bands which were confined along the northern sea-coasts to fish.[1] Hence it was that the interior tribes everywhere defended themselves more valiantly than those on the coasts. Even in Florida, where the natives stood courageously by their arms, on the first invasion by the Spaniards, under De Soto, in 1539, they had not proceeded thirty leagues before they encountered expert bowmen, who could drive an arrow nearly to its head through the breast of a horse.[2]

The brave inhabitants of Anhazea and Copafi, who were clearly of the extended family of the Muscogee group of tribes,[3] were possessed of a muscular power which made them to be feared by the most brave and chivalric cavaliers. These tribes, as the narrator observes, only killed deer enough to answer their purposes as food; but they, at the same time, raised the zea maize in such quantities, that De Soto's army, on one occasion, marched through fields of maize for the distance of two leagues.

---

[1] Morton's Crania Americana.

[2] Vide De Vega, as quoted in Theodore Irving's Conquest of Florida.

[3] Mr. Albert James Pickett, in his newly-published (1851) History of Alabama, states, in a note (p. 22, Vol. I.) that the Muscogees migrated from Mexico into Alabama, &c., *after* the invasion of De Soto; and that they conquered the Alabamas, Ockmulgees, Oconees, and Alachees. By reference to the traditions of Se-ko-pe-chi, an aged Muscogee, now in the Creek nation, west of the Mississippi, which is recorded in "The History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States," Vol. I. p. 266, it is perceived that the Muscogees formerly called themselves "Alabamians," and were called by other tribes "Okechoyatte."

The Uchees, like the Natchez, have ever been deemed as speaking a language radically distinct from the Muscogee; and there is an admission, in a fact mentioned by Se-ko-pe-chi, that the Creek nationality is not very ancient. We have no Ockmulgee or Oconee vocabulary, and cannot, therefore, speak authoritatively; but the names themselves, and certainly those of the surrounding country, bear evidence of Muscogee origin.

B. DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBES.

At the close of the fifteenth century, the Indian tribes of the present area of the United States were spread out, chiefly, in seven principal groups or generic families of tribes; each of which consisted of numerous sub-tribes, bands, or large totemic circles. Each of these subordinate tribes spoke a language or dialect differing, in some respects, from the others, and sometimes having a vocabulary entirely at variance. Each circle had also some tribal peculiarities in customs or manners, which might be noticed by other tribes, or by Europeans living among them, who had paid particular attention to these minutiæ, but which would pass unnoticed by the general observer.

These groups, in the order of discovery, from south to north, and from east to west, were the Appalachian, Achalaque, Chicorean, Algonquin, Iroquois, Dacota, and Shoshonee. There appear to have been some fragmentary tribes, as the Natchez and Uchees in the south, and the Chyennes, &c. in the west and northwest, who cannot, perhaps, be arranged under these genera; but the present state of our aboriginal researches will not permit us to include them in either of the seven groups. There is, possibly, a Toltecan element in the Appalachian group: nor are we entirely prepared, at the distance of nearly three centuries from the time stated, and with the imperfect information and vocabularies now possessed, to determine, at that epoch, the exact ethnological relations and boundaries of the tribes of Texas, Oregon, New Mexico, California, and Utah — countries respecting which, it is hoped, the progress of this work will hereafter enable us to present a chart to bear the date of 1800.

1. Appalachians. — The several groups are placed, on the subjoined map, in the order of their discovery. The Spanish, who discovered the peninsula of Florida, were not backward in their attempts to explore it. It would not appear that the Gulf of Florida is of a breadth and character to have prevented the natives from passing to Cuba, either by a bold traverse in the halcyon months, or by the way of the Bahama Islands; and such an origin has been conjectured, by some early voyagers,[1] for the Carribean tribes, but without physiological proofs. On the contrary, the Spaniards of Cuba, when they landed in Florida, found their island interpreters entirely at fault: they could not understand a word of the language; and Pamphilio de Narvaez, who landed in 1527, old style, at what is now called Tampa Bay, was obliged to employ the vague language of signs. This want of an interpreter was, it is believed, at the bottom of all his misfortunes. He perpetually misunderstood the Indians, and they him. The next error, was the then prevalent notion, that no terms were to be kept with

[1] Davis.

heathens,— who worshipped the sun and moon; who were under the guardianship of demons; and who recognized a God in almost every natural phenomenon. A fit commentary on this notion, which freed him from moral accountability, and even the laws of humanity, was his tearing to pieces, by blood-hounds, the mother of the chief Hirrihigua, whose implacable resentment to the whole Spanish race no future efforts of either this vain and vaunting cavalier, or of De Soto, who followed his track ten or eleven years after, could ever appease.

These several landings were in the wide-spreading circle of what we denominate the Appalachian group, of which the Creek or Muscogee, the Choctaw, and Chickasaw, form the three leading tribes. The names of places recorded, though often imprecise, and always after the old scholastic system of Spanish orthography, render them demonstrable. There appears evidence also, while the main tribes were homogeneous, in the name of the friendly and placid chief "Mocoso," (Little Bear) of the existence of the Shawnee dialect of the Algonquin element of language, at this time, in the Floridian peninsula; and their present tribal name (Southerners) and recorded traditions receive support from this coincidence.

De Soto was enabled, with the aid of the interpretership of Juan Ortiz, a soldier left by Narvaez who had learned the Appalache language, to carry on his communications with the several tribes until he reached and crossed the banks of the Mississippi. This appears evident, for it is said although the languages differed, this difference was not radical, so that he could communicate with them. The Appalaches evidently spoke the Muscogee, but it is evident that, in the wild search after gold-mines, De Soto crossed his own track. After his return from Cofatchique, a Creek name, he crossed a part of the Cherokee country, again entered the territory of the Creeks, and afterwards of the Choctaws, (called Mavilians, or Mobilians,) and, at his highest point on the Mississippi, the Chickasaws.

The names of Alibamo, Cosa, Talise, Chicaza, and Tascaluza, are scarcely distinguishable, in their popular pronunciation, from the modern words, Alabama, Coosa, Tallisee, Chickasaw, and Tuscaloosa; the latter of which is pure Choctaw, meaning Black Warrior.[1]

After crossing the Mississippi, one of the greatest perplexities which De Soto felt arose from the want of interpreters. He here encountered a totally different stock of languages, of which Ortez was wholly ignorant. The words had to go through eight or ten voices after passing from them before an answer was returned, and this could not be relied on. Judging that the same class of tribes have continued to occupy the right bank of the Mississippi, he was now among what is denominated the Dacota, or wild prairie tribes. It is difficult, in this part of the narrative of Garcillisco de la Vega, to recognize existing names, or our vocabularies of the most ancient native

[1] *Tusca*, warrior, and *loosa*, black.

terms have not been sufficiently scrutinized. The bold adventurer had no idea that the Rocky Mountains divided him, by a breadth of at least 2000 miles, from the "South Sea"—a word continually used for the Pacific. He was evidently at his most westerly point, in the range of the Quappas, the Kansas, and the Osages, or Washbashas. He pursued his way westward to the hill country running north and south from the Merrimack and Gasconade to the Washita, which is significantly called the Ozark Mountains. He reached the saline formations, and after his death Muscoso, his successor, in proceeding to the province of Le Vasqueros and coming in sight of the mountains, had evidently reached the buffalo plains of the far West. There is some evidence of the intrusion of the Illinois into the northern limits of De Soto's marches, and, consequently, of the Algonquin group west of the Mississippi; between whom and neighboring Indians a violent feud existed.

2. ACHALAQUES.—In the march of De Soto westward (1540) from Cutifachiqui, which is thought by Mr. Pickett[1] to have been on the Savannah river, he passed through the southern portion of the territory of the Achalaques—the Cherokees of our day; a region which is branded as "barren." He was now among the foot-hills of the Appalachian range. The name of Achalaque represents, indeed, the sounds of the term for this group more fully than the English term of Cherokee. It is known that the sound of *r* is wanting in this language. David Brown, the brother of Catherine,[2] a native Cherokee, calls it "the sweet language of Tsallake." The boundary of the territory possessed by this tribe appears to have been less subject to variation than that of any other tribe with whom we have been in intercourse; not excepting the Iroquois, whose domains grew, however, by accessions from conquest.

3. CHICOREAN GROUP.—The genera of tribes to which we apply this name claim the States of South and North Carolina as the peculiar theatre of their occupancy, at the earliest era. We first hear of them about 1510. The credulous governor of Porto Rico, Ponce de Leon, rendered himself memorable by his early discovery of, and adventures in Florida, which he named: but he was mortally wounded in a conflict with the natives. An adventurer by the name of Diego Meruelo, being afterwards driven on the coast, received a small quantity of the precious metals. This inflamed the golden hopes of a company engaged in mining at San Domingo, who fitted out three ships for a voyage thither. The leader was Lucas Vasques de Ayllon, whose object was kidnapping of Indians to work in the mines. In this nefarious object he was driven eastwardly along the coasts of what is now called South Carolina. At Combahee river, he traded with the Indians, (Yamasees) and after completing his traffic, invited

---

[1] Hist. Alabama; Charleston, 1851.

[2] Life of Catherine Brown, by Rev. R. Anderson.

them on board of his vessels, and when a sufficient number had gone into the holds of his ships, he closed the hatches, and sailed back to San Domingo.

The Yamasees spread along the sea-coasts of South Carolina. The midland and interior portions were covered by the Catabas and Cheraws, artful and valiant races, who extended into North Carolina, and who have signalized their history by their friendship for the whites. The Catabas were not an indigenous people in South Carolina, having been driven from the north by the Iroquois, who continued to be their deadly enemies.[1] The mountain region and uplands were debateable ground, which was made notorious by the contending Cherokees and Iroquois. The latter, in the Tuscarora branch, spread across North Carolina, and preserved a point of approach for their kindred in western New York, and the lakes. They maintained a war of extraordinary violence against the Cherokees and Catabas, which was conducted, generally, by small parties. There is reason to suppose, that the Cherokees were the "Tallagewy" of the Lenapes,[2] who were defeated in the north, and driven down the Ohio by that ancient tribe in alliance with the Iroquois. This group absorbs the small sea-coast tribes of North Carolina. It extends into southern Virginia, south of Albemarle Sound.

4. ALGONQUINS.—We meet with some traces of this language in ancient Florida. It first assumes importance in the sub-genus of the Powhattanese circle in Virginia. It is afterwards found in the Nanticokes; assumes a very decided type in the Lenni Lenapees, or Delawares; and is afterwards traced, in various dialects, in the valleys of the Hudson and Connecticut, and throughout the whole geographical area of New England, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia.

The term appears to have been first employed, as a generic word, by the French for the old Nipercinians, Attawas, Montagnies, and their congeners in the Valley of the St. Lawrence. It is applied to the Salteurs of St. Mary, the Maskigoes of Canada, and, as shown by a recent vocabulary, the Blackfeet of the upper Missouri, the Saskatchewine, the Pillagers of the upper Mississippi, and the Crees or Kenistenoes of Hudson's Bay. Returning from these remote points, where this broad migratory column was met by the Athapasca group, the term includes the Miamis, Weeas, Piankashaws, the Shawnees, Pottawatomies, Sacs and Foxes, Kickapoos, and Illinois, and their varieties, the Kaskaskias, &c., to the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi.

5. IROQUOIS.—Within this widely spread group the Five and afterwards Six Nations (called Iroquois) planted themselves in western New York, and on the shores of lakes Ontario and Erie, at a point where they would appear to have been in danger of being crushed by the surrounding nations; but they had the wisdom to see that the small

[1] MSS. from the Sec. of State's Office, S. C.

[2] Trans. Hist. Com. Phil. Soc., Vol. I.

Indian tribes destroyed themselves by discord, and they organized themselves into a confederacy, in which the principles of military glory and union were carried to the acmé of the hunter man. They conquered, and then made allies of the Mohican and Hudson river tribes, reaching to Long Island. They subdued, in a similar way, the Monsees, and the Lenapi themselves, who had long occupied a central prominence in Pennsylvania, and also extended their conquests east and west, and north and south. They drove away the Allegewy, in alliance with the Delawares, before the end of the fifteenth century, and kept open a road of conquest, in the direction of the Alleghany, to South Carolina. The Wyandots are of this stock. It is clear, from Le Jeune, that this tribe was located on the island of Montreal when the French first settled in Canada; but, owing to their alliance with the French and the Algonquins, they were expelled from that valley about the middle of the sixteenth century.

6. Dacotas.—The Mississippi river formed a line of demarcation, at the earliest dates, between the Appalachian and the Algonquin, and the Dacota tribes. De Soto, when he crossed it in 1541, in latitude about 32°, landed among a class of tribes, one of whom, namely, the Quappas, (Guipana,) is clearly named. De Vaca, ten years earlier, mentions the Aouas (Iowas). I use the term Dacota in a generic sense, for a stock of languages, and not as designating the Sioux only, as it embraces a very large number of tribes west of the Mississippi. Such are the Quappas, Kasas, Iowas, Osages, Pawnees, Otoes, Missourias, Omahaws, Aurickarees, Minnitares, Mandans, Winnebagoes, and many others, who fill the wide space between the foot of the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi: they are lords of the prairies. It is not contended that these ten tribes can converse understandingly together; but that they are connected by one ethnological chain, which is distinctly traced, so far as it has been compared by vocabularies. From this large family of tribes there are to be abstracted the elements of one, if not two, additional groups, which we are in hopes satisfactorily to designate in the progress of the investigations which we are now making.

The course of the tide of migration of the Dacotas appears to have been north, until the advanced tribes reached the sources of the Mississippi, and the western shores of Lake Superior. The Winnebagoes had, at the time the French first entered the country, reached Green Bay, and the Sioux of the Minnesota territory were then already on their retrograde march back on their track. Traces of their ancient villages and hieroglyphics have been noticed at Leech Lake, at Mille Lac, and other interior positions intermediate between Lake Superior and the east bank of the Mississippi. They had begun to retreat before the northwestern rush of the Algonquins, who appear, from remote dates,[1] to have been most expert woodsmen.

7. Shoshonees.—This genus of tribes possess the Rocky Mountains. They appear, as far as history extends, to have held its heights and passes from the sources

[1] Colden.

of the Missouri, in latitude about 44°, to the southern rim of the Great Salt Basin. Their own traditions represent them to have lived in the valley of the Sastatchewine, from which they were driven by the Blackfeet. They occupy the Lewis fork of the Columbia river, as far down as latitude about 44° 30′. It is clearly apparent, that they were situated on the summit of the Rocky Mountains, — in the territory of Utah, — and in the plains and hill-country of Texas; but it can, by no means, be affirmed that these tribes had their present positions at the date we assign to our chart, three centuries ago; while the consideration of this subject is connected, and would inevitably require the classification of the newly-annexed tribes of the United States on its southern and western boundary. It appears, from vocabularies, that they are the same people as the Comanches of Texas. West of the Sierra Nevada, a tribe of them, called Bonacks, or Root-diggers, extends into California. Their track of migration appears to have been south, branching into California, and southeast into Texas.

The geographical position of these American tribes at large, and their diffusion over the present area of the United States and of the British possessions north of it, extending to the Arctic Ocean, as they were found at the commencement of the sixteenth century, when North America began to be settled along its Atlantic borders, is denoted by the subjoined Ethnological Map. (Plate 4.)

C. PHYSICAL TRAITS.

The physical type of the United States Indian tribes is fully described in a subsequent paper, (No. VIII.,) by the late Dr. Samuel George Morton. This is the last literary labour of his pen, and presents the subject in its most profound and philosophical aspects.

The observations which have now been offered on the general history of the tribes, will prepare the way for our taking up the topic, understandingly, in its details respecting the several stocks of the race who have occupied the colonies and states from their earliest planting; a task which will be urged forward in the subsequent volumes of these investigations, with every possible degree of speed consistent with its proper consideration.

II. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS. A.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS. A.

SYNOPSIS.

A. GENERIC VIEW.

1. Barbarism a lapsed state of Man.
2. Definition of the term Race.
3. Antique Ideas of the Barbaric state.
4. Hebrew Idea of it.
5. Noachian epoch.
6. Ideas of Historians and Travellers on this Subject.
7. Purport of this Review of Opinions.
8. Era of Decline.
9. Influence of the Continent on the Aborigines.
10. Unity of Manners, Customs, and Opinions.

B. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE INDIAN FAMILY.

1. Marriage — the Family Group.
2. Ties of Consanguinity.
3. Totem — its Uses.
4. Genealogy — Affection for Children.
5. Self-sacrifice of Bianswah.
6. Transitive Character of Names.

C. FOREST TEACHINGS.

7. Children Early Instructed in the Arts of Hunting and Fishing.
8. Instance of the Early Use of the Snare.
9. Hunting at large.

10. Spearing the Musk-rat. (Plate.)
11. Fishing through the Ice. (Plate.)
12. Setting Nets through the Ice.
13. Fish-dams of Poles.
14. Nami-kow-a-guns, or Stone Dams.
15. Fishing with Scoop-nets.
16. Shooting of Fish. (Plate.) Hook-fishing.

D. ART OF HUNTING.

17. Knowledge of the Habits of Quadrupeds.
18. Deer-hunting.
19. Fire-hunting.
20. Ingenuity of Tracking.
21. Success of Nŏka in One Day.
22. Fight with a Moose.
23. Strength of Iawba in the Chase.
24. Encounter with a Grizzly Bear.

E. SUGAR-MAKING.

25. Sugar-making a Carnival.
26. Average Product of each Wigwam.
27. A Time of Hilarity and Enjoyment.

F. WAR AND ITS INCIDENTS.

28. Its Fundamental Importance to the Barbaric State.
29. Popular Opinion directed to this End.
30. Scalping. (Plate.)
31. Preparation and Dancing of the Scalp. (Plate.)
32. Feather of Honor. (Plate.)
33. Scale of Merit in its Awards.
34. Trait of Wisdom in Excusing Acts of Want of Courage.
35. Bands on the Frontiers brought to a High State of Courage by Appeals and Addresses.
36. War Parties are Volunteers.
37. How Enlisted. Strong Appeals to Military Glory.
38. Character of the Addresses.
39. War-songs actually Employed.

G. THE WIGWAM AND ITS MATES.

40. How Order is Preserved in its Circle.
41. The Bride and her Husband.
42. Division of Labour.
43. Domestic Character of the Man.

H. BIRTH AND ITS INCIDENTS.

44. Lightness of Parturition.
45. The Bestowal of Names.
46. Infancy in the Wigwam. (Plate.)

I. DEATH AND ITS INCIDENTS.

47. Pictographic Memorials of Adults.
48. Eulogy of the Dead.
49. Dressing the Corpse.
50. Belief in Immortality.
51. Address to the Dead.
52. Indian Burial-places.
53. Barrows and Heaps of Stones.
54. Former Custom of Burial among the Mississippi Valley Tribes.
55. Burial among the Prairie Tribes.
56. Veneration for the Dead.
57. Forests and Valleys Favorable to Civilization.
58. Horrid Instance of Sepulture among the Chinooks.

K. GAMES OF CHANCE.

59. Kun-ta-soo, or the Game of Plumb-stones.
60. Pugasaing, or the Game of the Bowl.

L. THE INDIAN ON HIS HUNTING-GROUND.

61. The Social State of the Hunter.
62. Patriarchal State of the Chiefs and Heads of Families.
63. Feasting.
64. Topics of Remark at Meals.

65. Modest and Moral Conduct of Females.
66. Feasts for the Young.
67. Severity and Suffering in Winter in High Northern Latitudes, and Hard Condition of Women.
68. Mother's Care for her Children.
69. Extreme Wretchedness produced by Hunger.
70. Attachment to the Habit of Smoking.
71. Trust in Providence.

M. MISCELLANEOUS TRAITS.

72. Ball-playing.
73. Moving Camp.
74. Dog-dance.

A. GENERIC VIEW.

1. HISTORY, as viewed in the earliest and most authentic record, namely, the Pentateuch, represents man as having been created, not in the savage, but in the industrial or civilized state. It lays down the fact of this creation and of the unity of the species as a grand moral truth, upon which all its subsequent history is based, and without which, it would fail of its great aim, namely, to teach the world what it did not before know, or had forgotten, that the Creation was of divine origin.

Commencing his career as a horticulturist, the highest form of the agricultural type, he is next presented to our view as a shepherd and grain-grower, or a "tiller of the ground." If these views are correct — and we present them with the full consciousness of their being so, and, at the same time, of their running counter to the philosophical theories of the origin of the human race, of Greece and Rome, so long the enchantresses of ancient history — then it may be declared, that the hunter state is a declension from the industrial, and that barbarism assumes its character, not only as the antagonistical point to civilization, but as a falling from it, and a direct consequence as the neglect of its higher and sublime principles. God did not surely send a man, in the person of מֹשֶׁה (interpreted Moses,) to tell mankind a falsehood.

2. By Race, when employed in its generic sense, is meant the entire human species; but the first family of man had not passed its primary ordeal, when it is seen that separate types, such as are regarded by physiologists and theologians as essential moral and physical races, arose. At any rate, for sixteen centuries and a half, there is the most careful and exact genealogical distinction kept up in the narration between the two

primary Alcanic[1] and Alsethic[2] types; and it is from the latter, so far, at least, as the *male* line is concerned, that the new or Noachian types are derived.

3. It is also perceived, from the same record, that agriculture and fixed industry was the state of the Noachian or diluvian epoch; and it is not till a century later, agreeably to sound chronologists, that we hear of the hunter state, and of the general dispersion of mankind. How soon any of the sub-races or re-developed types declined (after departing from the unity of language) into barbarism, we know not. Grecian history calls all tribes and nations "barbarians" below their type of civilization.

4. Hebrew history regards as such, under the cognomen of "Gentiles," all who did not possess the Hebraic moral type of knowledge. Not to be, genealogically, a direct descendant of the Abrahamic head is deemed, by the sacred penmen, to have been born out of the physical and moral pale of the type; and it is not till Anno Domini 1, when the foretold Shiloh came, that we perceive, that, from the beginning, all the types, races and families of men were comprehended, for the purposes of this advent, as a perfect *unity in diversity*,—without respect to the differences of nations, civil condition, languages, lineage, or physical character, but with a sole view, which is repeated line upon line, to the moral character and elevation of man. This was Shiloh's office.

5. It is unquestionably to the Noachian epoch that the ethnologist is to look for those primordial types of race which are regarded as having furnished the original progenitors of the present species. The different stocks are to be viewed as having received physiological and intellectual laws of development, which gave them, at once, the capacity to reproduce their ethnological likes during ages.

6. The endurance of physical type, as observed in the features, manners, and customs of different nations, is, indeed, one of the most striking characteristics of the human race. Observers have manifestly, from the very earliest ages, thought so; for if there be not supposed to be some generic traits to look for in different races, what reason can the philosophic traveller or historian assign for at all noticing them. Physiology has ceased to regard these generic differences as the mere effect of *climate*, and is disposed to speak of certain developments as generally fixed in this or that type; we do not examine a North American Indian to discover a Grecian, a Celtic, or a Gothic physiognomy, nor refer to a German, who, at this day, has exactly the traits described by Tacitus, for the coarse straight black hair of an Iroquois or an Algonquin. These are not the types of Race in which to seek for resemblances; the admitted theory of type drives us elsewhere.

---

[1] From Cain. [2] From Seth.

7. These observations will not be misapprehended in proceeding to make some remarks on the manners and customs of the North American Indians, who have been, more or less, the object of historical investigation and knowledge for three centuries and a half: for it seemed like covering up, or leaving out of view, a great fact, to speak of a race of very marked savages as if the erratic and hunter life was not the natural result of neglecting a fixed agricultural state; and as if mankind had not been originally created in the highest and noblest type—the type of labor. In other words, that it did not, originally, include all races and kindreds and tongues, who may unite, on the Shilonic principle, however diverse at this era, and who are yet, at all ages, and in all places, spoken of and described, in the *Hebrew oracles*, as being derived from *one* creation and *one* original race.

It was thought best to meet this question directly, in an age of much moral shuffling; and there seemed to be the less excuse for not making the appeal, when the testimony is not only the most ancient known to the learned world, but is of a character and dignity the most noble and irrefragable. Viewed in this light, the Indian tribes are entitled to the most exalted moral sympathies.

Archbishop Usher represents the Babylonic dispersion of mankind to have taken place in the fifty-seventh year of the eighteenth century, anno mundi, and exactly one hundred years after the debarkation of Noah.

8. We advert to this era of the general dispersion, as exhibiting the true historical and philosophical epoch, not only of the rise of diverse powers and languages, (in which mankind were still left, as at the beginning, to the exercise of a free choice and will,) but also as the true and most antique point, in the rise and history of barbarism, with its concomitants, previously developed, namely, idolatry and the worship of *principles*, *elements*, and *men*. From this era, which is presented to us as a bold, striking, and genuine one, in the Hebrew chronicles, we drop down the lapse of actual history, casting out Asia, Africa, and Europe from our horoscope, to the year anno Domini 1492, a period of 3725 years. During this long vista of time, authentic admitted history is silent as to all actual knowledge of the American tribes. We do not purposely advert to the possibility, nay, probability, of the continent being visited, at an earlier date, by one or more European nations; *that* is a question of our archæology which is not here under discussion; nor to ask, with what elements of the Old World's knowledge, if any, they landed on the coasts? nor, at what epoch of our history? These are also questions of our archæology, which are just beginning to be discussed on broad principles.

9. Whatever these eras of landing on the coasts were, or the type of knowledge or barbarism they possessed, the continent itself presented features which were calculated to lead the mind from the intellectual, the mechanical, and the industrial, to the

erratic, physical, and gross. Wandering in the attractive scenes of the temperate and tropic zones, the very vastness of its rivers, lakes, and mountains, must have proved a powerful stimulus to erratic and barbaric notions. If we assign but three thousand years for its occupancy, and this is not too long a period, it would appear to have produced a greater diversity of every kind than we actually observe. A tribe that is separated by territory soon insists on dialectic differences. Where there are no books to fix the standards of pronunciation, there cannot be, for a long time, absolute identity. The vowel sounds melt into each other, and it is chiefly the harsher and guttural consonants, (and some of these are known to be interchangeables,) that stand out, like headlands, to resist the ocean of change in articulate sound. The plan of thought is not, however, so easily encroached on, and we accordingly find that, even where the vocabulary is entirely different, the synthesis and syntax are still essentially preserved for immense periods.

10. Their manners and customs, their opinions and mental habits, had, wherever they were inquired into, at the earliest dates, much in common. Their modes of war and worship, hunting and amusements, were very similar. In the sacrifice of prisoners taken in war; in the laws of retaliation; in the sacred character attached to public transactions solemnized by smoking the pipe; in the adoption of persons taken in war, in families; in the exhibition of dances on almost every occasion that can enlist human sympathy; in the meagre and inartificial style of music; in the totemic tie that binds relationships together, and in the system of symbols and figures cut and marked on their grave-posts, on trees, and sometimes on rocks, there is a perfect identity of principles, arts, and opinions. The mere act of wandering and petty warfare kept them in a savage state, though they had the element of civilization with them in the zea maize.

It is remarkable, that the open sea-coasts of America were adverse to civilization. On the contrary, remote interior positions, surrounded by mountains, as the Valley of Anahuac, or the basin of Titacaca, favored the germs of Indian civilization. This was not successfully developed, it is true, without bloody wars, and the effects of extravagant and dreadful superstitions, leading to dynasties in which the liberty of the individual was lost. It was, however, less these acts of power than the stationary habits of the people—those habits that permitted labor to be applied in local districts—that mainly fostered, it is conceived, the true germs of civilization.

The tendency to a central power was also developed among the Iroquois, at a remote point from the sea-board, and they were surrounded by hostile tribes, against whom they maintained the most bloody wars. But it was also on elevated and advantageous table-lands, which poured their surplus waters, down large and prominent rivers, to the distant sea. They had, also, the element of the zea maize, all which, however,

might have proved ineffectual to their rise, had they not fallen on the policy of tribal confederation.

If the United States tribes be compared with one another, there is found a coincidence of a striking character. Take a Muscogee from the plains of Red River or Arkansas, an Algonquin from the banks of Lake Superior, and a Dacota or Iowa from the plains of the Missouri or the Mississippi, and it will require an interpreter to make them understand each other: but regard their leading features and expressions; ascertain their thoughts and modes of action in war and peace; their customs of hunting, war dances, and ceremonials; strive to get at the texture and philosophy of their minds, and the coincidences are so striking that they must impress every beholder,— there is a character, sui-generis, which nobody can mistake.

"Not Hindoo, Afgan, Cuthite, or Persee;
The Indian his own prototype must be."

B. CONSTITUTION OF THE INDIAN FAMILY.

1. One of the most striking, universal, and permanent customs which distinguishes the American tribes, and, more than all, commends them to our humanities, is that which exists in connexion with the family tie. It is this trait, indeed, that disarms barbarism of half its repulsiveness, and gives to this erratic and benighted branch of the species, their best claims to our sympathies and benevolence. Without this tie, society would degenerate into utter confusion, and leave but a step between man and the brute creation. Species would be dismissed with the maturity of the season; and with its close, all parentage be forgotten, and all affinities of blood be obliterated.

Sunk as some of the more northerly and high Pacific coast tribes may be, (and they are depicted as "excessively low,") we have in this institution, supported, as it is, by a tenacious memory of the tie of lineage, a basis for commencing our investigations and comparisons; and a proof, indeed, that the obligations of the tie itself, or the family relation, are inherent in the nature of human society, and were implanted in the breast of man to uphold the laws of purity and virtue.

2. Ages of wandering, and deep degeneracy of manners, and habits of the darkest dye, have done little, in fact, to shake the laws of consanguinity. The marital rite is nothing more, among our tribes, than the personal consent of the parties, without requiring any concurrent act of a priesthood, a magistracy, or witnesses, the act is assumed by the parties, without the necessity of any other extraneous sanction, except parental consent; presents are, however, often made, if the parties be able. It is also disannulled, and the wife dismissed from the wigwam, whenever the husband

pleases, or the marital state is continued under the evils of discord or a state of polygamy: the latter is, however, the usual method among the hunter and prairie tribes. But the ties of consanguinity are still strictly acknowledged; children become possessed of all their natural rights, and family tradition traces these ties to their remotest links.

3. At this point, the institution of the totem comes in to strengthen and confirm domestic tradition; for this is acknowledged as proof, even where family tradition fails. The totem is a symbol of the name of the progenitor,—generally some quadruped, or bird, or other object in the animal kingdom, which stands, if we may so express it, as the surname of the family. It is always some animated object, and seldom or never derived from the inanimate class of nature. Its significant importance is derived from the fact, that individuals unhesitatingly trace their lineage from it. By whatever names they may be called during their life-time, it is the totem, and not their personal name, that is recorded on the tomb or *adjedatig* that marks the place of burial. Families are thus traced when expanded into bands or tribes, the multiplication of which, in North America, has been very great, and has increased, in like ratio, the labors of the ethnologist. The Turtle, the Bear, and the Wolf, appear to have been primary and honored totems in most of the tribes, and bear a significant rank in the traditions of the Iroquois, and Lenapis, or Delawares; and they are believed to have more or less prominency in the genealogies of all the tribes who are organized on the totemic principle.

4. This point, therefore, namely, the sacred tie of families, is the great fulcrum upon which the lever of hope, in doing anything to raise this people from barbarism, rests. No savage tribes on the face of the earth, so far as geographical discovery extends, are more tenacious of their relationships. No earthly calamity causes such deep grief to them as the loss of a promising son, at his entrance into life. Instances have been known where the father has redeemed his son from the stake, and actually been burnt in his stead.

5. A notable instance of this kind occurred in the history of the war in the 17th century, between the Chippewas and the Foxes, after the latter had allied themselves, in the west, to the Sioux. In this war, the Foxes captured the son of a celebrated and aged chief of the Chippewas, named *Bi-ans-wah*, while the father was absent from his wigwam. On reaching his home, the old man heard the heart-rending news, and knowing what the fate of his son would be, he followed on the trail of the enemy alone, and reached the Fox village while they were in the act of kindling the fire to roast him alive. He stepped boldly into the arena, and offered to take his son's place: "My son," said he, "has seen but a few winters; his feet have never trod the war-path: but the hairs of my head are white; I have hung many scalps over the graves of my relatives, which I have taken from the heads of your warriors: kindle the fire about me, and send my son home to my lodge." The offer was accepted, and the old

man, without deigning to utter a groan, was burnt at the stake. Such are the severities of savage warfare, amidst which the family tie is maintained with a heroism which has no parallel in civilized life.

6. But whatever were the plans of separation which the original families and clans adopted to preserve the lineage, they are all found to have distinct and appropriate names for the different degrees of relationship. In one respect, these names have a peculiarity, — they denote, by their orthography, whether the person be an elder or younger brother or sister, an aunt by the father's or mother's side, or some other like distinctions, which appear to have their origin in the very transitive nature of the language.[1]

C. FOREST-TEACHINGS.

7. HUNTING and war divide the cares of the man. The arts of both are carefully taught to the young, and enforced, and daily applied, by constantly repeated influence of precept and example. The male children are early instructed in the arts of the chase. It begins as soon as they are capable of walking and running about. A tiny bow and arrow is given to the little *a-bin-o-jee*[2] as a plaything: as soon as he acquires strength, he is encouraged to fire at small birds or squirrels. The first evidence of success is extravagantly praised, and the object killed, however small, is prepared by the females for a feast, to which the chiefs and warriors are ceremoniously invited.

8. Sometimes the triumph that attends the initial success, in learning the hunter's art, is gained by the snare that children set to catch little animals. An instance of this kind came to my notice in the basin of Lake Superior. A hunter having observed the snare of one of the younger members of his family, secretly put a rabbit into the noose. The next morning, as usual, the youngster went out to the spot, and his joy was perfectly unbounded at his success in catching a rabbit. A feast of soup was prepared with very great ceremony, in honor of the youthful Nimrod, to which old and young were invited; and their applauses resounded throughout the lodge. The facetious Indian who had played the trick kept his secret, and only revealed it after many years had passed away.

9. Skill in killing large quadrupeds is the result of years of effort, but the art so acquired is as carefully taught, and its principles as anxiously impressed on the rising generation, as are the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic, in civilized society.

---

[1] It is not substantives and verbs only which exhibit this character, but pronouns and other parts of speech.

[2] Child.

Capt S. Eastman U.S.Army. del. PL. 5 Engd by C.E.Wagstaff & J. Andrews.

SPEARING MUSKRATS IN WINTER.

The Indian youth, as he advances in the principles of the hunter's art, is instructed by the native priesthood to believe that this art can be facilitated by unseen spiritual agency; and a subtle system of medical magic, which is exhibited in connexion with devices and figures of the principal animals hunted, is drawn on bark. To these great attention is paid; and the secrets respecting them are treasured up, and its knowledge cultivated by an association called the Meda, whose rites and ceremonies are scrupulously guarded and respected.

10. Winter, in all the northern latitudes, brings with it the necessity of a peculiar kind of hunting, which is performed through the ice. When the ponds and rivers, where the musk-rat harbours are found, their houses are perforated with a strong and peculiarly shaped spear, (Plate 76, Figs. 1 and 2,) by which the victim is transpierced, and the animal brought out upon its point. This act is performed while the scenery is covered with the garb peculiar to the winter solstice, and is represented in the accompanying sketch, (Plate 5.)

11. In a region abounding in lakes and streams, fishing also becomes an art, taught to the young. There are some modes of fishing through the ice which are very ingenious; one of the most common is, to play a decoy through holes perforated in the ice, by an instrument which is called *aishkun*, by the Algonquin tribes. It consists of a species of stout chisel of iron, attached firmly to a pole. (Fig. 11, Plate 76.) The decoy is generally the image of a small fish. The Indian, placing himself flat on his stomach, covers his head with his blanket, supported by branches, in order to exclude the light. By excluding the extraneous glare, the vision is extended into the waters below, and the watcher stands ready with his spear to dart the point into his victim, as soon as it approaches to seize the bait. In this manner, which is depicted in Plate 6, the Indian is able to supply his family with food, at the most inclement and pinching seasons.

12. Another mode of taking fish in the winter, is by making a series of orifices, through the ice, in a direct line. A gill-net is then pushed, by its head-lines, from one orifice to another, until its entire length is displayed. Buoys and sinkers are attached to it, and it is then let down into deep water, where white fish, and other larger species, resort at this season. The next morning the net is drawn up, the fisherman secures his prey, and again sets his net as before. By this mode, which is very common throughout the lakes where deep water abounds, these species are captured at the greatest depths, while sheltering themselves in their deepest winter recesses.

Fish are sometimes brought up in the immediate vicinity of Michillimackinac, from a depth of eighty fathoms.

The Indians' ingenuity in capturing the finny tribes during the prevalence of the severities of winter, may be quoted as an evidence of their resources, in sustaining

themselves. But this ingenuity and resource has its fullest development in the open season of summer, when the streams are freed from the ice, and the forest is clothed with verdure, to shelter and conceal its various species.

13. The streams which traverse the Indian country are often barred near their outlets with stakes securely bound together, with transverse poles extending from bank to bank. These poles are so close as to prevent sturgeon and all the larger species from ascending except by a single aperture which is purposely left. Through this the fish ascend in their frequent attempts to force their way up stream for the purpose of depositing their spawn; but in descending they are arrested by the poles of the dam, and forced against them. The Indian walking on the transverse poles, with a hook at the end of a pole, which is placed on the upper side of the dam, sees and feels the pressure of the descending fish, and, by a quick jerk, brings up his victim.

14. During the low waters of the summer solstice, lines of stones are placed from each bank, where the river has a marked descent pointing downwards at an acute angle, until they meet, within three or four feet. This space is filled with stones of a less height, over which the pent-up and dammed water rushes and falls on a platform of poles. This platform, which performs the purpose of a gross longitudinal sieve, lets through the water, leaving the fish to flounder and be picked up — ad libitum. This contrivance is sometimes called *namekowagan*, or sturgeon's yoke.

15. At the foot of rapids and falls, the fish are followed up in their continued struggle to ascend, by fishermen in a canoe, who provide themselves with a scoop-net attached to the end of a long pole, and they then capture their victims by a dexterous swoop of the implement. This act requires great care, activity, and exertion, as the canoe, being made of bark, and almost as light as an egg-shell, is liable, the moment he stands on the gunwales, to be tipped over into the boiling, foaming waters. In order to prevent it from shooting from under him, a man sits at the stern with his paddle to keep the boat headed, and the fisherman stands watching his opportunity as the school of fish pass by; then balancing himself with the manœuvering and consummate skill of a wire-dancer, he lifts his prey into the canoe.

This species of fishing may be seen to be practised, in the most striking manner, during the fishing seasons, at the falls of St. Mary's, on the straits between lakes Huron and Superior, which have long been noted for the abundance and fine flavor of the white fish.

16. Sometimes fish are shot with an arrow, by a watcher sitting on the banks of the river, when the fish approach the land in their vernal track of migration. (Plate 7.)

The fish-hook is employed chiefly in deep waters, and is intended for the larger spe-

Sketched by Capt S. Eastman U.S. Army. Pl. 6 C.F. Wagstaff & J. Andrews Engr

SPEARING FISH IN WINTER.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILAD.A

cies.' The white fish, so common to the whole line of lakes, never bites at a hook, and is captured solely by nets or spears. The ordinary trout and cod hook has been supplied by commerce since the discovery of America; but the ancient Indian hook of bone was shaped much like it, and its use was every way similar, as is seen by an antique bone-hook, found in the mounds on Cunningham's Island, Lake Erie. (Plate 38, Fig. 4.)

Fish are also speared from a canoe, usually in the morning, when they are close in-shore, lying under the leaves and rushes that grow on the banks of streams. An Indian woman or boy paddles the canoe gently along the shore, while the man stands up in the bow or on the gunwales of the canoe, holding his spear ready to strike the fish when seen. The spear or gig is represented in Plate 76, Figs. 3 and 4. The mode of operating is represented in Plate 8.

D. ART OF HUNTING.

17. This ingenuity in the taking of fish evinces a degree of skill which challenges admiration. But it is far inferior to that art which is demanded for the hunter in his nobler pursuit of game on the land. To him are known the habits, ranges, and food of all the quadrupeds which constitute objects of the chase. Not only is it essential that he should know the species of food which each quadruped covets, but also the time most favorable to his sallying out of his coverts to obtain it, together with the various precautions necessary, in order to elude the quick ear and instincts of his victims.

18. The simplest of all species of hunting is perhaps the art of hunting the deer. This animal, it is known, is endowed with the fatal curiosity of stopping in its flight, to turn round, and look at the object that disturbed it; and as this is generally done within rifle-range, the habit is indulged at the cost of its life; whereas, if it trusted unwaveringly to its heels, it would escape.

19. One of the most ingenious modes of hunting the deer is that of *fire-hunting*, which is done by descending a stream in a canoe at night with a flambeau. The habit of this animal of resorting to streams at night has been mentioned. In the latter part of spring and summer, the Indian hunters on the small interior rivers take the bark of the elm or cedar, peeling it off whole, for five or six feet in length, and turning it inside out, paint the outer surface black with charcoal. It is then pierced with an orifice to fit it, on the bow of the canoe, so as to hide the sitter; then a light or torch is made by small rolls two or three feet long, of twisted birch-bark, (which is very inflammable,) and this is placed on the extreme bow of the boat, a little in front of the bark screen, in which position it throws its rays strongly forward, leaving all behind in

darkness. The deer, whose eyes are fixed on the light as it floats down, is thus brought within range of the gun. Swans are hunted in the same way.

20. The mazes of the forest are, however, the Indian hunter's peculiar field of action. No foot-print can be impressed there, with which he is not familiar. In his temporary journeys in the search after game, he generally encamps early, and sallies out at the first peep of day, on his hunting tour. If he is in a forest country, he chooses his ambush in valleys, for the plain reason that all animals, as night approaches, come into the valleys. In ascending these, he is very careful to take that side of a stream which throws the shadow from it, so that he may have a clear view of all that passes on the opposite side, while he is himself screened by the shadow. But he is particularly on the alert to take this precaution, if he is apprehensive of lurking foes. The tracks of an animal are the subject of the minutest observation; they tell him at a glance, the species of animal that has passed; the time that has elapsed; and the course it has pursued. If the surface of the earth be moist, the indications are plain; if it be hard or rocky, they are drawn from less palpable but scarcely less unmistakeable signs.

21. One of the largest and most varied day's hunt, of which we are apprised, was by a noted Chippewa hunter, named Nokay, on the upper Mississippi; who, tradition asserts, in one day, near the mouth of the Crow-Wing river, killed sixteen elk, four buffaloes, five deer, three bears, one lynx, and a porcupine. This feat has doubtless been exceeded in the buffalo ranges of the south-west, where the bow and arrow is known to have been so dexterously and rapidly applied in respect to that animal; but it is seldom that the chase in forest districts is as successful as in this instance.

22. On one occasion the celebrated chief Wabojeeg went out early in the morning, near the banks of Lake Superior, to set martin traps. He had set about forty, and was returning to his wigwam, armed with his hatchet and knife only, when he encountered a buck moose. He sheltered himself behind trees, retreating; but, as the animal pursued, he picked up a pole, and, unfastening his moccasin-strings, tied the knife firmly to the pole. He then took a favourable position behind a tree and stabbed the animal several times in the throat and breast. At length it fell, and he cut out and carried home the tongue as a trophy of his prowess.

23. In 1808, Gitshe Iawba, of Kewyyenon, Lake Superior, killed a three years old moose of three hundred pounds weight. It was in the month of February, and the snow was so soft, from a partial thaw, that the agim, or snow-shoes, sank deep at every step. After cutting up the animal and drawing out the blood, he wrapped the flesh in the skin, and, putting himself under it, rose up erect. Finding he could bear the weight, he then took a litter of nine pups, in a blanket, upon his right arm, threw his

Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army PL. 7. C.K.Burt

INDIAN SHOOTING FISH

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILADA

wallet on the top of his head, and, putting his gun over his left shoulder, walked six miles to his wigwam. This was the strongest man that has appeared in the Chippewa nation in modern times.

24. In 1827, Annimikens, of Red River of the North, was one day quite engrossed in looking out a path for his camp to pass, when he was startled by the sharp snorting of a grizzly bear. He immediately presented his gun and attempted to fire; but, the priming not igniting, he was knocked by the animal, the next instant, several steps backward, and his gun driven full fifteen feet through the air. The bear then struck him on one cheek, and tore away a part of it. The little consciousness he had left told him to be passive, and manifest no signs of life. Fortunately, the beast had satiated his appetite on the carcase of a buffalo near by. Having clawed his victim at pleasure, he then took him by the neck, dragged him into the bushes, and there left him. Yet from such a wound the Indian recovered, though a disfigured man, and lived to tell me the story with his own lips.

Relations of such hunting exploits and adventures are vividly repeated in the Indian country, and constitute a species of renown which is eagerly sought by the young.

E. SUGAR-MAKING.

As the spring season approaches, and the sap begins to ascend the still leafless trunks of the acer saccharinum, or sugar maple, the Indian families, throughout all the northern and middle latitudes, repair to their sugar-camps, and engage in preparing that, to them, favorite luxury. The sap is carried in bark buckets, and boiled down in kettles of iron or tin. This labor, which devolves chiefly on the females, is shown in the accompanying sketch. (Plate 9.)

25. It forms a sort of Indian carnival. The article is profusely eaten by all of every age, and a quantity is put up for sale in a species of boxes made from the white birch bark, which are called mococks, or mokuks. These sugar-boxes are in the shape of the lower section of a quadrangular pyramid. They are of a light brown color, or, if new, a nankeen-yellow.

26. While the careful and industrious wife prepares and fills these boxes for sale, the children and youth carry sap from the trees, and have a grand frolic among themselves; boiling candy and pouring it out on the snow to cool, and gambolling about on the frozen surface with the wildest delight. Their mothers supply them, too, with miniature mokuks, filled with sugar from the first runnings of the sap, which makes the choicest sugar. These little mokuks are ornamented with dyed porcupine

quills, skilfully wrought in the shape of flowers and figures. The boxes designed for sale are of all sizes; from twenty to seventy pounds weight. They are sold to the merchants at six cents per pound, payable in merchandize. The number made in a single season, by an industrious and strong-handed family, is known to be from thirty to forty, in addition to all the sugar that has been consumed. It is seldom less than a dozen or twenty boxes to the family; and the average yield, comprising the extremes of careless and extravagant, and of the most thrifty wigwams, may be put between twenty-five and one hundred and fifty dollars in trade.

27. The heyday scenes of the *Seensibaukwut*, or sugar-making, crowns the labors of the spring. The pelt of animals is now out of season, winter has ended with all its rigors, and the introduction of warm weather prepares the Indian mind for a season of hilarity and feasting, for which the sale of his "golden mokuks" gives him some means.

It is now that religious observances are in order. The Medawin, the Jesukawin, and the Wabeno societies assemble. Feasts are given as long as their means last. The drum and the rattle are heard to echo through their villages. The streams, now loosened from their icy fetters, pour a deeper murmur; the forests are decked with their leafy clothing, which fit them for concealment, and the Indian mind prepares itself for renewing its darling schemes of war: for, whatever other cares and employments may demand his attention, it is to success in the war-path that the Indian looks for his prime and crowning glories.

F. WAR, AND ITS INCIDENTS.

28. Success in war is to the Indian the acmé of glory, and to learn its arts the object of his highest attainment. The boys and youth acquire the accomplishment at an early period of dancing the war-dance; and although they are not permitted to join its fascinating circle till they assume the envied rank of actual warriors, still their early sports and mimic pastimes are imitations of its various movements and postures. The envied eagle's feather is the prize. For this, the Indian's talent, subtlety, endurance, bravery, persevering fasts, and what may be called religious penances and observances, are made.

The war-path is taken by youths at an early age. That age may be stated, for general comparison, to be sixteen: but without respect to exact time, it is always after the primary fast, during which the youth chooses his personal guardian or monedo,—an age when he first assumes the duties of manhood. It is the period of the assumption of the three-pointed blanket, the true toga of the North American Indian.

Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army. Pl. 8 John C. Mc Ras.

SPEARING FISH FROM A CANOE.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO PHILAD.A

29. The whole force of public opinion, in our Indian communities, is concentrated on this point, its early lodge teachings, (such as the recital of adventures of bravery,) its dances, its religious rites, the harangues of prominent actors, made at public assemblages, (such as is called "striking the post,") all, in fact, that serves to awaken and fire ambition in the mind of the savage, is clustered about the idea of future distinction in war.

30. Civilization has many points of ambitious attainment, — the rewards of letters, triumphs in the forum and the legislative hall, the diplomatic bureau, the honors of the academician, the sculptor's chisel, the painter's brush, the architect's design. The Indian has but one prime honor to grasp; it is triumph in the war-path; it is rushing upon his enemy, tearing the scalp reeking from his head, and then uttering his terrific *sa-sa-kuon*, (death-whoop). For this crowning act (Plate 11) he is permitted to mount the honored feather of the war-eagle, — the king of carnivorous birds. By this mark he is publicly known, and his honors recognized by all his tribe, and by the surrounding tribes whose customs assimilate.

31. When the scalp of an enemy has been won, very great pains are taken to exhibit it. For this purpose, it is stretched on a hoop and mounted on a pole. (Plate 11.) The inner part is painted red, and the hair adjusted to hang in its natural manner. If it be the scalp of a male, eagles' feathers are attached to denote *that* fact. If a female, a comb or scissors is hung on the frame. In this condition, it is placed in the hands of an old woman, who bears it about in the scalp dance, (Plate 12,) while opprobrious epithets are uttered against the tribe from whom it was taken. Amidst these wild rejoicings the war-cry is vociferated, and the general sentiment with old and young is, "Thus shall it be done to our enemies."

32. The feather of the eagle is the highest honor that a warrior can wear, and a very extravagant sum is sometimes given to procure one. The value of a horse has been known to be paid. The mode in which a feather is to be cut and worn is important to be noticed.

33. The scale of honor, with the several tribes, may vary, but the essential features are the same. Among the Dacota tribes, an eagle's feather with a red spot (Plate 13, Fig. 1) denotes that the wearer has killed an enemy, a notch cut in it and edges of the feather (Fig. 2) painted red, indicates that the throat of an enemy has been cut. Small consecutive notches on the front side of the feather, (Fig. 3,) without paint, denote that the wearer is the third person that has touched the dead body. Both edges notched, (Fig. 4,) that he is the fourth person that has touched it; and the feather partly denuded, (Fig. 5,) that he is the fifth person that has touched the slain.

Fig. 6 denotes that the wearer has received scars from the hand of an enemy. The feather clipped off, and the edges painted red, are also indicative of the cutting of an enemy's throat.

On the blanket or buffalo robe worn by the Dacota Indian a red or black hand is often seen painted. The red hand (Fig. 15) indicates that the wearer has been wounded by his enemy; the black hand, (Fig. 16,) that he has slain his enemy. Fig. 8 indicates a male prisoner, and Fig. 10 a female prisoner, both captured by Fig. 9. Fig. 11, a female killed. Fig. 12, a male killed. Fig. 13, a girl killed; and Fig. 14, a boy killed.

Fig. 17 is a representation of the thunder-bird, and is frequently seen worked with porcupine quills, as an ornament, on pipe stems, knife sheaths, belts, and other articles.

Such are the customs of the Dacotas who dwell on the St. Peter's, and about the Falls of St. Anthony. The warlike tribe of Chippewas on the sources of the Mississippi, who, from a national act in their history, bear the distinctive name of Pillagers, award a successful warrior, who shoots down and scalps his enemy, three feathers; and for the still more dangerous act of taking a wounded prisoner on the field, five,—for they conceive that a wounded enemy is desperate, and will generally reserve his fire for a last act of vengeance, if he died the moment after. Those of the war-party who come up immediately and strike the enemy, so as to get marks of blood on their weapons, receive two feathers; for it is customary for as many as can to perform this act. It is considered a proof of bravery, and it enables them, in their future assemblies for the purpose of "*striking the post,*" to allude to it. All who can rise in such assemblies, and declare the performance of such a deed, in the presence of the warriors, are ranked as brave men.

They go one step farther in the formation of military character. Those who have been of the war-party, and merely *see* the fight, although they may have no blood marks of which to boast as honors, and may even have lacked promptness in following the leader closely, are yet allowed to mount *one* feather. These honors are publicly awarded; no one dares to assume them without authority, and there are instances where the feathers falsely assumed have been pulled violently from their heads in a public assemblage of the Indians.

34. They never, however, blame each other for personal acts denoting cowardice or any species of timidity while on the war-path, hoping, by this elevated course, to encourage the young men to do better on another occasion.

35. Their war and civil chiefs use the most careful and studied expressions on the topic at all times,—the principle of warlike deeds being appealed to; and the tone and temper of a band on an exposed frontier position, subject to be constantly attacked, and, in turn, to attack their enemies, is thus brought to a high state of personal daring

Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army

Pl. 9

John C. M.cRae.

INDIAN SUGAR CAMP.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILAD.A

and heroic courage. Such is the present position of the Mukundua or Pillagers just referred to, — a band who form the military advance westward of the great Algonquin family. Before their high state of warlike skill the Sioux tribes have been forced to abandon the western shores of Lake Superior and the sources of the Mississippi, and this tribe ventures with fear even twenty miles north of the Minnesota River.

36. All war-parties consist of volunteers. The leader, or war-captain, who attempts to raise one, must have some reputation to start on. His appeals, at the assemblages for dancing the preliminary war-dance, are to the principles of bravery and nationality. They are brief and to the point. He is careful to be thought to act under the guidance of the Great Spirit, of whose secret will he affects to be apprized in dreams, or by some rites.

37. The principle of enlistment is sufficiently well preserved. For this purpose, the leader who proposes to raise a war-party takes the war-club in his hands, smeared with vermilion, to symbolize blood, and begins his war-song. I have witnessed several such scenes. The songs are brief, wild repetitions of sentiments of heroic deeds, or incitements to patriotic or military ardor. They are accompanied by the drum and rattle, and by the voice of one or more choristers. They are repeated slowly, sententiously, and with a measured cadence, to which the most exact time is kept. The warrior stamps the ground as if he could shake the universe. His language is often highly figurative, and he deals with the machinery of clouds, the flight of carnivorous birds, and the influence of spiritual agencies, as if the region of space were at his command. He imagines his voice to be heard in the clouds; and while he stamps the ground with well-feigned fury, he fancies himself to take hold of the "circle of the sky" with his hands. Every few moments he stops abruptly in his circular path, and utters the piercing war-cry.

38. He must be a cold listener who can sit unmoved by these appeals. The ideas thrown out succeed each other with the impetuosity of a torrent. They are suggestive of heroic frames of mind, of strong will, of high courage, of burning sentiment.

Hear my voice, ye warlike birds!
I prepare a feast for you to batten on;
I see you cross the enemy's lines;
Like you I shall go.
I wish the swiftness of your wings;
I wish the vengeance of your claws;
I muster my friends;
I follow your flight.
Ho, ye young men, that are warriors,
Look with wrath on the battle-field.

Each warrior that rises and joins the war-dance, thereby becomes a volunteer for the trip. He arms and equips himself; he provides his own sustenance; and when he steps out into the ring and dances, he chants his own song, and is greeted with redoubling yells. These ceremonies are tantamount to "enlistment," and no young man who thus comes forward can honorably withdraw.

39. Whoever has heard an Indian war-song, and witnessed an Indian war-dance, must be satisfied that the occasion wakes up all the fire and energy of the Indian's soul. His flashing eye, his muscular energy, as he begins the dance, his violent gesticulation as he raises his war-cry; the whole frame and expression of the man, demonstrate this. And long before it comes to his turn to utter his stave or part of the chant, his mind has been worked up to the most intense point of excitement. His imagination has pictured the enemy, the ambush and the onset, the victory and the bleeding victim, writhing under his prowess. In thought, he has already stamped him underfoot, and torn off his reeking scalp. He has seen the eagles hovering in the air, ready to pounce on the dead carcass as soon as the combatants quit the field.

It would require strong and graphic language to give descriptive utterance, in the shape of a song, to all he has fancied, and sees and feels on the subject. Physical excitement has absorbed his energies. He is in no mood for calm and collected descriptions of battle-scenes. He has no stores of measured rhymes to fall back on. All he can do is to utter brief and often highly symbolic expressions of courage, of defiance, of indomitable rage. His feet stamp the ground as if he would shake it to its centre. The inspiring drum and mystic rattle communicate new energy to every step, while they serve, by the observance of the most exact time, to concentrate his energy. His very looks depict the spirit of rage; and his yells, uttered quick, sharp, and cut off by the application of the hand to the mouth, are startling and horrific.

Under such circumstances, a few short and broken sentences are enough to keep alive the theme in his mind; and he is not, probably, conscious of the fact, that there is not enough said, in the theme of his song, to give much coherence to it. Such a song is, indeed, under the best auspices, a mere wild rhapsody of martial thought, poured out, from time to time, in detached sentences, which are, so to say, cemented into lines by a flexible chorus and known tunes.

The sentiments of the following song were uttered by the celebrated WAUBOJEEG, as the leader of the Chippewas, after a victory over the combined Sioux and Sauks and Foxes, at the falls of St. Croix, during the latter part of the seventeenth century.

I.

Hear my voice, ye heroes!
On that day when our warriors sprang
With shouts on the dastardly foe,

Capt. S. Eastman U. S. Army. PL10 Alfred Jones.

DEATH WHOOP

Just vengeance my heart burned to take
On the cruel and treacherous breed,
The Bwoin[1]—the Fox—the Sauk.

II.

And here, on my breast, have I bled!
See—see! my battle-scars!
Ye mountains, tremble at my yell!
I strike for life.

III.

But who are my foes? They shall die,
They shall fly o'er the plains like a fox;
They shall shake like a leaf in the storm.
Perfidious dogs! they roast our sons with fire!

IV.

Five winters in hunting we'll spend,
While mourning our warriors slain,
Till our youth grown to men
For the battle-path trained,
Our days like our fathers we'll end.

V.

Ye are dead, noble men! ye are gone,
My brother—my fellow—my friend!
On the death-path where brave men must go,
But we live to revenge you! We haste
To die as our forefathers died.

In 1824, Bwoinais, a Chippewa warrior of lake Superior, repeated to me, with the appropriate tunes, the following war-songs, which had been uttered during the existing war between that nation and the Dacotas.

I.

Oshawanung undossewug
Penasewug ka baimwaidungig.
From the south—they come, the warlike birds—
Hark! to their passing screams.

[1] A Sioux.

II.

Todotobi penaise
Ka dow wiawwiaun.
I wish to have the body of the fiercest bird,
As swift—as cruel—as strong.

III.

Ne wawaibena, neowai
Kagait ne minwaindum
Nebunaikumig tshebaibewishenaun.
I cast away my body to the chance of battle.
Full happy am I, to lie on the field—
On the field over the enemy's line.

The following stanzas embrace detached sentiments of other chaunts from several sources.

I.

The eagles scream on high,
They whet their forked beaks;
Raise—raise the battle-cry,
'T is fame our leader seeks.

II.

The battle-birds swoop from the sky,
They thirst for the warrior's heart;
They look from their circles on high,
And scorn every flesh but the brave.

DEATH SONG.

III.

I fall—but my body shall lie
A name for the gallant to tell;
The Gods shall repeat it on high,
And young men grow brave at the sound.

1

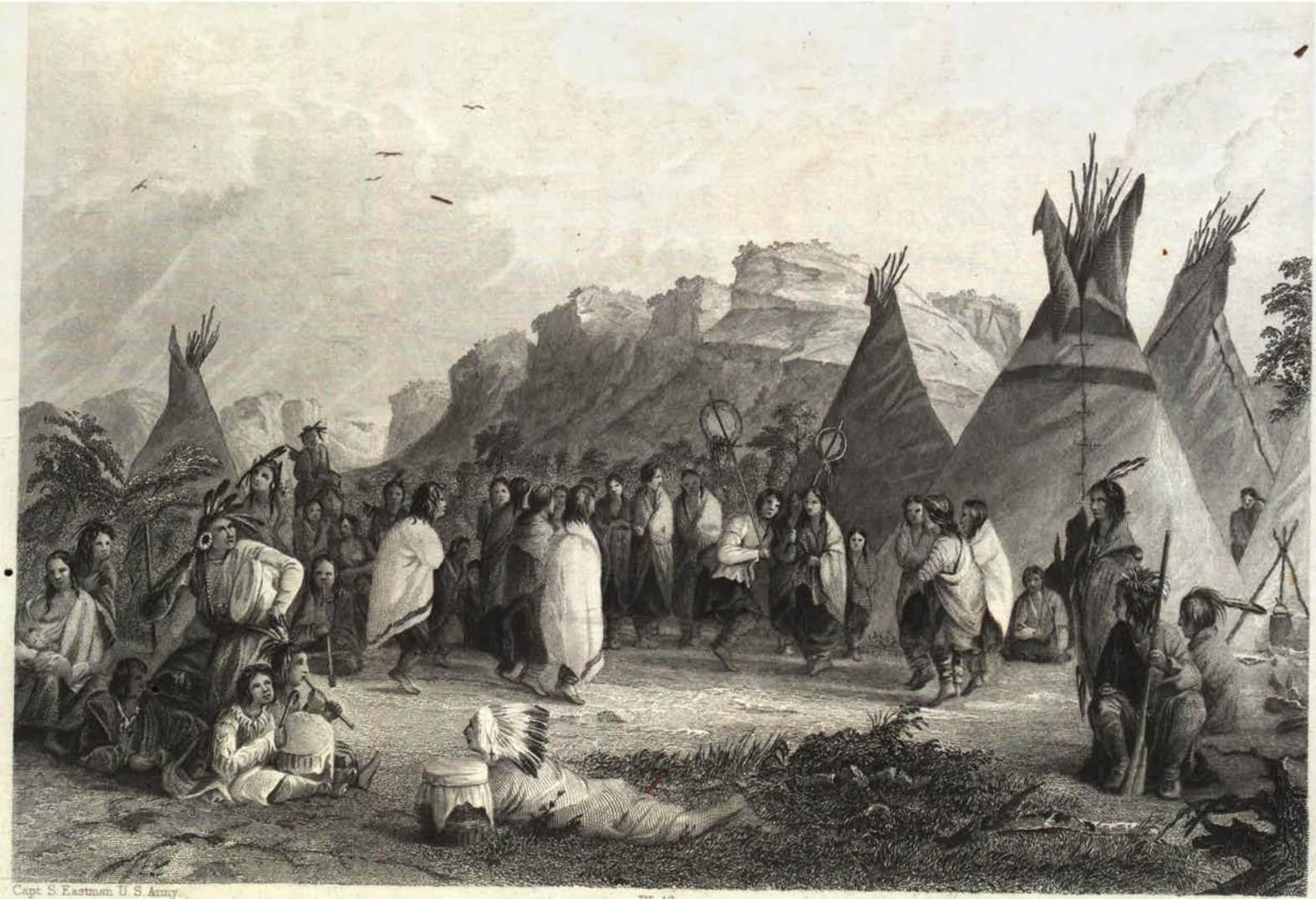
Male

2

Female

Drawn by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army, from the originals

SCALPS dressed for the DANCE



Capt. S. Eastman U. S. Army.

PL 12.

S. Burt.

SCALP DANCE OF THE DACOTAHS

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILAD^A

G. THE WIGWAM AND ITS MATES.

40. It has often been made a question how *order* is obtained in so confined a space as an Indian wigwam, where so many persons seem to the looker-on to be huddled together in confusion. We have had occasion to make particular inquiries into this subject. Domestic order and domestic rights are of such a character, that they would seem, in savage as in civilized life, to demand rules that all should know and respect.

The wife of the hunter has the entire control of the wigwam and all its temporalities. To each person who is a member of the lodge-family is assigned a fixed seat, or habitual abiding-place, which is called Abbinos. To the master and mistress of the lodge belongs the chief location. To each of the adult and grown children is also assigned their particular abbinos. The very infant, or abbinojee, soon learns to know its place, and hastens to the mother's abbinos. Indeed, the term for a child—abbinoje—appears to be derived from this radix: the termination *ojee*, which is affixed to it, is a diminutive word of endearment; as we observe it in their terms for a fly, *ojee; wa-wa'begun-ojee*, &c.

41. If the son is married and brings his bride home, (one of the commonest modes of assembling the lodge-circle,) the mother assigns the bride her *abbinos*. This is prepared by spreading one of the finest skins for her seat, and no one besides her husband ever sits there, A visitor who is a neighbor is welcomed to the highest seat temporarily. Inmates of the lodge have their bed, mokuk, wallet, &c., placed behind their own abbinos, and generally war-clubs and arms, if he be a warrior, are placed within reach. In this manner the personal rights of each individual are guarded. The female is punctilious as to her own, so that perfect order is maintained; and it would be as much a violation of their etiquette for an inmate to take possession of another's abbinos at night, as, in civilized life, to intrude into a private bed-chamber. By these known rules of the wigwam an Indian's notions of propriety are quite satisfied; while, to the European stranger, who casually lifts up the lodge door (a bit of cloth or skin) and peeps in, its interior appears to be appropriated with as indiscriminate a "communism" as if it were occupied by so many pigs, sheep, or bears.

42. The division of labour between the man and wife in Indian life is not so unequal while they live in the pure hunter state as many suppose. The large part of a hunter's time which is spent in seeking game leaves the wife in the wigwam, with a great deal of time on her hands. For it must be remembered that there is no spinning, weaving, or preparing children for school; no butter or cheese making, or a thousand other cares which are inseparable from the agricultural state, to occupy her skill and industry. Even the art of the seamstress is only practised by the Indian woman on

a few things. She devotes much of her time to making moccasins and quill-work. Her husband's leggins are carefully ornamented with beads. His shot-pouch and knife-sheath are worked with quills. The hunting-cap is garnished with ribbons. His garters of cloth are adorned with a profusion of small, white beads, and colored worsted tassels are prepared for his leggins.

In the spring the corn-field is planted by her and the youngsters in a vein of gaiety and frolic. It is done in a few hours, and taken care of in the same spirit. It is perfectly voluntary labor, and she would not be scolded for omitting it; for all labor with Indians is voluntary.

The dressing and preparation of skins for certain parts of clothing is carried on at seasons of convenience. It is done by removing the hair and fleshy integuments with implements of stone or iron. (Plate 76, Figs. 6, 7, and 8.) The skin is fastened for this purpose to two stakes, as shown in the drawing, (Plate 14,) where it undergoes a species of currying. The present state of the Indian trade renders it more thrifty for the hunter to purchase his coat, shirt, aziaun,[1] and leggins of cloth, and employ his time in hunting the small furred animals to pay for them; making a change in the condition of the Indian female which relieves her, in a great measure, from the dressing of skins; which was formerly quite a labor.

43. The character of the man in domestic life has some redeeming traits. His experience of hardship and suffering appears to have made him forbearing. He is not easily vexed, but almost habitually passive. He does not scold old or young. The spirit of endurance, self-respect, and a species of forest stoicism, have given him a philosophy far above it. When he returns from the chase with a load of meats and throws it down at the door of the wigwam, not a word is said to the wife; or if but a tongue of the animal killed be brought to testify to his success, he is nearly as taciturn. She comprehends at once her part of the duty in both cases; and whatever that duty is, he never states or alludes to it. He is not a fault-finder at his meals, but eats whatever is placed before him.

Roasting and boiling are simple operations with the Indian. There is no condiment to be used; no salt, no pepper. Soups are their great resource; particularly in seasons of want, or where the food would not admit of division by any other method. A squirrel, or a small bird, will answer to season or qualify a gallon of soup. And when there are many stomachs to satisfy, there would not appear to be any other method so well suited to answer the purpose of division. In times of great straits a few old bones will serve to flavor the liquor, and the ingenuity of the wife is constantly on the stretch to provide a meal. When there is absolutely nothing, and the severities of the season have, for a time, cut off every resource, there is a dignified endurance in the Indian's mind that rises above complaint. There is no one to blame, in his belief,

[1] Breech-cloth.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

8
9
10
11
12
13
14

15
16
17

unless it be the Great Spirit; and he is far from imputing blame to Him. He has exerted his art, but without success. The next day may bring him relief, and he consoles himself in this hope. The children are sometimes put to sleep by telling them tales to stop their crying for hunger. If there be but a morsel in the wigwam, it is given to them; and the father of the lodge shows the strength of his affection and the quality of his endurance by rigid abstinence from food, and by uncomplaining silence. He indulges himself in the use of the pipe and native weed, or kinnikinic, which is attended with some sort of stimulus to the nerves that keeps them in a state of equilibrium. Such is the North American Indian, whom I have observed in the forest countries of the great lakes and great valleys of the Upper Mississippi.

H. BIRTH AND ITS INCIDENTS.

44. Parturition, with the Indian female, is seldom attended with severe or long-continued suffering; it is generally very much the contrary, and leads to but a slight interruption to her ordinary pursuits. To linger back a few hours on a journey in the forest, is often the whole time required by the confinement; and there appears in most cases to be but little, if any premonition. A wife has been known to sally into the adjoining forest in quest of dry limbs for fire-wood, and to return to the wigwam with her new-born child, placed carefully on the back-load. (See Plate 26.) The wife of Saganosh was passing with her husband and family in a canoe, along the precipitous sand-cliffs of Lake Superior, which are called *Grandes Sables*. There is, in general, but a strip of beach between the precipices and the water, and the scene is nearly as denuded of trees or bushes as the deserts of Arabia. But she landed in haste, and descried a few bushes in a depressed spot, which sufficed for her accouchement chamber, and in a few hours was in her canoe again with the new-born babe.

Their exemption from the usual sufferings of child-birth may be said to be the general condition of the hunter state, and one of the few advantages of it which the female enjoys above her civilized sister. But it will be seen to be the simple result in obstetrics of the continued exercise in the open air of the Indian woman, and her consequent hardihood.

45. Names are generally bestowed by the *mindemoia*, or *nocomiss*, of the family; that is, by the matron, or the aged grandmother, who generally connects the event with some dream. If the child be a male, the name is generally taken from some object or phenomenon in the visible heavens. The returning cloud, (*kewanoquot*,) the sun in contact with a cloud, (*ka-tche-tosh*,) the bright cloud, (*na-geezhig*,) the little thunderer, (*an-ne-ma-kens*,) a bird in continued flight in the higher air, (*ka-ga-osh*,) are common names. If it be a female, the imagery is generally drawn from the surface

of the earth, the vegetable kingdom, or the waters. The woman of the passing stream, the woman of the green valley, the woman of the rock, are not uncommon names. The flexible character of the language renders these compound terms practicable. In this respect, the syntax of the language bears a strong resemblance to that of the Hebrew — that is, in making fragments of words stand for whole words in these amalgamated derivations. But the Indian languages are without that frequent fragment in the Hebrew of el, which conveys the whole meaning of Alohim, Emanuel, or some other descriptive term for the deity. The Indian deity does not at all appear to enter into such compound names. Instead of this, the distinctive fragmentary elements are taken from the radices for sun, sky, air, wind, sound, &c. There is no rite of any kind analogous to baptism, nor a thought of it; but the name thus given is considered secret — it is indeed deemed sacred, for it is not generally revealed, and it is one of the hardest things to induce an Indian to tell his real name. Instead of this, and in order, it would seem, the better to conceal it, men are called by some common nick-name, as little fox, wolf, red-head, bad boy, bird, and such like soubriquets, which are generally given by the mothers to infants, as terms of endearment.[1] It is these secondary names, which continue to be borne in adult life, that we constantly hear, and the real name is studiously concealed, and frequently not even revealed by the *Ajedatic*, or grave-post; for upon this, the totem of the family is deemed to be sufficient. The true cause of the concealment of names must be ascribed to their religious and superstitious dogmas, which will be hereafter described.

46. Children are, immediately after their birth, tied with feminine care on a flat piece of carved wood, or structure, called *Tikkinagon*, which has a small hoop to protect the head, and a little foot-piece to rest on. (Fig. 1, Plate 15.) Moss is placed between the heels of female infants, which makes them in-toed; in males, the adjustment of the moss is designed to produce a perfectly straight position of the foot. The "one-point" blanket of trade wraps it, and a bandage of cloth, if the mother be able to get it, is bound around the whole person, giving it some resemblance to a small mummy.

It is the pride of the mother to garnish this cradle band with ribbons and beads. From the hoop some little jingling ornament is generally suspended to attract the child's notice. (Fig. 2, Plate 15.) An apekun or carrying-strap is securely fastened near the head of the infant, by which the mother can swing it to her back and carry it without injury throughout the forest (Plate 15.) Indeed, she can hang it up by the

[1] The perfect identity of opinion entertained on this subject by the Indians of the present day (1851) with those held by the Virginia Indians in 1584, is shown in the double name of Pocahontas. "Her true name," says Purchas, "was Matokes, which they concealed from the English, in a superstitious fear of hurt by the English, if her name was known." — PILGRIMS, Part V., Book 8, Chap. 5.

Capt S. Eastman. U.S. Army. Del. Pl.14 C.E. Wagstaff & J. Andrews. Engs

Indian Woman dressing a Buffalo skin.

strap on the limb of a tree, or in the lodge, and the fixtures are so ingeniously contrived that, even if it falls down, the child cannot be hurt. Meantime, the little abinojeé itself seems perfectly contented, and rarely if ever cries; and in this confinement it learns its first lesson in endurance.

I. DEATH AND ITS INCIDENTS.

47. THE character of the devices which are placed on the grave-post of the Indian has been described under the head of PICTOGRAPHY, Part I., p. 354. Such devices are appropriate for adults who have trod the war-path, and made themselves conspicuous for bravery or heroism.

Children and youth generally pass away from the scenes of Indian life without any such memorials; but their loss is often bewailed by mothers with inconsolable grief and bitterness. It is the intensity of this grief which lies at the foundation of the practice of adopting white children stolen from the settlements on the frontiers. Such cases are generally, if not in every instance, traceable to a request of the Indian mother to replace the child of which she has been bereaved by death. A grief that is indulged under the hopeless darkness of the aboriginal mind may be supposed to have no more natural or reasonable mode of assuagement. But this grief, when the object is a son, is often deeply partaken of by the father, especially if the lad be grown, and has developed forensic talents to succeed him in the chieftainship of the band. We have mentioned the noble sacrifice of Bianswah under these circumstances.

48. The son of Gel Plat, a noted chief of the Pillagers at Leech Lake, on the sources of the Mississippi, was killed on the enemy's border, west of that point, while he was bathing in a lake with a companion. The father, who was about sixty, and contemplated leaving this son as his successor in that large and warlike band, laid the loss deeply to heart, and dwelt upon the hardness of his fate many years. He then turned his hopes on a younger son whom he desired to instal in his place with this band; and in order to let them know his wishes on the subject, he sent out formally an invitation to all the band to attend a feast. He prepared for this, by employing hunters who brought him the carcasses of many animals; and he staked his utmost means with the traders to purchase such articles of food as the forests in that quarter did not furnish. There were eighteen kettles of eatables prepared. He then brought out his young son, dressed in the best manner, with fine clothes, and bearing five silver medals hung with ribbons around his neck, being all his regalia. He then arose and uttered his lost son's eulogy, speaking, in glowing terms, of his capacities for the hunter life and the war-path, and ended by presenting to their notice the tiny candidate for their future chief.

49. Black is the universal sign for mourning; it is the symbol for death, and is taken from night. In their pictography, the image of the sun is represented to stand for, or symbolize night, for which purpose it is crossed and blackened.

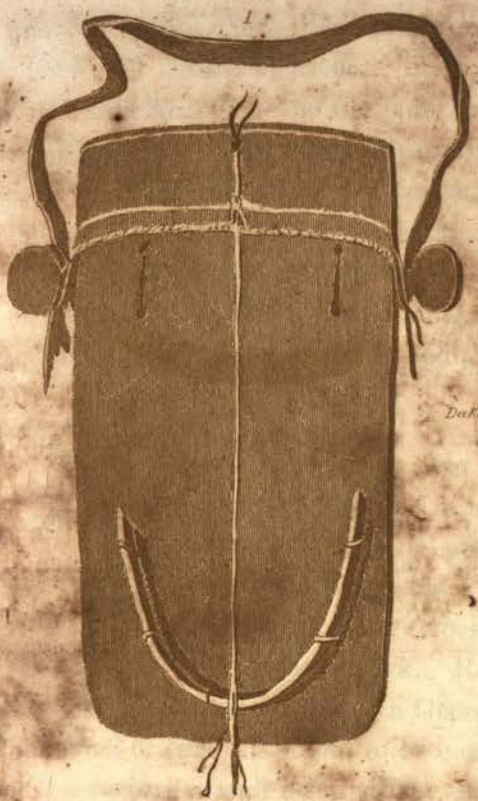
The face of the mourner is smeared with some simple black mixture that will not readily rub off. On occasions of deep affliction, the arms and legs are cut or scarified, an oriental custom with many nations. The corpse is dressed in its best clothes. It is wrapped in a new blanket, and new moccasins and leggins put on. The crown-band, head-dress or frontlet, and feathers, are also put on. His war-club, gun, and pipe, are placed beside him, together with a small quantity of vermilion. The corpse is laid in public, where all can gather around it, when an address is made, partly to the spectators, describing the character of the deceased, and partly to the deceased himself, speaking to him as if the *Ochichag* or soul was still present, and giving directions as to the path he is supposed to be about to tread in a future state.

If it is a female that is about to be interred, she is provided with a paddle, a kettle, an *apekun* or carrying strap for the head, and other feminine implements. The Pawnees, and other prairie tribes, kill the warrior's horse upon his grave, that he may be ready to mount in a future state, and proceed to the appointed scene of rest. The mode of burial is represented in Plate 16.

50. The idea of immortality is strongly dwelt upon. It is not spoken of as a supposition or a mere belief, not fixed. It is regarded as an actuality, — as something known and approved by the judgment of the nation. During the whole period of my residence and travels in the Indian country, I never knew and never heard of an Indian who did not believe in it, and in the reappearance of the body in a future state. However mistaken they are on the subject of accountabilities for acts done in the present life, no small part of their entire mythology, and the belief that sustains the man in his vicissitudes and wanderings here, arises from the anticipation of ease and enjoyment in a future condition, after the soul has left the body. The resignation, nay, the alacrity, with which an Indian frequently lies down and surrenders life, is to be ascribed to this prevalent belief. He does not fear to go to a land which, all his life long, he has heard abounds in rewards without punishments.

51. I was present with an interpreter in upper Michigan in 1822, when the interment of a warrior and hunter took place, at which the corpse was carefully dressed, as above described, and after it was brought to the grave, and before the lid was nailed to the coffin, an address was made by an Indian to the corpse. The substance of it relating to this belief was this: — "You are about to go to that land where our forefathers have gone — you have finished your journey here, before us. We shall follow you, and rejoin the happy groups which you will meet."

52. When the speaking and ceremonies were concluded, the coffin was lowered into the trench prepared to receive it, and thus "buried out of sight." This mode of inter-



1

Dakota

2

3

Mexican Indian

4

Drawn by Capt. S. Eastman U.S. Army from the original

ment is common to the forest tribes of the north, and appears to have been practised by them from the earliest periods. They choose dry and elevated places for burial, which are completely out of the reach of floods or standing water. Often these spots selected for the burial of the dead are sightly and picturesque points, which command extensive views. They bury east and west. They are without proper tools, and do not dig deep, but generally make the place of interment secure from the depredations of wild beasts, by arranging the trunks of small trees in the form of a parallelogram notched at the angles, around it, or by stakes driven in the ground. In other instances a bark roof is constructed, which will shed the rains. Such is the mode of the various Algonquin and Appalachian tribes.

53. The raising of "heaps" of earth over the grave, in the form of small mounds or barrows, appears to have been a practice in ancient periods as a mark of distinction for eminent persons. But whatever was its prevalence at other epochs, while they were in the west and south-west, and before they crossed the Alleghanies, it fell into almost entire disuse in the Atlantic and Lake tribes. There are some traces of it in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Western New York. Rarely the resting-places of Indian heroes were marked by heaps of stones. In Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, this species of tumuli, formed of earth, is found to be common; and the tradition of the Muscogees respecting the custom is well preserved.[1] But by far the most striking theatre of this rude mode of sepulture is the Mississippi Valley, whose plains and alluvions have been literally sown with the dead. Vide TUMULI PROPER, or SEPULCHRAL MOUNDS. Part I., p. 49.

54. The tribes of the Mississippi Valley, where the population was more dense, and the means of subsistence more abundant, were not satisfied that their great warriors and orators should be so quickly "buried out of sight." And the small sepulchral mound, as well as the more lofty village or public tumulus, were, at the epoch of the maximum of their power, frequently erected. They also, by dwelling in large communities, had occasion for the *altar* mound, and the *redoubt* mound, the latter of which was used exclusively to defend the entrance or gates, through walls and picketings, which enclosed an entire village. We have called attention to this point in Part I., p. 49, and endeavored to show that there is no mystery in the origin and present appearance of these ruins or remains; that the various species of mounds and defences were perfectly adapted to the former condition and populousness of the tribes; that their pipe sculpture, and other evidences of art, are not typical of a higher degree of civilization, or social condition, and that their manifestations of incipient skill, power, and civilization, resulted from the flush of barbaric success and ample compensative means, which marked the ancient Indian confederacies of this valley, before later and fiercer hunter hordes drove them from their seats, and scattered them. We have also

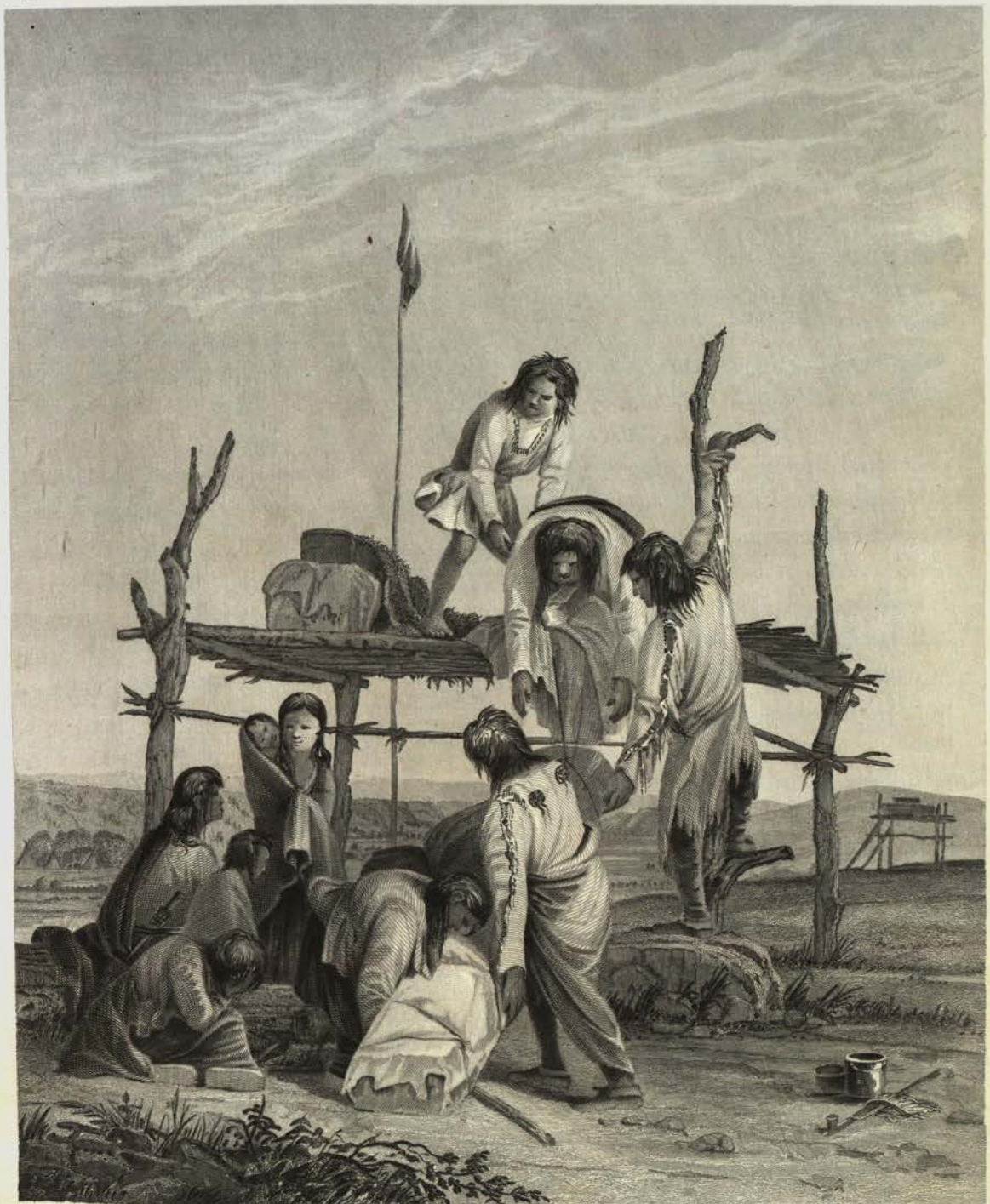
[1] History of Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi, by Albert James Pickett, 1851. Vol. I., p. 164.

withdrawn from this consideration those apparently intrusive evidences of "old world art," which are anomalous, and can by no means be deemed as elements of ancient Indian civilization. We should not consider it extraordinary that the ancient tribes who dwelt on the fertile bottom-lands of the Mississippi and the Ohio, should have erected the rude defences, mounds and tumuli, which are now found to be overgrown by the forest in various places. Thousands of persons of these tribes, who raised the zea maize, and hunted the deer, elk, and buffalo, to fill the wigwams with signs of gladness, could live and flourish at a single village or location; and when their chief died, two or three hundred hands could be employed to carry sacks of earth for a sepulchral "heap" or mound. It was not so among the northern bands, who shivered in cold and storms half the year, and could rarely sustain themselves if numbering more than twenty heads of families at a place.

55. Burial among the wild hordes of the prairies assumes a feature that marks it as a peculiar habit of the tribes. They scaffold their dead on eminences where they may be descried afar off. The corpse, after it has received its wrappings, is placed in a rude coffin, which is generally garnished with red pigments, and rendered picturesque to the eye by offerings to the dead, hung on poles; and, if it can be got, a flag. (Plate 59.) Burials, or deposits of the body in caves, were often resorted to.

56. No trait has commended the forest tribes of the old area of the United States more to the respect and admiration of beholders than the scrupulous regard with which they are found to remember the burial-grounds of their ancestors; the veneration and piety they exhibit in visiting, at all periods, these spots; and the anguish of their minds at any marks of disrespect and disturbance of the bones of their ancestors. Gifts are made at graves so long as it is supposed there is any part of the perishable matter remaining; and oblations are poured out to the spirits of the departed after other rites are discontinued.

57. These sepulchral and the defensive ruins of more populous and advanced tribes are found alone in the forest country. The prairie tribes, west of the Mississippi river, erected no tumuli or works of defence. They never remained in one location long enough to surround themselves with the feelings and circumstances of a home; and when the Spaniards introduced the horse, an element was prepared which operated as fuel to their erratic habits, and confirmed them in their Indo-Arabic traits of roving. The forays by which this animal was first obtained of the Mexican Indians by the prairie tribes, constitute a new feature in their history. A coterminous country extends from the plains of Texas and New Mexico, east of the foot of the Rocky mountains, till the prairie country embraces both banks of the Missouri, and reaches to the plains of Red river, and the Saskatchawine, west of the sources of the Mississippi river. No tumuli occur in this region; no remains of ancient ditches, or attempts at rude castrametation. The latter are, in all the region of North America, north of the Gulf of



Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army PL. 16. C.K. Burt

INDIAN BURIAL

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILADA

Mexico, the disclosures of forests and valleys; and it is hence that it becomes manifest that forests and valleys are most conducive to arts, agriculture, and civilization.

58. The prairie, by its extent and desolateness, appears to exert a deleterious influence on the savage mind. Some of the grosser and more revolting customs of the prairie Indians respecting interments, are no doubt traceable to their wild and lawless habits. Nothing that I have observed respecting burials among them reaches so absolutely a revolting point, as a custom which has been noticed among certain of the Oregon tribes, and which is perhaps not general. An eye-witness, writing from the mouth of the Columbia, describes it as follows:—"I have just returned from a visit to the Chinook Indian country, where I witnessed a most revolting ceremony, that of burying the living with the dead. One of the chiefs lost a daughter, a fine-looking woman, about twenty years of age. She was wrapped up in a rush mat, together with all her trinkets, and placed in a canoe. The father had an Indian slave bound hand and foot, and fastened to the body of the deceased, and enclosed the two in another mat, leaving out the head of the living one. The Indians then took the canoe, (which was employed in lieu of a coffin,) and carried it to a high rock and left it there. Their custom is to let the slave live for three days; then another slave is compelled to strangle the victim by a cord drawn around the neck. They also kill the horse that may have been a favorite of the deceased, and bury it at the head of the canoe. I was desirous of interfering and saving the life of the poor victim; but Mr. Hirris, the gentleman with me, and the two Indians, our companions, assured me that I should only get myself into serious trouble; and as we were at a great distance from the settlements, and our party so small, self-preservation dictated a different course from the inclinations of our hearts."

K. GAMES OF CHANCE.

59. One of the principal amusements of a sedentary character, which our tribes practise, is that of various games, success in which depends on the luck of numbers. These games, to which both the prairie and forest tribes are addicted, assume the fascination and intensity of interest of gambling; and the most valued articles are often staked on the luck of a throw. For this purpose, the prairie tribes commonly use the stone of the wild plum, or some analogous fruit, upon which various devices indicating their arithmetical value, are burned in, or engraved and colored, so as at a glance to reveal the character of the pieces. Among the Dacota tribes, this is known by a term which is translated "the game of the plum-stones." [Kun-tah-soo.]

In order to show the scope of this game, five sets of stones are represented, in Plate 17, under the letters A, B, C, D, E, F. Each set consists exactly of eight pieces.

In set A, numbers 1 and 2 represent sparrow-hawks with forked tails, or the forked-tail eagle—falco furcatus. This is the so-called war-eagle. Numbers 3 and 4 are the turtle; which typifies, generally, the earth. If 1 and 2 fall upwards, the game is won. If but one of these figures falls upwards, and, at the same time, 3 and 4 are up, the game is also won. The other numbers, 5, 6, 7, and 8, are all blanks.

B denotes the reversed sides of A, which are all blanks.

Set C shows different characters with a single chief figure, (5,) which represents the falco furcatus. This throw indicates half a game, and entitles the thrower to repeat it. If the same figure (5) turns up, the game is won. If no success attends it by turning up the chief figure, the throw passes to other hands.

D is the reverse of set C, and is a blank throw.

In set E, No. 5 represents a muskrat. The three dots (7) indicate two-thirds of a throw, and the thrower can throw again; but if he gets blanks the second time, the dish passes on to the next thrower.

Set F is invested with different powers. No. 1 represents a buffalo, and 2 and 3 denote chicken-hawks, fluttering horizontally in the air. The chief pieces (1, 2, 3) have the same powers and modifications of value as A.

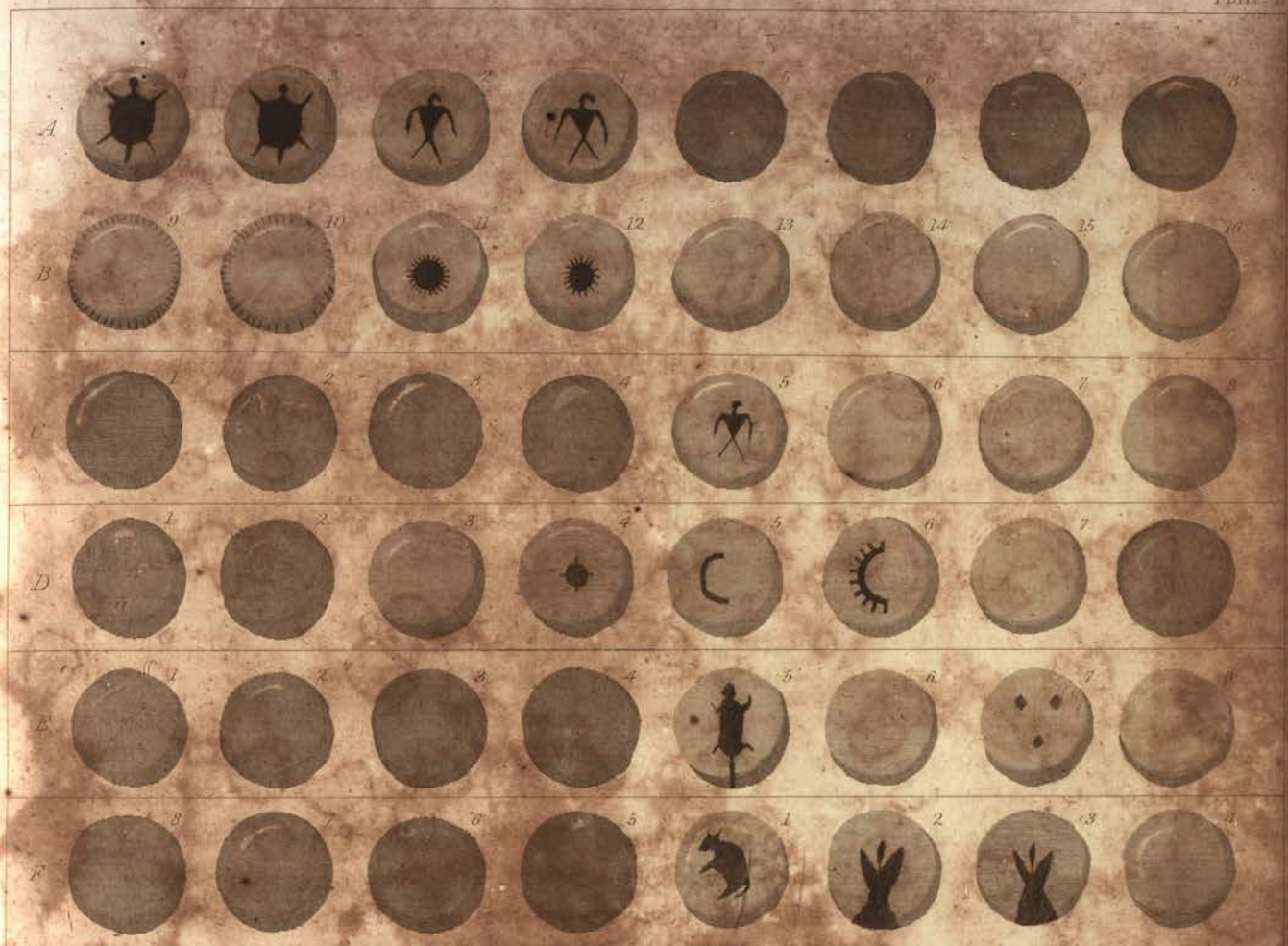
To play this game, a little orifice is made in the ground and a skin put in it. Often it is also played on a robe.

The women and young men play this game. The bowl is lifted with one hand about three or four inches, and pushed suddenly down to its place. The plum-stones fly over several times. The stake is first put up by all who wish to play. A dozen can play at once, if it be desirable. Plate 18 exhibits a view of this fascinating game.

60. A more complicated mode of reliance on the luck of numbers is found in the Chippewa game of the Bowl, called *Puggesaing*. It is played with thirteen pieces; nine of which are formed of bone, and four of brass, all of circular shape. (Plate 17, compartment G.) The right side of the eight pieces of bone are stained red, with edges and dots burned black with a hot iron; the reverse is left white. The brass pieces have the right side convex and the reverse concave. The convex surface is bright, the concave dark, or dull.

The first piece, (fig. 1,) called *ininees*, or *ogima*, represents a ruler. Number 2 typifies an amphibious monster, and is called *gitchy kinábik*, or the great serpent. Number 3 represents the war-club. Number 4 is a fish (*kenòzha.*) Number 5 are small discs of brass, and number 6 a duck (*sheesheeb.*)

The game is won by the red pieces; the arithmetical value of each of which is fixed; and the count, as in all games of chance, is advanced or retarded by the luck of the throw. Any number of players may play. Nothing is required but a wooden bowl, which is curiously carved and ornamented, (the owner relying somewhat on magic influence,) and having a plain, smooth surface.



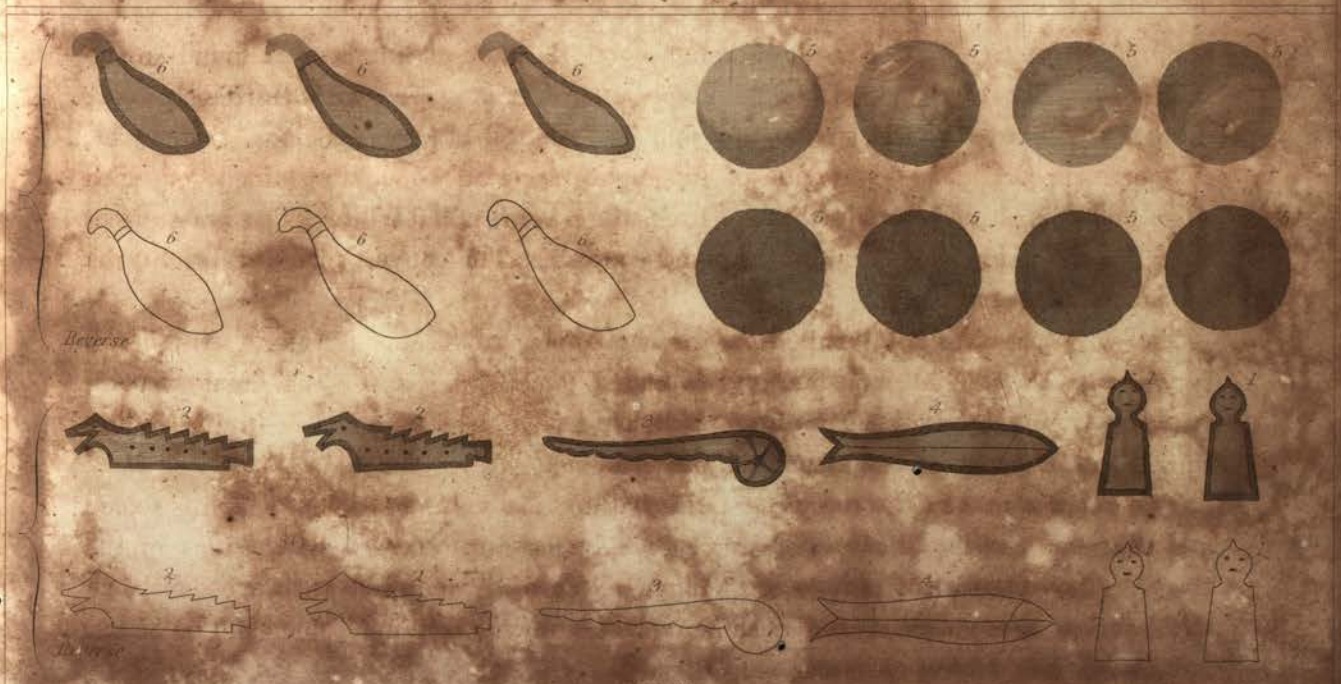


Plate from the original by Lieut. S. Eastman, U.S. Army

Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army, Del. Pl 18. C.E. Wagstaff & J. Andrews, Engs.

Indian Women playing the Game of Plum Stones.

1st lucky throw. When all the pieces turn up red, and number 1 stands upright on one of the brass disc's bright side, the count is 158. This is the highest possible throw.

2d lucky throw. When the bone pieces turn up red, and the gitchy kinábik, number 2, stands on one of the brass disc's bright side, the count is 138.

3d lucky throw. When all the bone pieces turn up red and lie smooth, the count is 58, whether the brass discs lie bright or dull side up.

4th lucky throw. When number 1, both pieces, and number 2, both pieces, and numbers 3, 4, and 5, turn up white, the count is also 58, without respect to the brass pieces.

5th lucky throw. Where all the bone pieces turn up white, it counts 38, irrespective of the position of the brass pieces.

6th lucky throw. When the ogimas (1) and Gitchy kinabik (2) turn up red, and 3, 4, and 6, white, the count is also 38, irrespective of the metallic pieces.

7th lucky throw. When one of the pieces, No. 1, stands up, the count is 50, without regard to the position of the pieces on the board.

8th lucky throw. When either of No. 2 stands upright, and the other pieces lay flat, no matter which side up, the count is 40.

9th lucky throw. When all the bone pieces turn up white but a single one, and the brass discs turn up on the reverse, the count is 20.

10th lucky throw. When all the bone pieces come up red but one, and the brass pawns are bright side up, the count is 15.

11th lucky throw. When all the men turn up white but one, and the pieces numbered 5 are bright, the count is 10.

At this stage of the game, the throws sink below the decimal point.

12th throw. If the brass pawns turn up reversed, and No. 1 and two pieces of No. 2 red, the count is 8.

13th throw. The same condition of the pieces exactly, but the brass discs bright instead of dark, the count sinks to 6.

14th throw. When all the bone pieces turn up red but one, and the brass come up dark, the count is 5.

15th throw. When one of the pieces No. 2 and one of No. 1 are turned up red, and the brass discs show the convex side, the count is but 4.

16th throw. When all the pieces, Gitchy kinabiks, sheesheebs, &c., but one of the Ogimaus, turn up red, and the brass discs dark, the count sinks to 2. All throws below this are blanks.

In this game, hours are passed by the players with the utmost fixity and intensity of interest. If the game be but fixed at 300, (and this is a point of mutual agreement,) it will be perceived that the strife to reach it may not only be very prolonged, but become most intense and exciting. The stakes are always put up, and the winner

carries away his prizes. It is often so fascinating that a player will stake any thing of value; and the spirit of gambling becomes as demoralizing in savage as it is in civilized life.

L. THE INDIAN ON HIS HUNTING GROUNDS.

61. THE social state of the Indians, when viewed by the eye of unprejudiced candor and benevolence, is far from being as revolting as it has sometimes been represented. In situations where they have good means of hunting, trapping, and fishing, and where the pressure of the expanding settlements and frontier views of antagonistical race do not strongly and immediately press on them, their simple institutions of the forests insure them means of social enjoyment on which, in their condition of hunters, they set a high value.

When the season of hunting returns, and they have reached their wintering grounds and placed a wide margin between the frontier towns and themselves, the tense cautious reserve and suspicion of harm which marked the man while in the settlements, trafficking off his furs, and gliding with easy steps through the, to him, mazes of strange civilized society, is relaxed. He softens into something like assurance to find himself again surrounded exclusively by his own people; and he sinks back to the natural state of the Indian sociability, and it is not often that the most prudent and reflecting elders do so without recounting the scaiths and losses that they have encountered on the frontiers. The conflicts of the savage and civilized state are, indeed, in a moral sense, terrible. He has parted with the avails of his last year's hunts, and received his exchanges on such terms as he had not the means of prescribing, and he generally feels under obligations to those who have transacted his commercial matters, and who are his most sympathizing white friends; but he feels, under the best state of things, as if he had been plundered. If his family and himself have completely escaped the perils of debauchery and other frontier vices, he is happy: it is more than he can generally expect; and his best resolve for the future seems to be, that another season he will stay a shorter time about the towns, and try to come back with less cause of reproach to himself.

62. The circle of wild foresters, to which he has again returned, look up to him with the utmost respect and trust. They hang upon his words as the maxims of wisdom. He counsels and he feasts them, and is regarded as their oracle and guide.

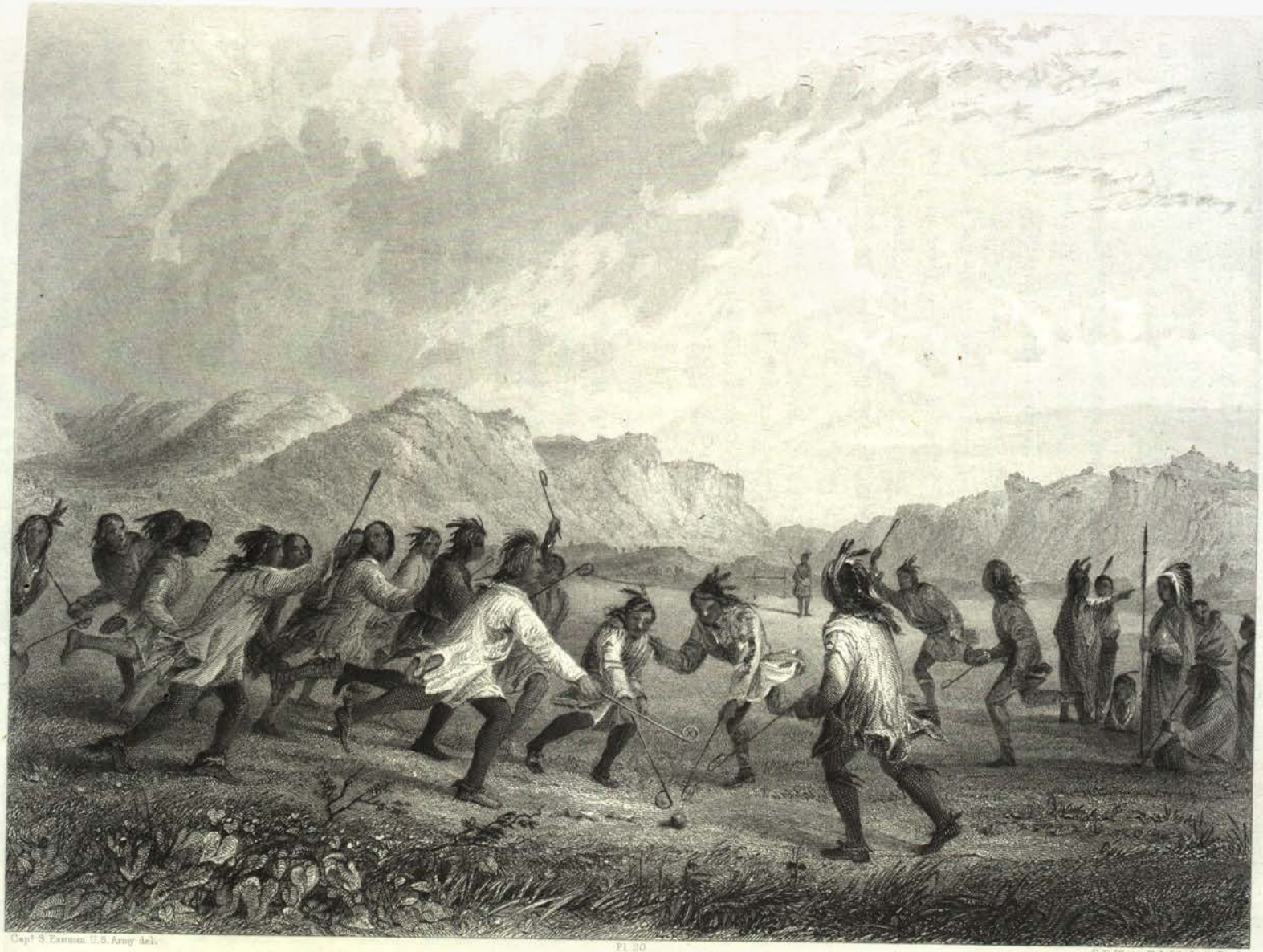
In this periodical reunion of aboriginal society the most perfect sincerity and cheerfulness prevail, and their intercourse is marked with the broadest principles of charity and neighborly feeling. The restrained and ever-watchful suspicion which

Capt. S. Eastman. U. S. Army. Del.

Pl. 19.

C. E. Wagstaff & J. Andrews. Engs.

BALL PLAY ON THE ICE.



Capt S. Eastman U.S. Army del.

Pl. 20

C.F. Wagstaff & J. Andrews Engr

BALL PLAY ON THE PRAIRIE.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILADA

they evince at the post on the lines, or in other situations exposed to the scrutiny and cupidity of white men, is thrown aside, and gives way to ease, sociability, and pleasantry. They feel a security unknown to their breast in any other situation. The strife seems to be, who shall excel in offices of friendship or charity, or in spreading the festive board.

63. If one is more fortunate than the other in taking fish with the net or spear, or killing a deer, or any other animal, the spoil is set aside for a feast, to which all the adults, without distinction, are invited. When the time arrives, each one, according to ancient custom, takes his dish and spoon, and proceeds to the entertainer's lodge. The victuals are served up with scrupulous attention that each receives a portion of the best parts, according to his standing and rank in the village.

While at the meal, which is prolonged by cheerful conversation, anecdotes, and little narratives of personal adventure, the females are generally among the listeners; and no female, except the aged, ever obtrudes a remark. The young women and girls show that they partake in the festivity by smiles; and are scrupulous to evince their attention to the elder part of the company. Conversation is chiefly engrossed by the old men, chiefs, and middle-aged men. Young men who are desirous to acquire a standing seldom offer a remark; and when they do, it is with modesty.

64. The topics discussed at these public meals relate, generally, to the chase, to the news they have heard, to personal occurrences about the camp or village, or to deeds, real or fabulous, of "auld lang syne." But these matters are discussed in a lively, and not in grave style. Business—if we may be allowed that term for what concerns their trade and intercourse with white men—is never introduced, except in formal councils, specially convened and opened by smoking the pipe. It seems to be the drift and object of conversation in these *sober* festivities (for it must be recollected that we are speaking of the Indians on their wintering-grounds, and beyond the reach—certainly beyond the free or ordinary use of whiskey) to extract from their hunts and adventures whatever will admit of a pleasing turn or joke, or excite a laugh. Ridiculous misadventures or comical situations are sure to be applauded in the recital. Whatever is anti-social or untoward is passed over; or, if referred to by one of the company, is parried off by some allusion to the scenes before them. Religion, (we use the term for what concerns the Great Spirit and the *medäwin*,) like business, is reserved for its proper occasion. It does not, as with us, form a free topic of remark, at least, among those who are connected with their medicine societies, or entertain a proper veneration for what the Indians call "the master of life."

Thus they cheat away the hours in pleasantry,—in free, but not tumultuous mirth; and are as ardently bent on the enjoyment of the present moment, as if the Royal Preacher of old were present, to urge a proper use of God's gifts, and to exclaim, "Eat, drink, and be merry."

65. When the feast is over, the women retire to their lodges and leave the men to smoke. On reaching home, they commence a conversation on what they have heard the men advance, and thus amuse themselves till their husbands return. The end of all is generally some good advice to the children.

In the feasts we have described, the company is as general, with regard to the rank, age, or standing of the guests, as the most unlimited equality of rights and the broadest principles of good feeling can make it.

66. There is a feast instituted at certain times during the season, to which young persons only are invited, except the entertainer's wife, and generally two other aged persons, who preside at the feast and administer its rites. The object of this juvenile feast seems to be instruction, to which the young and thoughtless are induced to listen for the anticipated pleasure of the feast. When the meats are ready, the entertainer, if he be fluent in speech, and if not, some person whom he has invited for that purpose, gets up and addresses the youth of both sexes on the subject of their course through life. He admonishes them to be attentive and respectful to the aged, and adhere to their counsel; to obey their parents; never to scoff at the decrepid or deformed; to be modest in their conduct; to be charitable and hospitable; and to fear and love the Great Spirit, who is the giver of life and of every good gift. The precepts are dwelt upon at great length, and generally enforced by examples of a good man and woman and a bad man and woman, and after depicting the latter, it is customary, by way of admonition, to say, "You will be like one of these." At the end of every sentence, the listeners make a general response of *haa*. When the advice is finished, an address to the Great Spirit is made, in which He is thanked for the food before them, and for the continuance of life. The speaker then says, turning to the guests, "Thus the Great Spirit supplies us with food; let your course through life be always right, and you will ever be thus bountifully supplied."

The feast then commences, and the elders relax their manners a little and mix with the rest; but are still careful to preserve order and a decent respectful behavior.

67. Let it not be supposed, however, that the Indian's life, while on his wintering ground, is a round of feasting; quite the contrary. Their feasts are often followed by long and painful fasts; and the severity of the seasons, and scarcity of game and fish, often reduce the Indian and his family to starvation and even death.

When the failure of game, or any causes, induce the hunter to remove to a new circle of country, the labor of the removal falls upon the female part of the family. The lodge utensils and fixtures of every kind are borne upon the women's backs, sustained by a leather strap, called A-pe-kun, around the forehead. On reaching the intended place of encampment, the snow is cleared away, the lodge set up, cedar boughs brought and spread for a floor, the moveables stowed away, wood collected, and

Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army. Pl. 21. John C. M.c Rae.

INDIANS TRAVELLING.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILAD.a

a fire built; and then, and not until then, can the females sit down and warm their feet and dry their moccasins. If there be any provisions, a supper is cooked; if there be none, all studiously strive to conceal the exhibition of the least concern on this account, and seek to divert their thoughts by conversation quite foreign to the subject.

68. The little children are the only part of the family who complain and who are privileged to complain; but even *they* are taught at an early age to suffer and be silent. Generally, something is reserved by the mother, when food becomes scarce, to satisfy their clamors, and they are satisfied with little. On such occasions, if the family have gone supperless to rest, the father and elder sons rise early in search of game. If one has the luck to kill even a partridge or squirrel, it is immediately carried to the lodge, cooked, and divided into as many parts as there are members of the family. In such emergencies, the elder ones often make a merit of relinquishing their portion to the women and children.

69. If nothing rewards the search, the whole day is spent by the father upon his snow-shoes, with his gun in his hands, and he returns at night fatigued to his couch of cedar branches or rush mats, but he does not complain either of his fatigue or want of success. On the following morning the same routine is observed, and days and weeks are often thus consumed without bringing food sufficient to keep the body in a vigorous or healthy state. Instances have been perfectly well authenticated where this state of wretchedness has been endured by the head of a family until he has become so weak as to fall in his hunting path, and freeze to death.

When all other means of sustaining life are gone, the skins the hunter has collected to pay his credits, or purchase new supplies of clothing and ammunition, are eaten. They are prepared by removing the pelt and roasting the skin until it acquires a certain degree of crispness.

70. Under all his suffering, the pipe of the hunter is his chief solace, and it is a solace very often repeated. Smoking parties are sometimes formed, when there exists a scarcity of food, — the want of provisions not tending, as might be supposed, to destroy social feeling and render the temper sour. On these occasions, the person soliciting company sends a message to this effect: "My friend, come and smoke with me; I have no food, but I have tobacco, and we can pass the evening very well with this."

71. All acknowledge their lives to be in the hands of the Great Spirit, feel a conviction that all things come from Him, that He loves them, and that, although He allows them to suffer, he will again supply them. This tends to quiet their apprehensions. Fatalists as to good and ill, they submit patiently and silently to what they

believe their destiny. When hunger and misery are past, they are soon forgotten; and their minds are too eagerly intent on the enjoyment of the present good, to feel any depression of spirits from the recollection of misery past, or the anticipation of misery to come. No people are more easy or less clamorous under suffering of the deepest dye, and none are more happy, or more prone to evince their happiness, when prosperous in their affairs.

M. MISCELLANEOUS TRAITS.

72. BALL-PLAYING.—This game is played by the northwestern Indians in the winter season, after the winter hunts are over, and during summer, when, the game being unfit to kill, they amuse themselves with athletic sports, games of chance, dances, and war. The game is played by two parties, not necessarily equally divided by numbers, but usually one village against another, or one large village may challenge two or three smaller ones to the combat. When a challenge is accepted, a day is appointed to play the game; ball-bats are made, and each party assembles its whole force of old men, young men, and boys. The women never play in the same game with the men. Heavy bets are made by individuals of the opposite sides. Horses, guns, blankets, buffalo-robes, kettles, and trinkets, are freely staked on the result of the game. When the parties are assembled on the ground, two stakes are placed about a quarter of a mile apart, and the game commences midway between them; the object of each party being to get the ball beyond the limits of its opponents. The game commences by one of the old men throwing the ball in the air, when all rush forward to catch it in their ball-bats before or after it falls to the ground. The one who catches it throws it in the direction of the goal of the opposing party, when, if it be caught by one of the same side, it is continued in that direction, and so on until it is thrown beyond the limits; but if caught by an opponent, it is thrown back in the opposite direction. In this way, the ball is often kept all day between the two boundaries, neither party being able to get it beyond the limit of the other. When one has caught the ball, he has the right, before throwing it, to run towards the limits until he is overtaken by the other party, when, being compelled to throw it, he endeavors to send it in the direction of some of his own party, to be caught by some one of them, who continues sending it in the same direction.

Plate 19 represents a ball play on the ice. The young man has the ball in his ball-bat, and is running with it toward the limits of the other side, pursued by all the players.

Plate 20 represents a ball play on the prairies in summer. The ball is on the ground and all are rushing forward to catch it with their ball-bats, not being allowed to touch it with their hands.

The ball is carved from a knot, or made of baked clay covered with raw hide of the deer. The ball-bat, Fig. 10, Plate 78, is from three to four feet long; one end bent up in a circular form of about four inches in diameter, in which is a net-work made of raw hide or sinews of the deer or buffalo.

73. Moving Camp.—The hunter life is one of almost perpetual travel from spot to spot. This results from the plan of periodical change from the summer to winter encampments; sometimes from superstitious notions, an unhealthy location, the migration of animals, or mere whim. To Indian minds, a change of location is pleasant; it infuses new life into the whole family group, for there is always an expectation that a new location will furnish game and other means of subsistence in greater abundance, or some advantage of living which is often indefinite: for the far off and the unknown in space is the perpetual theme of an Indian's hope, and he is ever fond of the changing adventures of travel. The following sketch (Plate 21) exhibits a scene of this sort in the region of the upper Mississippi, where the horse has been, to some extent, introduced. It shows the labor to devolve, as in all changes of camp, essentially on the women and horses.

74. Dog-dance of the Dacota Indians.—This dance is peculiar to the Dacota tribe, and takes its name from the fact that the raw liver of the dog is eaten by the performers. It is not often performed, and only on some extraordinary occasion. The performers are usually the bravest warriors of the tribe, and those having stomachs strong enough to digest raw food.

When a dog-dance is to be given, the warriors who are to take part in it, and all others who desire to witness it, assemble at some stated time and place. After talking and smoking for awhile, the dance commences. A dog, with his legs pinioned, is thrown into the group of dancers by any one of the spectators. This is despatched by one of the medicine-men, or jugglers, with a war-club or tomahawk. The side of the animal is then cut open and the liver taken out. This is then cut into strips and hung on a pole about four or five feet in length. The performers then commence dancing around it; smacking their lips and making all sorts of grimaces; showing a great desire to get a taste of the delicious morsel. After performing these antics for awhile, some one of them will make a grab at the liver, biting off a piece, and then hopping off, chewing and swallowing it as he goes. His example is followed by each and all the other warriors, until every morsel of the liver is eaten. Should any particles of it fall to the ground, it is collected, by a medicine-man, in the palm of his hand, who carries it round to the dancers to be eaten and his hands well licked.

After disposing of the first dog, they all sit down in a circle, and chat and smoke awhile until another dog is thrown in, when the same ceremonies are repeated, and continued so long as any one is disposed to present them with a dog. They are

required to eat the liver, raw and warm, of every dog that is presented to them; and while they are eating it, none but the medicine-men must touch it with their hands. Women do not join in this dance.

The object of this ceremony is, they say, that those who eat the liver of the dog while it is raw and warm, will become possessed of the sagacity and bravery of the dog.

The Ojibwas, the tribe bordering on the Dacotas, and their hereditary enemies, look with disgust on this ceremony. (Plate 22.)

Plate 23 is a representation of the wigwams of the Ojibwas and Winnebagoes. These tribes make their huts of birch-bark, or mats made of grass. Saplings are first stuck in the ground, somewhat of a circular form — the tops bent over to the centre and tied; the bark or mats are then thrown over these, leaving a small hole for the smoke to escape. The fire is made on the ground, in the centre of the hut.

S. Eastman, Capt. U. S. Army, Del. Pl. 22. C. E. Wagstaff & J. Andrews Engs.

DOG DANCE OF THE DAHCOTAS.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILAD.A

S. Eastman, U.S. Army

Pl. 13.

Robert Hinshelwood

III. ANTIQUITIES. B.

ANTIQUITIES.

SYNOPSIS.

1. Floridian Teocalli, or Elevated Platform-residences of the Native Rulers and Priests.
2. Antiquities of Lake Erie.
   - A. Ancient Eries.
   - B. Antiquities of Cunningham's Island.
   - C. Sculptured Rock, or Erie Inscription.
3. Archæological Articles from South Carolina. (Plate.)
4. Archæological Relics from Western New York. (Plate.)
5. Antique Aboriginal Embankments and Excavations at Lake *Vieux Desert*, on the Boundary of Wisconsin and Northern Michigan. (Plate.)

1. FLORIDIAN TEOCALLI, OR PLATFORM-RESIDENCES OF THE NATIVE RULERS AND PRIESTS.

The record from which American archæology is to be judged, is continually being enlarged, and it would be premature to indulge in generalization, while the field of observation is so rapidly expanding, and the facts so steadily accumulating.

Garcillasso de la Vega informs us, that the dwelling-houses of the caciques or chiefs of Florida, in 1540, during De Soto's march through the present area of Florida, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, were generally erected on large artificial mounds, or a species of teocalli. These artificial platforms were sometimes eighteen hundred feet in circumference at the base, and from twenty to fifty feet high. They were capable of furnishing space for the houses of the chief and his family and their attendants.- The sides were steep, and ascended by steps cut in the earth, and cased with wood. This structure for the micco or chief is stated to have constituted the centre of every newly laid out village or town. Around it was drawn a large square, where the prin-

cipal and subordinate persons and commonality had their residences. It was the first object erected on the selection of a town-site — the earth was brought to the spot. The chief and his priest, who were often one in their functions, were thus not only placed in a position of greater security, but one from which they could overlook the whole town.[1]

It is perceived from Mr. Pickett's History of Alabama,[2] that remains of such structures are found in many places in the extensive area of the United States denoted by de la Vega. They are clearly distinguished from the mass of remains called, indiscriminately, tumuli and mounds, by being flat at top, sometimes square, and assuming the character of precipitous raised plains or platforms, while the tumuli proper are conical, often acutely so, and carried up sometimes to the height of ninety feet.[3] When they are not terminated in a cone, the horizontal area is small, and appears by its reduced size to have been rather suited to the temple-wigwam than the micco's residence.

These remarks appear to be deserving of attention. At an age of our Indian population, when every few hundred men constituted a separate nation, who lived in constant hostility, such platforms of elevated earth afforded vantage ground, not only for residence, but for a battle; and it was quite natural that afterwards, when they combined into confederacies, as the large Muscogee stock is known to have done, the use of these select places for the rulers should have been forgotten in the lapse of centuries, or concealed from the curiosity of inquirers.

The observation of these ancient plateaux throws light on this class of our antiquities. It is not only the earliest light we have on the subject north of the Gulf of Mexico, but it reveals one of the purposes of these antique tumuli which are scattered so profusely over portions of the ancient area of the western and southern parts of the United States.

The Muscogees, under several cognate names, trace their origin to the Mexican empire;[4] and these plateaux appear to have had their prototype in the more imposing Mexican teocalli; and thus we may perceive that the United States, and indeed all North America, was overspread in its native population by religious rites and notions, which became, indeed, fainter and fainter, as they spread northward, and escaped from a species of sacerdotal tyranny, but were yet of the same general character.

It is something in all archæological investigation, to reach a period where wonder and speculation end, and reality begins. It is perceived that in the extension of these artificial heaps of honored earth, from the Gulf northward, they became teocalli or platform pyramids of less area and greater acuteness; but they were in all instances of this kind, truncated, or had a level area at their tops. We allude here exclusively to the "tumuli proper," and not to the "redoubt mounds" or "the barrows," or to small

[1] De la Vega. [2] P. 164, Vol. I. [3] Ibid. [4] Pickett's Ala., Vol. I., p. 78.

MAP
of
CUNNINGHAM'S IS.
LAKE ERIE.

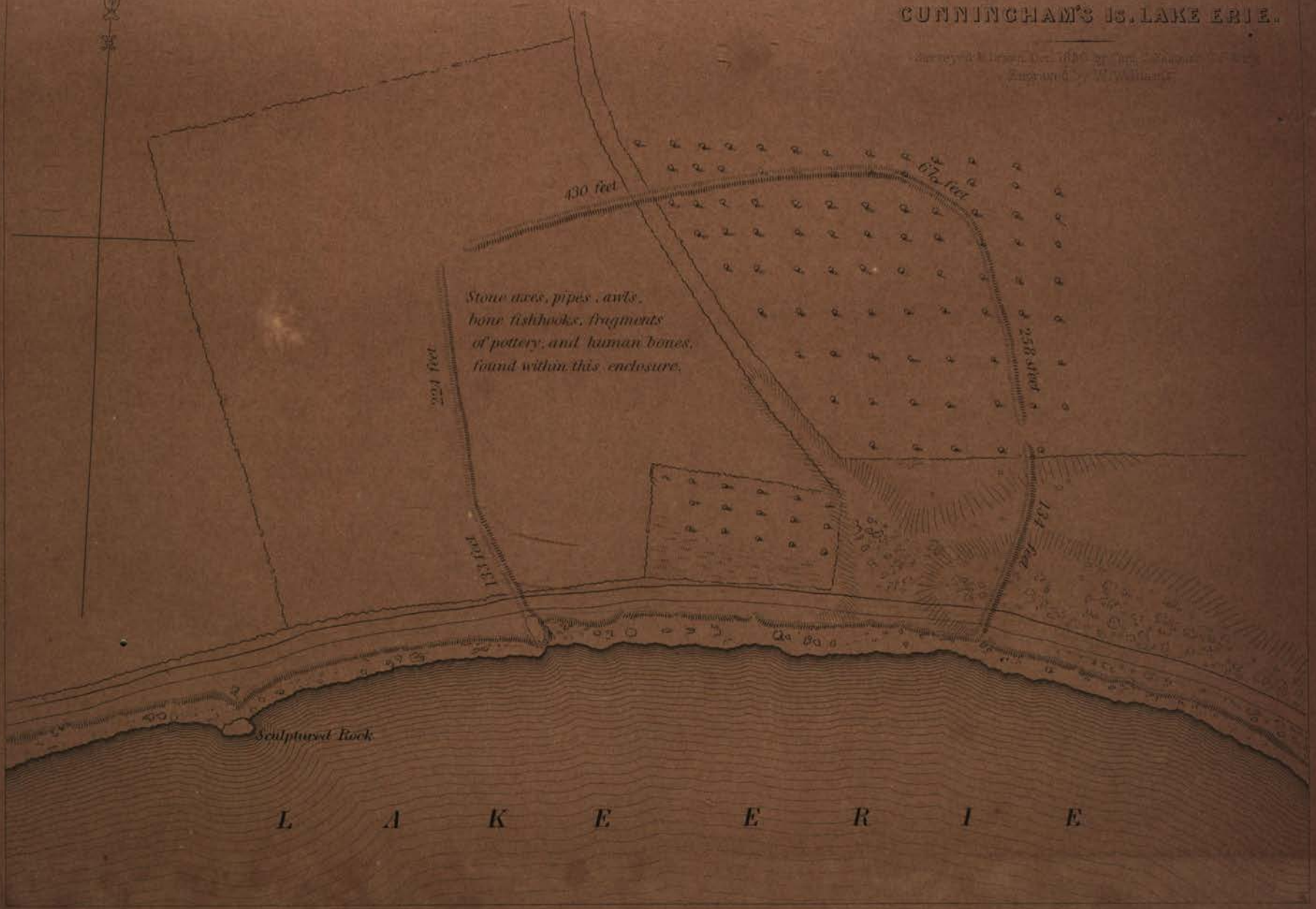
Drawn by Capt. S. Eastman U.S. Army, 1850.
Engraved by W. Williams

Scale of 40 chains to 1 inch.

10 20 40 80

Lith. of Sarony, Major & Co. N.Y.

EARTH WORK
on the south side of
CUNNINGHAM'S IS. LAKE ERIE.


430 feet
670 feet
258 feet
221 feet
Stone axes, pipes, awls, bone fishhooks, fragments of pottery, and human bones, found within this enclosure.
Sculptured Rock
L A K E E R I E

EARTH WORK
on the south side of
CUNNINGHAM'S IS. LAKE ERIE.

"altars of sacrifice." Yet this summit plateau was fully developed in the chief mounds of the Mississippi Valley and its tributaries, as at Cahokia in Illinois, which has a base of six hundred and sixty-six feet; and at Grave Creek flats; Miamisburg, and other noted points of central antique native power in the West, at all of which places the priest had room amply sufficient for his residence and official functions on the summit.

2. ANTIQUITIES OF LAKE ERIE.

A. Ancient Eries.

The occupation of the shores and islands of this lake by the ancient and extinct tribe of the Eries, who were once the acknowledged pacificators of the neighboring Indians, and who preceded the Iroquois in warlike and civic power within that basin, gives a melancholy interest to whatever, in the existing archæological remains of the country, serves to restore the memory of their power.

The recent discovery of ancient earthworks, and two inscriptions in the pictographic character, on Cunningham's Island, in the archipelago of islands in the western part of this lake, gives birth to the idea that these islands were one of the strongholds of that tribe when attacked by the Iroquois. They appear to have been in all the plenitude of their power and barbaric boast of strength and influence, at the period of the first discoveries of the French, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Wyandots, who afterwards were known to have exercised a controlling influence on the contiguous waters of Sandusky Bay and the Straits of Detroit, had not yet been disturbed from their ancient seats in the Valley of the St. Lawrence. Le Jeune, who published the first account of the Iroquois, in Paris, in 1658, mentions the angry negotiations carried on at Hochelaga, the site of Montreal, by which the Iroquois attempted to control that tribe; and during which they commanded them, on pain of their highest vengeance, to break their league with the French: and when this threat was put into execution in a few years, and the Wyandots were defeated in the St. Lawrence Valley, they fled west through the country of the friendly Algonquins, into the basin of Lake Huron, where they first located and lived; and not till a later period to the basin of Lake Erie, where the canoes of the vengeful Iroquois were already prowling in their adventurous thirst for military renown.

The Eries present one claim to remembrance which cannot be urged by any other American tribe, namely, as the ancient kindlers of the council-fire of peace for all the tribes prior to the rise and destruction of this institution, and before the origin of the Iroquois confederacy.

There can be no question, from the early accounts of the French missionaries, that they were at the head of that singular confederation of tribes called the Neutral

Nation, which extended from the extreme west to the extreme eastern shores of this lake, including the Niagara Valley, and of whom the Kaukwas, of Seneca tradition, were manifestly only one of the powers. We must modify Indian tradition by Indian tradition.

The history of this people, — their rise, their spread, and final fall, is involved in a degree of obscurity which is the more stimulating to curiosity from the few gleams of light which tradition gives. There is no doubt that an institution which must always have been subject to a very delicate exercise of, and often a fluctuating power, was finally overthrown for some indiscreet act. The power to light this pacific fire is represented as having been held by female hands, before its final extinction in the area of western New York.[1] It is equally clear that, after it began to flicker, it was finally put out in blood by the increasing Iroquois, who appear to have conquered some of the bands in battle, and driven others, or the remnants of others, away.

The present state of our traditions on this subject is interesting, and adds new motives to research. It is affirmed by traditions recently received from the Catawbas, that this tribe originated in the extreme north, in the area of the lakes, whence they were violently expelled. This supplies a hint for research, which, it must be confessed, is thus far without fruits. The Catawba language has no resemblances to the vocabulary of either dialect of the Iroquois, or to the Algonquin; while it differs as much from those of all the Appalachian tribes, and it must be regarded in the present state of our knowledge, as being peculiar.

While, therefore, the search for the history of this tribe in the lake basins appears to be blocked up, the fact of the expulsion or extirpation of the Eries, by the Iroquois, remains well attested; and the prolonged war kept up against the Catawbas and their confederates the Cherokees, by that confederacy, favors the idea of an ancient, as it is confessed to have been, a very extraordinary and bloody feud. At least the announcement of the fact of the Catawba tradition, throws a renewed interest around the history of that struggle of the Eries with the predominating Iroquois power, and it gives a new impulse to inquiry to find archæological traces like those disclosed on Cunningham's Island, which appear to attest the former Eriean power.

B. Antiquities of Cunningham's Island.

These remains have been accurately surveyed, and are illustrated in the several maps and sketches from the pencil of Captain Eastman, U. S. A., herewith furnished.

In Plate 34, the island is topographically depicted, with the localities of several antiquarian objects. It consists of a basis of horizontal limestone of the species common

[1] Cusic.

Full size

1

2

3

Drawn by Capt. S. Eastman U. S. Army from the originals

ANTIQUITIES from CUNNINGHAM'S Is. LAKE ERIE.

1

2

3

4

5

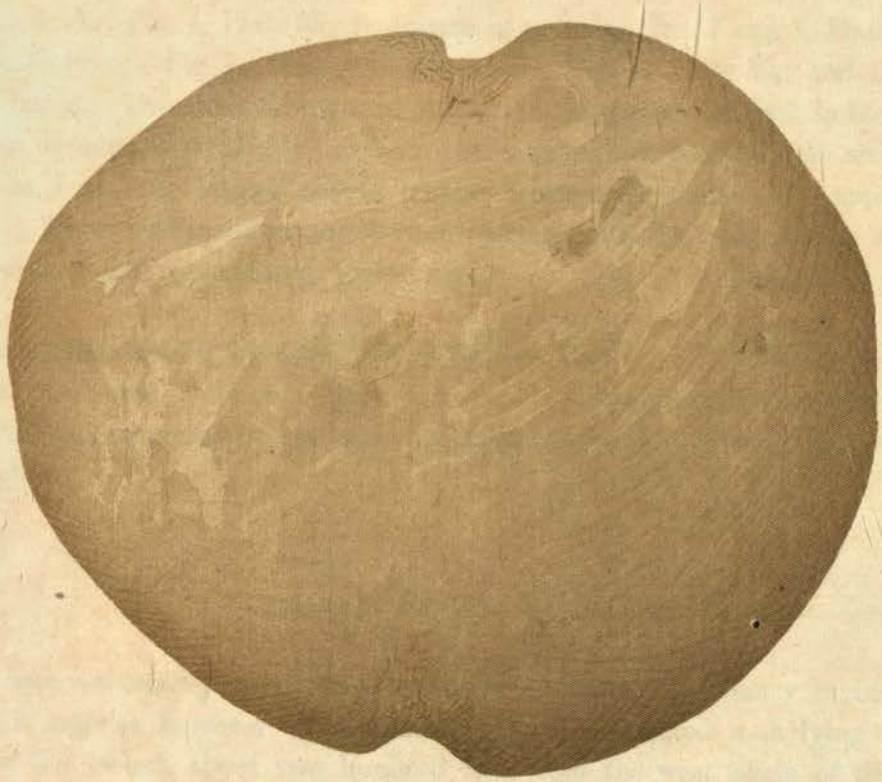
6

7

8

Drawn by Capt. S. Eastman U. S. Army from the originals

ANTIQUITIES from CUNNINGHAM'S Is. LAKE ERIE.



Drawn by Capt. S. Eastman U.S. Army

ANTIQUITIES FROM CUNNINGHAM'S IS. LAKE ERIE.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILADA

to that lake, rising about fifteen feet above the water-level. The surface where it is exposed discloses the polish created by former diluvial or glacial action—a trait which is so remarkable on the rocks of the adjoining shores at Sandusky. This is covered with a fertile limestone soil, and at the earliest periods all except the old fields bore a heavy growth of hard wood timber. Much of it is still covered by this ancient forest, in which it is probable future discoveries of an archæological character will continue to be made. The island is now readily accessible by a steamboat wharf, which has been erected on its southern shore by Mr. Kelly, the present proprietor.

Plate 35, denotes a crescent-shaped and irregular earth-work, on the south side of the island, which has the general appearance of an embankment, or circumvallation intended to enclose and defend a village. The gates, or sally-ports, which were probably constructed of wood, occupy the east side and the extreme north-western angle. The embankment is twelve hundred and forty-six feet around the crescent-shaped part, and about four hundred feet on the rock-brink of the island.

Plate 36, represents a second enclosure, marked by a circumvallation, situated at a short distance west of the former, fronting like it, on the rocky and precipitous margin of the lake. This front line is 614 feet. The embankment, which is wholly without gate or sally-port, is 1243 feet around.

Within these enclosures have been found stone axes, Figs. 1, 2, and 3, Plate 37, and Figs. 2 and 3, Plate 38; pipes, Figs. 5 and 6, Plate 38; perforators, Fig. 1, Plate 38; bone fish-hooks, Fig. 4, Plate 38; fragments of pottery, Figs. 7 and 8, Plate 38; arrow-heads, vide group, Fig. 1, Plate 39; net-sinkers, Fig. 2, Plate 39; and fragments of human bones. The arrow-heads were found in a fissure of the rock in large quantity, and were apparently new, and had been concealed in this kind of rude armory. With them was found the largest species of axe, figured, which has also apparently been unused. These vestiges of art correspond entirely with the general state of knowledge and wants of the surrounding aborigines.

Five small mounds on the southern and western part of the island, (Plate 34,) are of the kind denominated barrows, (vide definition, Part I., p. 49.) On a bay on the north shore of the island there is a brief pictographic inscription, on a limestone boulder, which has been reversed by the action of tempests on that shore. This is depicted in Plate 40.

C. Sculptured Rock—Erie Inscription.

The interest arising from these evidences of former occupancy in tne aboriginal period, is inferior however to that excited by a sculptured rock lying on the south shore of the island, about two hundred feet from the west angle of the enclosure. (Plate 35.) This rock is thirty-two feet in its greatest length, by twenty-one feet in

its greatest breadth. It is a part of the same stratification as the island from which it has been separated by lake action. The top presents a smooth and polished surface, like all the limestone of this quarter when the soil is removed, suggesting the idea that this polish is due to glazial attrition. Upon this the inscription (Plate 41) is cut. This cutting is peculiar. The figures and devices are deeply sunk in the rock, and yet present all its smoothness of surface, as if they had been exposed to the polishing or wearing influence of water. Yet this influence, if from water, could not have been rapid, as the surface of the rock is elevated eleven feet above the water-level. Its base has but a few inches of water around it.

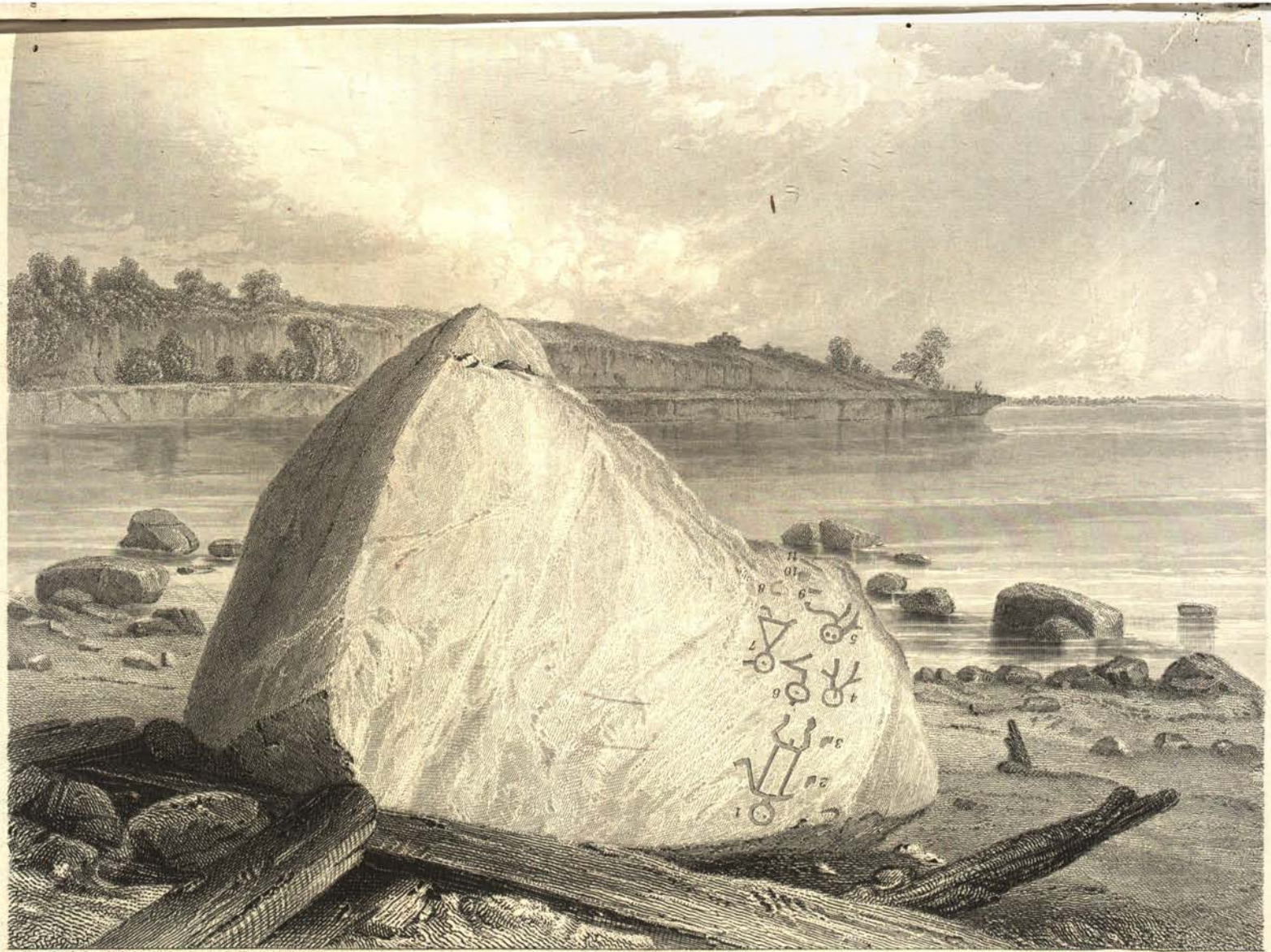
Plate 42, exhibits a perspective view of the relative position of this natural monument; also of the lake itself, and of the quiet picturesque beauty of the adjacent shores; and the entire scene is characteristic of Lake Erie in its summer phase. The sculpture itself has been referred, for interpretation, to the same aboriginal pictographist who interpreted the inscription of the Dighton Rock, Part I., page 112. It would be premature, therefore, to attempt its reading in the present state of the question. Of one thing, however, a definite opinion may be expressed. It is by far the most extensive and well sculptured and well preserved inscription of the antiquarian period ever found in America. Being on an islet separated from the shore, with precipitous sides, it has remained undiscovered till within late years. It is in the pictographic character of the natives. Its leading symbols are readily interpreted. The human figures — the pipes; smoking groups; the presents; and other figures, denote tribes, negotiations, crimes, turmoils, which tell a story of thrilling interest, in which the white man or European, plays a part. There are many subordinate figures which require study. There are some in which the effects of atmospheric and lake action have destroyed the connexion, and others of an anomalous character. The whole inscription is manifestly one connected with the occupation of the basin of this lake by the Eries — of the coming of the Wyandots — of the final triumph of the Iroquois, and the flight of the people who have left their name on the lake.

3. ARCHÆOLOGICAL INDIAN REMAINS IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

The vestiges of aboriginal occupancy in South Carolina have not been examined in the field — or, but cursorily and incidentally.

If the investigations of a recent observer in Alabama[1] be correct in the opinions he expresses of the eccentric line of march of the expedition of De Soto, the site of the ancient "Cofitchiqui" was on the South Carolina banks of the Savannah River. It

[1] Mr. Pickett. Hist. Ala., 1st vol.



Sketched, Oct. 12th 1850. by Capt S. Eastman. U.S. Army. Pl. 40 C. E. Wagstaff & J. Andrews Engs

Inscription on rock North side of Cunningham's Is. Lake Erie.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILAd.a

Sculptured inscription on a rock South side of Cunnigunna Drink Era

Sketched by Capt S. Eastman U.S. Army 1842.

C.E. Wagstaff & J. Andrews Engd

View of Inscription rock on South side of Cunningham's Island, Lake Erie

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILADA

was here that a dagger and several coats of mail were found, in 1540, by that adventurous discoverer, which were believed to have been brought from the sea-coasts of Carolina, where the Signor Ayllon had lost his life in a prior period of Spanish adventure.

Nor is it unworthy of our archæological records in this state, to notice, in connexion with its aboriginal remains, the ruins which we apprehend exist of the fort first erected by France, in her attempts to found a Protestant colony in Carolina, near the ancient town of Beaufort. The head-waters of the Broad river and its tributaries appear to have been the residence of a heavy Indian population, who found a reliable means of subsistence at all seasons in its fish and crustacea. The antique mounds of oyster-shells, which line the banks of the principal streams, tell this story in a manner not to be mistaken. The raising of cotton on these rich alluvial lands for so many years has not been sufficient to obliterate this species of aboriginal monument of occupation.

Upon the waters of the Pocotaligo there are known to be seated a number of mounds of earth of a form and dimensions which appear to commend them to a minute archæological survey. Indeed, the entire seaboard of the State, with the valleys of its principal rivers, demand examination, and appear to promise the development of facts important to a correct understanding of its Indian history. This it is intended to make in season to have the results incorporated in a subsequent part of this work. In the mean time, the following notices of objects of antiquarian value from this State are given, from an examination of the cabinet of the late Samuel George Morton, of Philadelphia:

Plate 43, Figs. 1 and 2, are drawings, of the full size, of a species of clay pipes found at Kershaw with the remains of Indian sculpture. Figs. 1 and 2, Plate 44, exhibit pipes sculptured from stone, from Camden. Fig. 3, Plate 44, represents the stone crescent-shaped blade of an antique battle-axe, from the same district. It has an eye for fastening a wooden handle. Fig. 4, Plate 45, is, apparently, the partially mutilated part of an idol-pipe, curiously sculptured from green serpentine rock. Fig. 5, Plate 46, is a stone mortar and pestle; not unlike a similar instrument used by the Toltecs and Aztecs for making tortillas.

Vases of pottery were made by the tribes of this State with a degree of skill equal to the best specimens obtained from the countries of the ancient Appalachians. These are exhibited in some entire vessels, marked 1 and 2, Plate 46, from Camden. It is a compact terracotta figure; one having a handle formed of the head of an animal which represents, apparently, a cat. Fig. 3 of the same plate depicts a vase from Alabama, and shows conclusively a parity in this art among the southern tribes extensively. Fig. 4 represents a stone amulet found at Camden, South Carolina.

4. ARCHÆOLOGICAL RELICS FROM WESTERN NEW YORK.

THE ensuing descriptions relate to articles deposited in the State Collection at Albany:

Fig. 1, Plate 45, from Washington County, is, apparently, a sacrificial, or a flaying knife. It is carved from a compact piece of green serpentine—a material analogous, in every respect, to the idol-pipe from Camden, So. Ca., Fig. 3, same Plate.

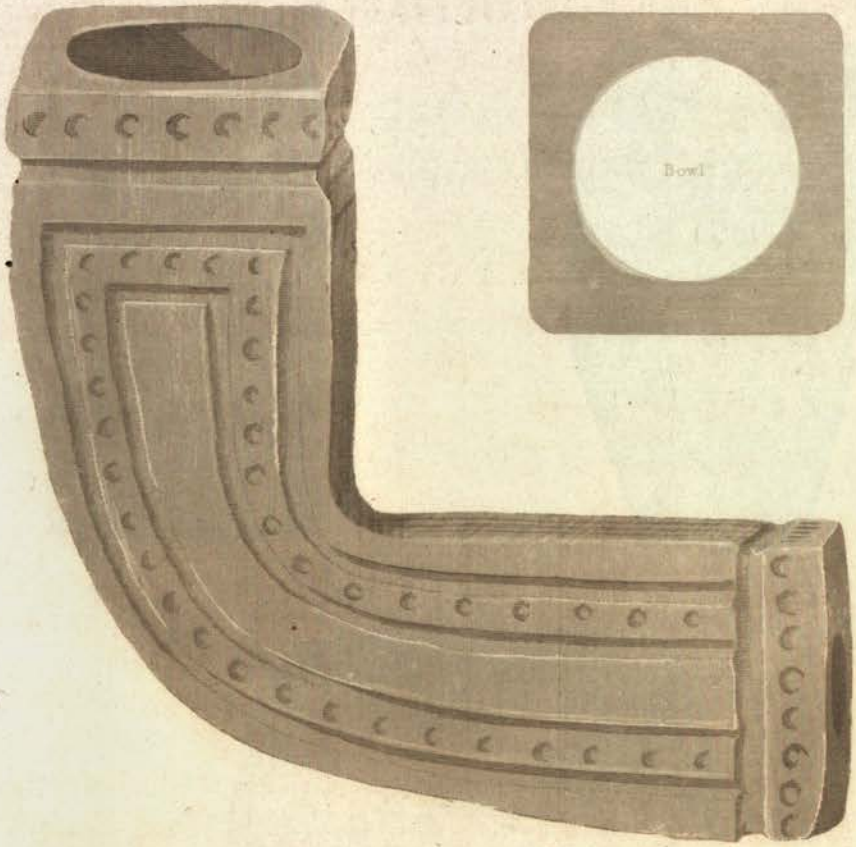
The several articles grouped in Plate 47, Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4, from Ellisburgh, Jefferson County, exhibit the same ready tact in moulding images of the human face and the distinctive heads of animals on the plastic basis of clay pipes, which is found extensively in that area; and in the fragments of vases, Figs. 5 and 6, the ornaments are of the same description which characterizes the entire vase-pottery of this state of the Indian period.

Plate 48, Figs. 1 and 2, exhibits stone axes, wrought, apparently, from silicious slate, with great exactitude. This has been also employed for all the antique stone crescent-shaped tomahawks which have been examined over a wide surface of territory.

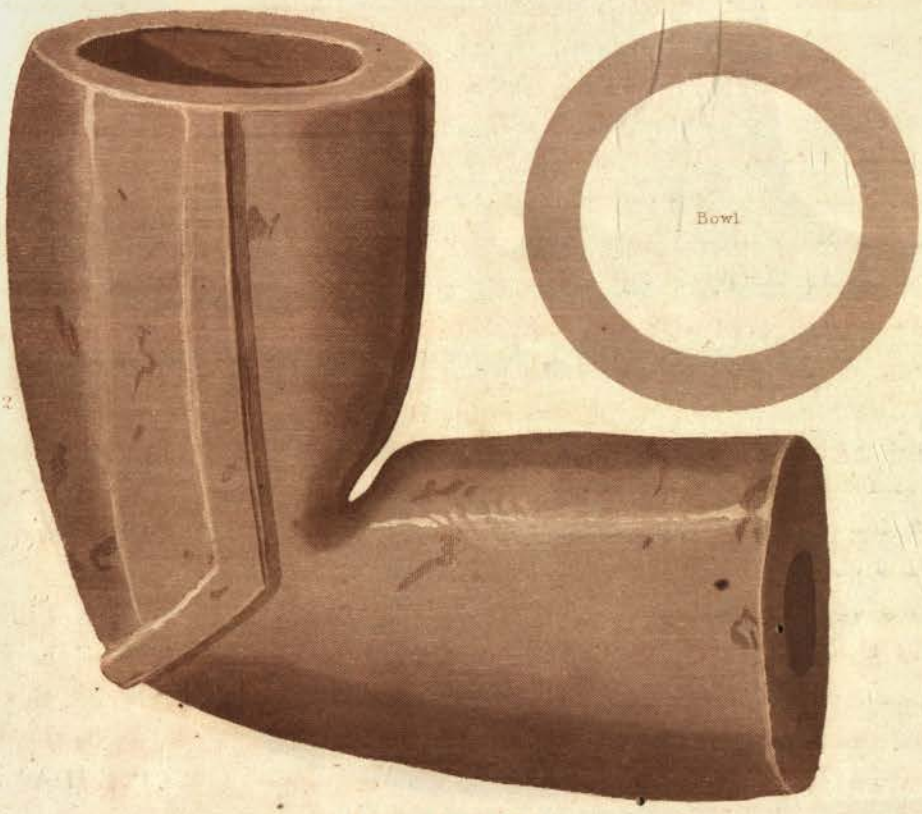
Plate 49, Fig. 1, is labelled, in the State Collection at Albany, "war-club." This is believed to be correct, although it has the general character of the stone net-sinker. Fig. 2 is regarded as a pipe amulet; it impresses the observer strongly, as being analogous in its use to the anomalous instrument Fig. 1, Plate 50. Fig. 4 represents an implement found in Le Roy, Genesee County. The fragment of a tube (Fig. 5) of the material of the ancient lapis ollaris is taken from an antique tumulus in Ohio. The moccasin needle, Fig. 3, Plate 49, was commonly made, as is here depicted, of the tibia of quadrupeds or other species of bone. The chief interest is however excited by the articles figured on Plate 50. It seems difficult to account for the use of the octagonal stone implement with an orifice and cover, Figs. 1 and 2, without supposing it to be some implement or contrivance used in the sacerdotal function. Equally anomalous are Figs. 3 and 4, unless we may conjecture that their uses were sempstresscal, and that they were designed for smoothing down seams of buckskin. In Figs. 5 and 6 we behold very clearly the mutilated blade of a battle-axe of silicious slate, which was perforated through its head to admit a handle. It is, with imprecision, labelled "a pipe."

To these notices we subjoin the articles of antiquarian interest of Plate 51, in the possession of Mr. Keeler of Jamesville, Onondaga, all being of the period of the French attempt at colonization in that section of the country, about 1666. De Moyen had, in 1653, visited the Onondaga country, and it appears in ten years afterwards the Jesuits were permitted to establish themselves in the country. After the close of the Revolution, which threw open this region as a military grant, Mr. Keeler came into

Found in a mound in S.C



Bowl



Bowl

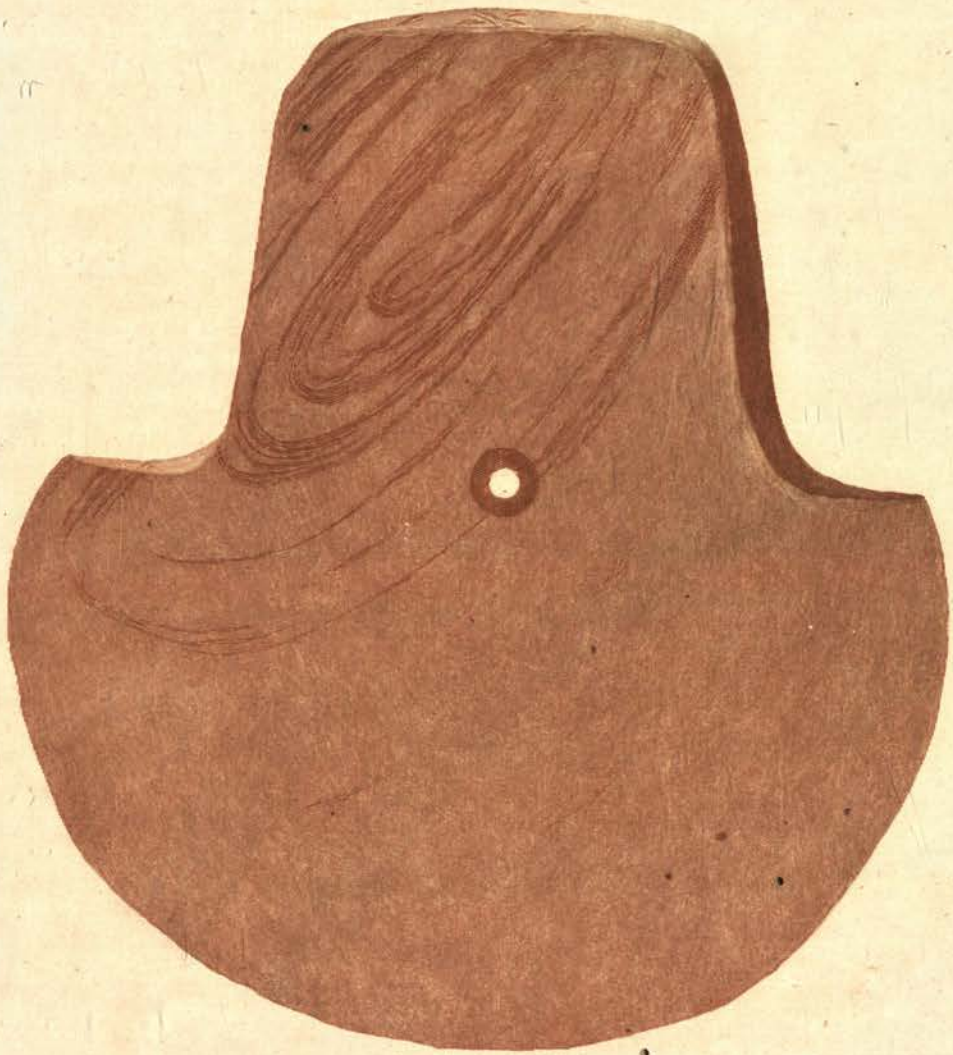
Found in Kershaw, S.C

Drawn from the originals by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army

ANTIQUE CLAY PIPES

From Camden, S.C.

From Camden, S.C.



From Camden, S.C. Full size

Drawn from the originals, by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army.

ANTIQUITIES FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

Top view

Full size

Section through ab

Found in Hartford, Washington Co. N.Y.

Found in Camden

Drawn from the originals by [illegible] Lieut. U.S.A.

ANTIQUITIES FROM NEW YORK AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

[illegible] LITH. OF [illegible] CHAMBO & [illegible] PHILAD.

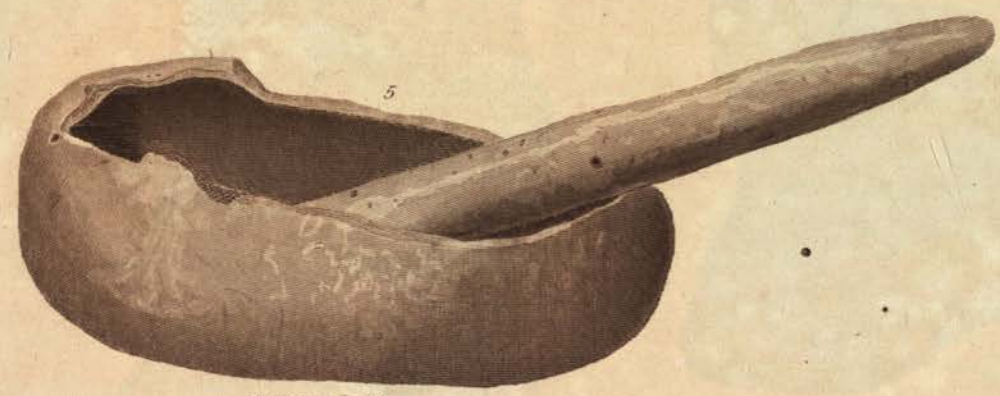
From Camden, S.C.

Camden, S.C.

From Alabama.

Stone Amulet

Camden, S.C.



18 Inches long

Drawn from the originals, by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army.

ANTIQUITIES FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

Found at Ellisburgh. N.Y.

1

Linn. Livingston. Co. N.Y.

2

Ellisburgh. Jeff. Co. N.Y.

3

Ellisburgh. N.Y.

4

Ellisburgh. N.Y.

5

Ellisburgh. N.Y.

6

Drawn from the originals by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army.

ANTIQUITIES FROM NEW YORK

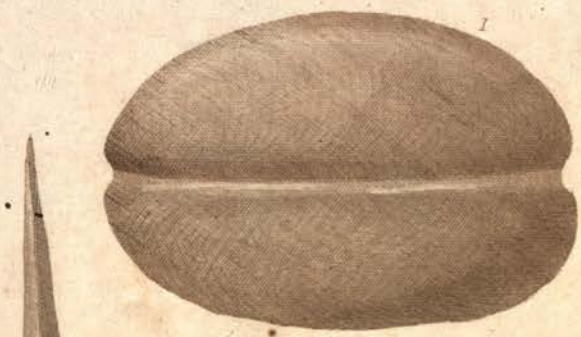
Full size

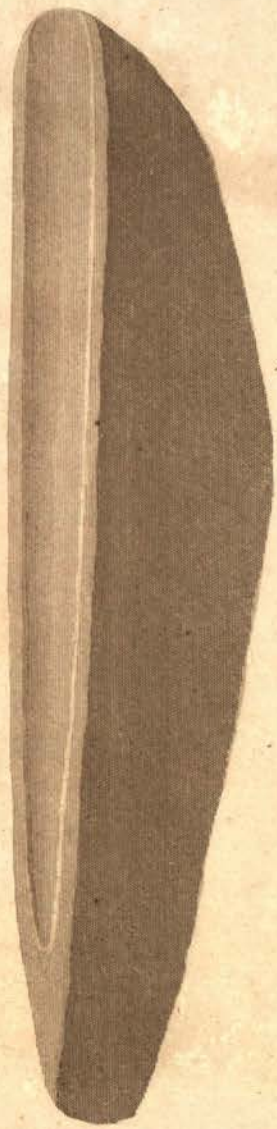
Full size

Drawn from the originals by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army.

ANTIQUITIES FROM NEW YORK.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILADA

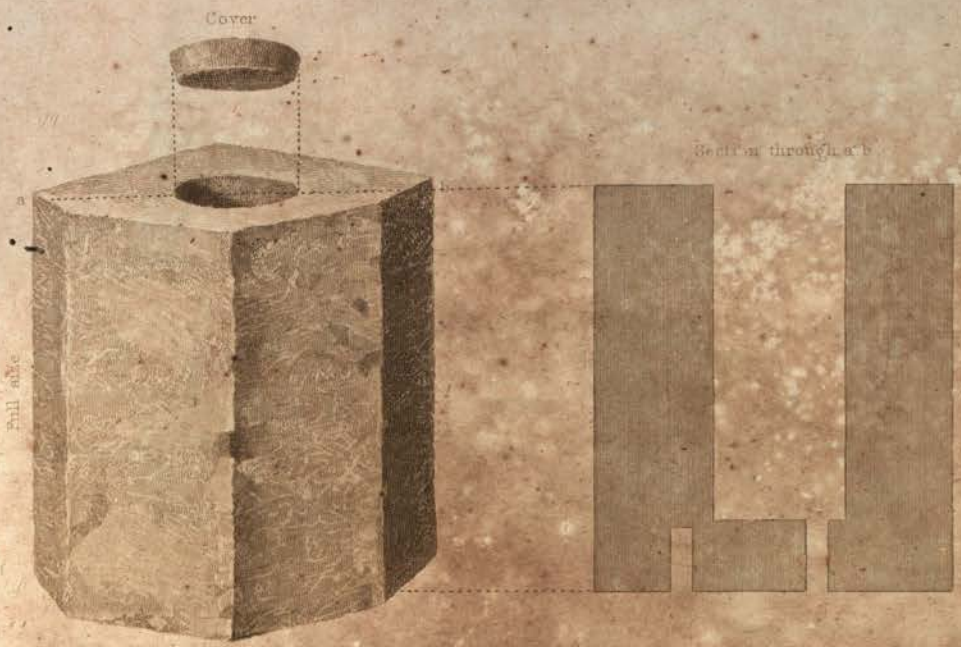




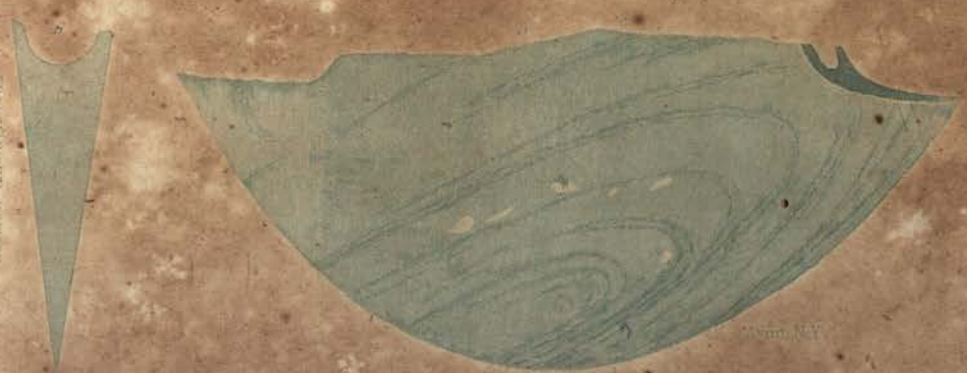
Drawn from the originals by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army.

ANTIQUITIES FROM NEW YORK.

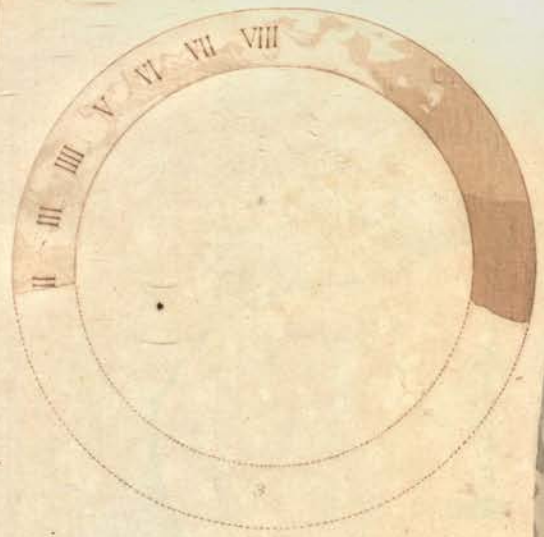
PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILAD.A

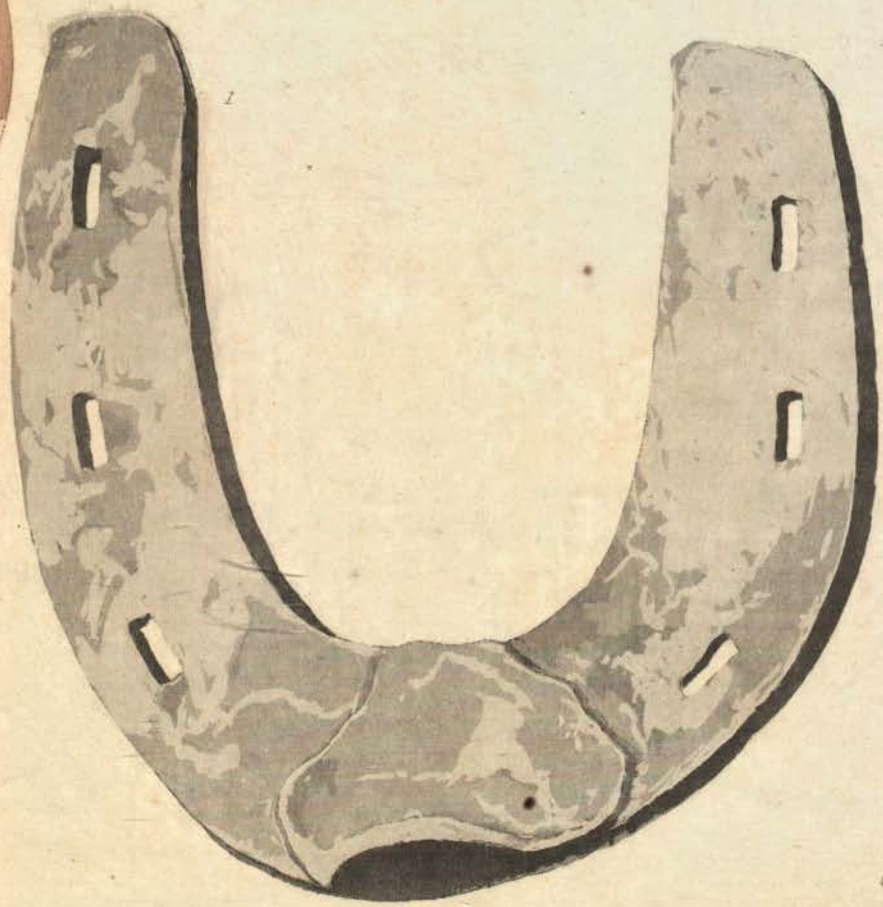


Found 3 miles from Avon, Livingston Co. N.Y.



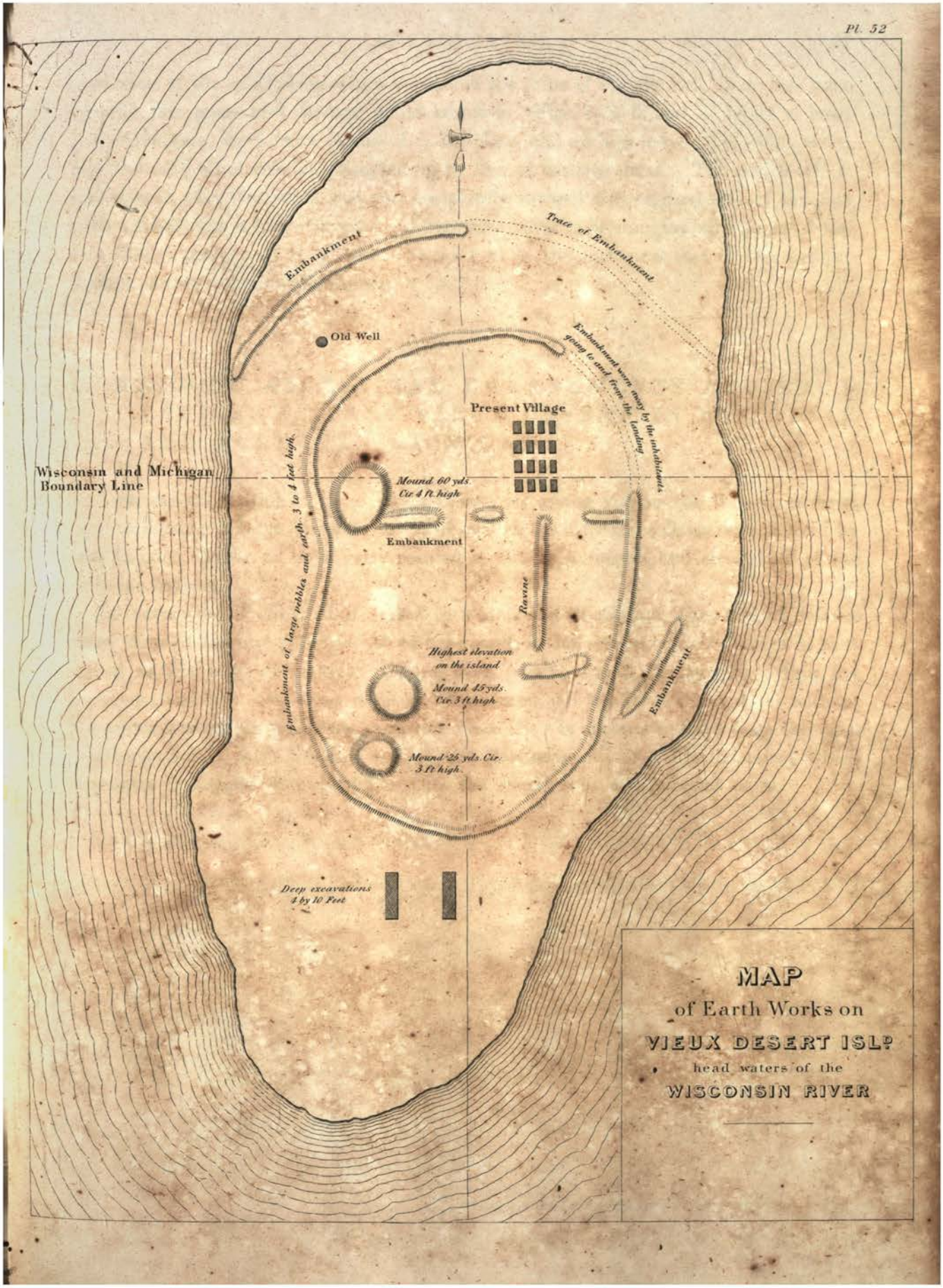
Drawn from the originals by Capt. S. Eastman U.S. Army





Drawn from the originals, by Capt. S. Eastman, U. S. Army.

FRENCH ANTIQUITIES OF WESTERN NEW YORK. 1666.


Trace of Embankment
Embankment
Old Well
Embankment were worn away by the inhabitants going to and from the landing
Present Village
Wisconsin and Michigan Boundary Line
Mound 60 yds. Cir. 4 ft. high
Embankment
Embankment of large pebbles and earth. 3 to 4 feet high.
Ravine
Highest elevation on the island
Mound 45 yds. Cir. 3 ft. high
Mound 25 yds. Cir. 3 ft. high
Embankment
Deep excavations 4 by 10 Feet

MAP

of Earth Works on

VIEUX DESERT ISL?

head waters of the

WISCONSIN RIVER

possession of the subdivision which contained the ruins of the old fort, that had once covered this premature attempt at colonization. Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4, depict a brass pocket-compass, the broken nonus of a dial-plate, and an iron horse-shoe, which were, together with other articles, ploughed up by him at various times. The period which had elapsed after this event had not completely covered the original site of the fort with a forest, but it had allowed these intrusive relics to be mingled with those of the true Indian period, and they excited wonder while the historical fact of the antique French colony remained unknown.

5. ANTIQUE ABORIGINAL EMBANKMENTS AND EXCAVATIONS AT LAKE VIEUX DESERT, IN WISCONSIN, AND NORTHERN MICHIGAN.

THE remote position of Lake Vieux Desert, its giving rise to the Wisconsin river, and its having a large island in its centre, which fits it for the cultivation practised by the Indians, appear to have early pointed it out, as a retreat and stronghold of the interior Indians.

No enemy could approach it except by water, and its natural capacities of defence were strengthened by an elliptical embankment in its centre, which appears to have served as the basis of pickets. There were small mounds or barrows within the enclosure, together with some cross embankments, and two large excavations without the embankment, all which are shown in Plate 52. It appears to have been the most northwestwardly point fortified east of the Mississippi River. The boundary which separates Wisconsin from Michigan cuts the island into nearly equal parts.

IV. PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY. B.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

SYNOPSIS.

1. Notices of the Natural Caves in the Sioux Country, on the Left Banks of the Upper Mississippi River. By N. J. Nicollet.
2. Physical Data respecting the Southern Part of California included in the Line of Boundary between San Diego and the Mouth of the River Gila; with Incidental Notices of the Diegunos and Yuma Indian Tribes. By Lieutenant Whipple, U. S. A.

1. NOTICES OF THE NATURAL CAVES IN THE SIOUX COUNTRY, ON THE LEFT BANKS OF THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI RIVER. BY N. J. NICOLLET.

Colonel John J. Abert, chief of the Topographical Bureau, has kindly put into my hands, with the privilege of selection, the posthumous papers of Mr. Nicollet, resulting from his reconnoissances, in the service of the government, among the Indian tribes of the West, from which it may be found expedient to make further selections in future portions of this work. The following remarks embrace notices of a former custom of burial, in connexion with the cavernous rocks of the Upper Mississippi, near St. Anthony's Falls. The disturbances and disunion which the approach of civilization and the introduction of the fur trade produced; the disuse into which the custom of general burial fell, and the great decline in their population caused by the temptations of commerce and the introduction of ardent spirits, commend them to attention.

The reminiscences of the old *Dacota* sachems, to whom Mr. Nicollet refers, appear also to have affected in some, but a lesser degree, their forest neighbors—the Chippewas of the sources of the Mississippi, among whom these baneful influences are being daily developed.

It is apprehended that this observer's deductions, made in local districts, where two hunter and antagonistical tribes, still exist in very much their aboriginal state of aversion to all fixed industry and arts, and who are wedded by the customs of ages to the fallacies of the erratic hunter state, only require to be extended to other portions of the vast interior of North America, lying beyond the Mississippi River, to render these remarks equally applicable to by far the larger number of the unreclaimed tribes.

H. R. S.

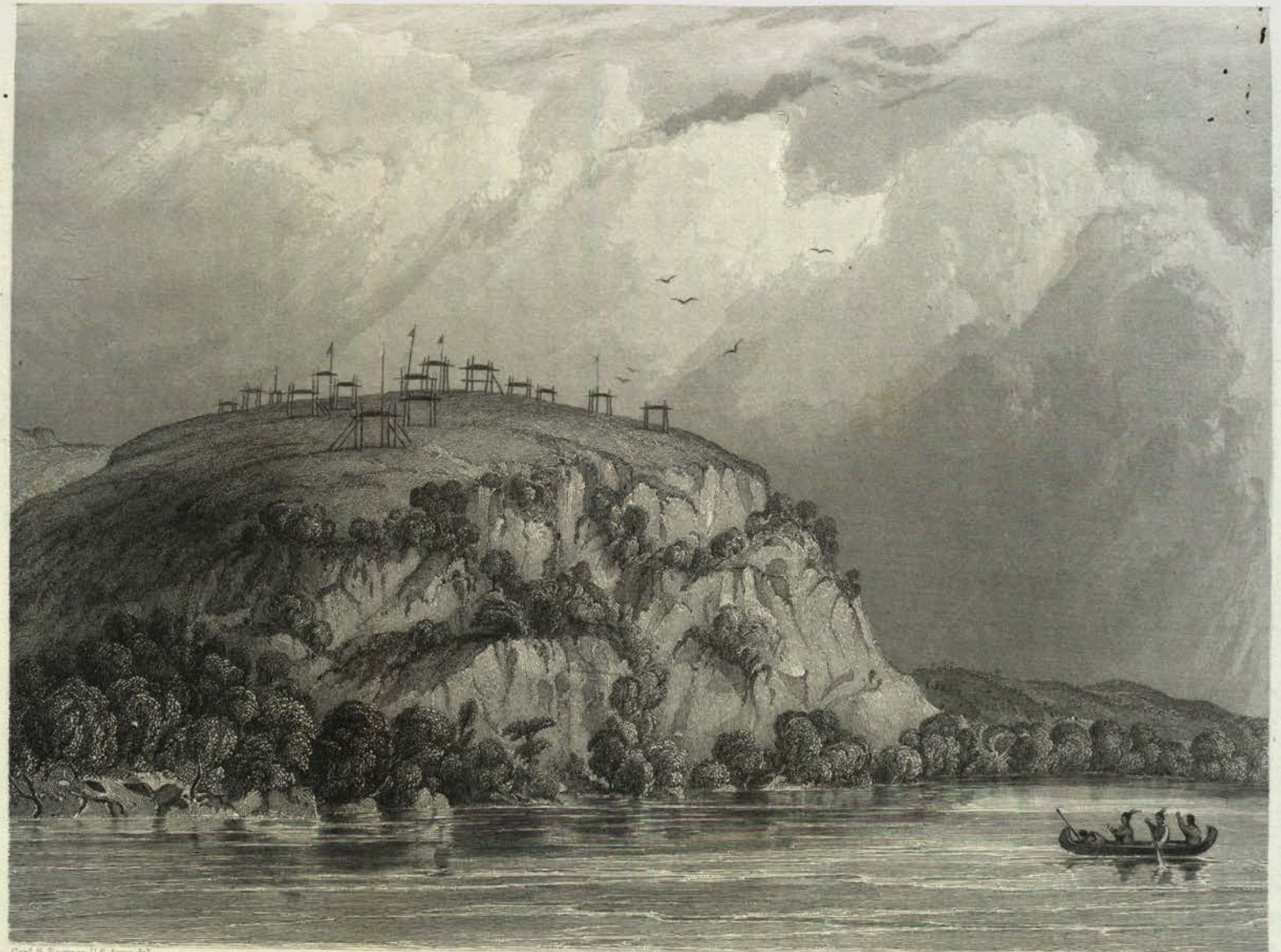
NOTICES.

THE first cave is four miles below the St. Peters. On descending the river, one sees on the left, at about the termination of the four miles, a beautiful rivulet passing out of a deep ravine: pursuing its wanderings a short distance, you encounter a beautiful vault, hollowed out of the free-stone from which issues the rivulet spoken of. The water is pure, transparent, and cool in summer, in comparison with that of the Mississippi.

On descending the Mississippi to arrive at this cave, it will be observed that the calcareous beds which rest upon the free-stone, and which characterize the geological formation of the country, gradually diminish in thickness, showing themselves only in fragments, and then totally disappearing. Above the vault of the cave there are no longer any traces of the calcareous formation, and there is seen only deposits of sand and of pebbles. If the prairie is examined for about a mile towards the north, one will find depressions in the soil, forming those marshes and morasses so frequent in this region, and which are the receptacles of the surrounding waters, and of aquatic vegetation, here so abundant and vigorous. It is these waters which have made a passage through the friable free-stone of the formation, and which issue in a stream from the vault which they have formed. The stream therefore is not long, nor probably deep, as it runs over a bed upon the general level of the affluents of the river.

The second cave is four miles lower down, and on the same side of the Mississippi, that is to say, about eight miles below the St. Peters. It is half-way up the hill which borders the stream. It is however closed by the crumbling down of the upper beds of friable calcaire, in which it is hollowed. Carver visited and described this cave, and gave it celebrity by attaching to it the description of a custom of the Sioux of his time, who at certain periods of the year, carried their dead thither with great solemnity.

According to information which I gathered from the oldest living men of the nation, who had not merely seen these ceremonies, but had also borne a part in them, the cave itself formed no essential feature of the ceremonies; and its picturesque and



Capt. S. Eastman U.S. Army. del.

PL. 58

Engd. by C.E. Wagstaff & J. Andrews

INDIAN BURIAL GROUND.

sentimental effect to the eyes of the whites, was with them purely accidental, and did not enter into the idea upon which the custom was founded.

Formerly, and even during the first years of the present century, the Sioux, who constituted the tribe of lake people, the *Mendewakantons*, were united in three large and populous villages. The first village, the principal one of the tribe, and which gave them their name, was situated east of the Mississippi, and some four miles from the St. Peters, upon the borders and environs of a large and beautiful lake, not as yet found on our maps, and of which the name was, and still is, Mendewacanton. The second village was the village of the Grand Marais, *tshokantauha*, and was situated upon the river a short way below the cave in question. The third village was upon both sides of the river St. Peters (the Minnisota), six miles from its mouth, and where there is at this day the small village of *Penishon*. A number of living persons, as well among the Sioux as among the mixed races, and also old traders, remember these three villages, and speak of the third as having been during their time very flourishing and populous; the cabins of the Indians extending in several lines on both sides of the St. Peters, on a height of from one to two miles. The common intersection of the roads of communication between these villages, was precisely on the spot of the cave described by Carver. The low grounds and the marshes are near the site where the sugar maple and the wild rice grow in abundance. It was upon this large flat where the inhabitants of the three villages met in spring to make sugar, and in autumn for the wild rice harvest. It is well known, that among all the Indian nations, these causes of reunion gave rise to the observance of feasts, ceremonies, and practices founded upon their ideas and customs. It is known also that these nations place their graves in places most obtrusive, and exposed to the veneration of their people, and that at the same time these graves or tombs must be so near families, that they can watch over their preservation, and continue the attentions they owe to the dead; such as to make offerings to them; to give them something to eat, to smoke, and to talk with them from time to time. Under these considerations, no place could better meet the sentiments of the Mendewakantons, than that of the plateau, or level, or flat, above the cave. (Plate 58.) Therefore it was that the three villages carried thither their dead, placing them upon scaffolds constructed at an elevation out of reach of the wolves, and of profanation from animals. But they never placed their dead in the cave, which was merely esteemed a place for the sports of their children, and in which they could display their courage by daring each other, as to who would penetrate the farthest into it, which would never have been permitted if the bones of a single person had ever been placed there.

The cave is long, and without water. The crumbling of the vault has closed the entrance of it many years since. If this accident had had the least influence upon their sentiments of respect and of recollection of the dead, it is not to be believed that

they would have remained as indifferent to it as they have; for they have not attempted to reopen it, nor have they taken any note in their memory of the event.

More recently, when the war between England and the United States, and circumstances of the fur trade, had involved the Sioux in their disastrous consequences, the grand tribe of Mendewakantons lost peace, harmony, and independence. Policy, commerce, spirituous liquors, and the vices and crimes of civilization, not only broke the ties which united the different tribes of the same nation of powerful people animated by the same spirit, but their consequences tended to increase the hatred so apt to be generated between savage nations, associated them with interests not properly their own, and involved them in wars with each other.

Then the wars between the Mendewakantons and the Chippewas, east of the Mississippi, became more frequent. Then the traders, who had for a long time held their factories at the *grand* village of the lake, were obliged for greater security to establish themselves at the St. Peters; and the Indians, whose condition had become dependent on the traders, were themselves also obliged to change their habitation.

The tribe became disunited. Each family recovered the bones of their ancestors, and went off to establish themselves elsewhere. The three large villages disappeared, and the grand cemetery common to all disappeared also. The tribe of Mendewakantons, once so celebrated for its hospitality, its fine population, and its strength, exists now only in increments, and presents itself only in fragments, collected in small and poor villages, scattered upon the Mississippi, the St. Peters, and the lakes in the environs of the falls of St. Anthony. Governed by inferior chiefs, ambitious that the traders should second their interests—but with whom, except in the regrets and profound grief of the old men, there is no longer any notion of respect for the character of the nation, or any recollection of the traditions which established its union, its strength, its customs, and its glory. Some of these old men have often communicated to me their bitter reflections at the present degraded condition of their people. They said that there were no longer as many old men as formerly, and the few who remained were without consideration or moral influence; that they often conversed with each other on these sad subjects; and when they turned their recollections to times not far removed, they were utterly confounded at the diminution of their population, the destruction of their institutions, and the loss of all their ancient national virtues.

The Chippewas of the lakes of the sources of the Mississippi, who have not yet had immediate contact with the whites, and upon whom the effects of the civilization which is approaching them have been felt only at a distance, make the same remarks in reference to their nation. Flat Mouth, in the evenings which I have passed with him, has frequently exhibited his anxiety on this subject.

The old men of other nations are equally afflicted in reference to their condition. It is a singular fact that all the Indians with whom I have had occasion to converse on the vast decline of their people, and on the grand facts of the humanity of the

present age, have inquired if I could explain to them the causes of their degeneracy? My answer was as afflicting to them as it would be useless to modern policy and modern Christianity.

Of the two caves, formerly accessible, these remarks demonstrate that there remains but one practicable to the curious, the one about four miles below the Saint Peter. Since the one described by Carver has been closed, it has been lost sight of; and when travellers arrive, and desire to visit the cave which they have heard so much spoken of, they are carried to the small cave, which does not in the least degree meet the marvellous accounts which they have previously received.

Featherstonhaugh, in his Geological Report of 1836, says, in speaking of his visit to this small cave: "I followed this ravine about two hundred paces, and found that it led to the cave which Carver had so *accurately described.*" There is but a small difficulty to explain here. Carver never saw or had any knowledge of this cave; how then could he so accurately give a description of it? The description which he gave belongs to this closed cave. Featherstonhaugh, in his report, frequently refers to the authority of Carver, and nearly always as happily as in the present instance. There was much negligence in Featherstonhaugh, in not having taken more pains to establish a judgment upon facts which more recent works and persons on the spot could have furnished every desired explanation of. All the old residents of St. Peters could have cleared up the matter of Carver's cave.

2. PHYSICAL DATA RESPECTING THAT PART OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA LYING ON THE LINE OF BOUNDARY BETWEEN ST. DIEGO AND THE MOUTH OF THE RIVER GILA; WITH INCIDENTAL DESCRIPTIONS OF THE DIEGUNOS AND YUMAS INDIAN TRIBES.

THE following diary of Lieutenant Whipple's survey of the line of boundary between San Diego and the point opposite the junction of the Gila with the Colorado River, which was executed under the orders of Major Emory, has been communicated for this work by Colonel J. J. Abert, chief of the Topographical Bureau, U. S. A.

Its notices of the topographical features, latitudes, temperature, heights, and distances, and the general physical geography of that hitherto unexplored section of the country, are of high value. The incidental notices given of the Diegunos and other Indian tribes of that part of California, their manners and customs, and some specimens of their languages, are the most recent and authentic which we possess.

The languages being the true key to their history, the printed formula of words and

numerals has been distributed extensively among gentlemen having military duties to execute on those distant frontiers; and promises have been made, both by the head of the Bureau, and several of the subordinate officers who are favorably situated to pursue these inquiries, which lead me to hope that I shall be placed in a position to acknowledge future favors from this source.

H. R. S.

PHYSICAL DATA.

BY LT. WHIPPLE, U. S. A.

HAVING engaged Tomaso as guide and Indian interpreter, on the 11th day of September, 1849, we started from the mission of San Diego for the junction of the Rio Gila with the Colorado. Tomaso is chief of the tribe of Indians called Lligunos, or Diegunos; whether this was their original appellation, or they were so named by the Franciscans from San Diego, the principal mission among them, I could not learn. According to Tomaso, his tribe numbers about 8,800 persons; all speaking the same language, and occupying the territory from San Luis Rey to Aqua Caliente. They possess no arms, and are very peaceable. Crimes, he says, are punished—theft and bigamy by whipping, and murder by death. They profess the greatest reverence for the Church of Rome, and, glorying in a Christian name, look with disdain upon their Indian neighbors of the desert and the Rio Colorado, calling them miserable Gentiles.

The Mission of San Diego, about five miles from the town, and two from the Plaza of San Diego, is a large pile of adobe buildings, now deserted, and partly in ruins. There remains an old Latin library, and the chapel walls are yet covered with oil paintings, some of which possess considerable merit. In front there is a large vineyard, where not only delicious grapes, but olives, figs, and other fruits, are produced abundantly. In the days of their prosperity, for many miles around the valleys and plains were covered with cattle and horses belonging to this mission; and the padres boasted that their yearly increase was greater than the Indians could possibly steal. But in California the sun of their glory is set for ever. Near by stand the thatched huts of the Indians—formerly serfs, or peons; now the sole occupants of the mission grounds. They are indolent and filthy, with more of the vices acquired from the whites, than of the virtues supposed to belong to their race. Some of them live to a great age; and one old woman, said to be far advanced in her second century, looks like a shrivelled piece of parchment, and is visited as a curiosity.

Many of their Indians, men, women, and children, assembled on the bank of the stream, apparently to witness the novelty of a military procession; but a pack of cards was produced, and, seating themselves upon the ground to a game of monte, they were so absorbed in the amusement as to seem unconscious of our departure.

Our route leads over steep hills, uncultivated and barren, excepting a few fields of

wild oats — no trees, no water in sight from the time of leaving the mission, until we again strike the valley of the river of San Diego, half a league from Santa Monica, the rancharia of Don Miguel de Pedoriva, now occupied by his father-in-law the prefect of San Diego, Don Jose Antonio Estedillo. The hill-tops are white with a coarse quartzose granite; but as we approach the rancho of Don Miguel, the foliage of the trees that fringe the banks of Rio San Diego formed an agreeable relief to the landscape. Here the river contains a little running water, but before reaching the mission it disappears from the surface, and at San Diego is two feet below the bed of shining micaceous sand. Maize, wheat, barley, vegetables, melons, grapes, and other fruits are now produced upon this ranch in abundance: with irrigation, the soil and climate are suitable for the cultivation of most of the productions of the globe. But the mansion-houses of such great estates in California are wretched dwellings, with mud walls and thatched roofs. The well-trodden earth forms the floor, and although wealth abounds with many luxuries, few of the conveniences and comforts of life seem known. From fifty to one hundred Indians are employed on this ranch, in cultivating the soil, doing the menial household service, and attending to the flocks and herds. Their pay is a mere trifle, and Sundays are allowed to them for holiday amusements, attending mass, riding, gaming, drinking.

Sept. 12th. — From Santa Monica to Santa Maria, five and a half leagues, the steep hill-sides showed scarcely the vestige of a road, and night overtook us mid-way. For the first league we follow a cañada, through which extends a row of live-oaks, with here and there a pool of water. We cross a range of barren hills, and pass a ravine with magnificent oaks, a little grass, and indications of water. Another ridge brings us into a valley, rendered beautiful by a liberal growth of wide-spreading oaks; and a long, winding, and gradual descent leads to a wooded glen, where the thick foliage of intertwining branches throws a shade over a spring of limpid water, and seems inclined to shield from mortal eyes a treasure sacred to the sylvan deity. But here the road was bad, and as we cut the trees to mend the way, it seemed like sacrilege. Another league, with here and there a tree, brings us to Santa Maria. This is the rancho of the hospitable Don Jose Maria Martin Ortega. It lies in a fertile basin, many miles in extent, and contains an excellent mineral spring. The mountains surrounding are covered with bleached masses of coarse granite, and the principal ranges have a general direction from N. W. to S. W.

RANCHO DE SANTA MARIA, *Sept. 15th*, 1849.

	9h A.M.	12h M.	3h P.M.	6h P.M.
Green's Syphon Barometer	28.715 in.	28.719 in.	28.681 in.	28.633 in.
Fahrenheit's Attached Thermometer	80°	86°.005	83°.005	67°.05
Fahrenheit's Detached Thermometer	82°	86°.005	84°	67°.05

Magnetic inclination as determined by observations with Fox's Magnetic Dip-circle.

Magnetic intensity, 58° 42′.

60242

Sept. 16*th.*— The preceding night has been very cool, and the thermometer at sunrise stands at 50°.05, Fahrenheit. Finding the spring water warm, the thermometer was immersed, and immediately rose 70°.5, twenty degrees higher than the temperature of the surrounding atmosphere. The water is highly impregnated with sulphur, but clear and delicious to the taste. Large bubbles of gas are constantly rolling to the surface of the spring from the moving sand below.

Pursuing our journey, we were surprised to find pools of water standing in the road, although there had been no rain probably for months. The road crosses the basin, and for several leagues scoops along pretty little valleys, with patches of grass and trees. This day brought to view the cotton-wood or alamo. It so much resembles the Lombardy poplar, as at first to be mistaken for it. Found much feldspar, containing crystals of garnet and tourmaline. As we approach Santa Isabel, which is seven and a half leagues from Santa Maria, a change comes on the face of the country. Nature appears more smiling, the valleys teem with grass, and the oaks, though small, are creeping from the cañadas to the hill-sides.

Santa Isabel is a charming spot, surrounded by gentle hills, and watered by a rapid and never-failing mountain stream. It was a flourishing place during the prosperity of Catholic missions in California. There still remain the ruins of a church, and mud walls of other dilapidated houses. A collection of miserable straw huts serves as a home for about three hundred Indians, who, from having been the slaves of the priests, appear to have succeeded to the inheritance.

They irrigate their fields, and cultivate maize, wheat, and barley. Their vineyard is very flourishing. The most delicious grapes are in great abundance. Peaches, figs, and apples, are beginning to ripen, while we feast upon melons and pears. Many of the Indians are shrewd, and evidently not wanting in natural capacity; but they are in that stage of civilization in which man seems most degraded. They have acquired a knowledge of, and a taste for, the vices of the oppressors of their race, but know nothing of the virtues which might serve as an antidote. Now that they are freed from bondage to the Franciscans, and from the equally exacting Spaniards, it remains for the United States to render that freedom a true blessing, by establishing among them schools where they may be taught their duties as Christians and as men. Their ideas upon religion are few and simple. There is a God in heaven. Their tribe, and all who have been marked with the sign of the cross, are Christians, and when they die they will go to the happy regions. All others are Gentiles and outcasts from heaven.

The geological formation here consists of quartzose granite, mica, schist, and talcose schist, with tourmaline and hornblende. Some indications of metal. Silver is said to exist in this vicinity; but where, the Indians do not pretend to know.

Dr. Parry thinks he felt the shock of an earthquake this evening.

SANTA ISABEL, *Sept.* 17*th*, 1849 —

	9h A.M.	12h M.	3h P.M.	6h P.M.
Green's Syphon Barometer, No. 222	27.232 in.	27.256 in.	27.253 in.	27.189 in.
Attached Thermometer, 4	70°.5	84°.5	86°	71°.5
Detached thermometer, 4	74°	81°	86°	71°

On the morning of September 18th we took an early start, and as the short cut of sixteen miles to San Felipe is not passable for wagons, we proceeded in a northerly direction toward Wamer's ranch. The valleys through which our route leads are really charming for California. The groves of oaks are filled with birds of song, and morning is made joyous with the music of the lark and blackbird.

Having traversed the long valley of Wamer's ranch, eight miles from Santa Isabel, we struck the much-travelled emigrant road leading from the Colorado to El Puebla de los Angelos. In a ravine of superb oaks we stopped to gather grapes; for here is an Indian village, a mountain stream, and a vineyard.

Upon entering San Felipe, twenty miles from Santa Isabel, we found several parties of emigrants, some of them destitute of provisions. They tell us that, upon the desert, we shall find many in a condition bordering upon starvation. They also confirm the reports of the emigrants at San Diego concerning the hostilities committed by the Indians at the mouth of the Rio Gila. One party pretended to have had a pitched battle with them, and showed an arrow with which one man had been wounded. The number of the Yumas at the mouth of the Gila was estimated at five thousand, and it was feared that they would utterly destroy the emigrant parties in their rear.

The village at this place contains probably fifty Indians, part of whom are Diegunos, and acknowledge the authority of Tomaso; the rest belong to the tribe of the desert called Como-yei or Quemeya, speaking a different language, and totally ignorant of Spanish. To my surprise, the women were neatly dressed in calico frocks, and, notwithstanding the streaks of tar with which they paint their faces, some were quite good-looking. Their Zandias were all "verde," and they had nothing else to sell. As at this place we take leave of the Lligunos, it may be well to record such words of their language as have been gathered from Tomaso, their chief, and others of their tribe.

Diegunos.	English.	Diegunos.	English.
mo-quuc, or hut	horse	hainato	body
ah-hut, or moolt	mule	estar	head
ay-cootcht	man	wa	face
sua	woman	hoo	nose
nile	father	a-yen	eyes
tile	mother	a wuc	eyes

Diegunos.	English.
ah	mouth
selh'l	hand
a sac'l	fingers
cuwis	arms
ewith'l	leg
toon	knee
ha-mul-yay	foot
hil-e-tar	hair
el-mam	boy
en yát'l	to-day
mat-in-yat'l	to-morrow
hoon	night
han, or hanna	good
a-wah	house
tay huth, or cuchao	blanket
a pl-eu	hat
hind	one
ha-wue	two
ha-mook	three
cha-pop	four
suap[1]	five
coo-quit hue	money
iris coquit'l hue	
poot wurris coquit'l hue	he wants money
n'yah	I

Diegunos.	English.
poo	he
twa	am
pee	here
n'ya-pee-tawa	I am here
poo-ce-pa-a	he was there
ach-a-ma-cha	fruit
ahā	water
me-yut'l	bread
as-a-o	to eat
ay-sāil	to drink
ha-mat'l	ear
n'yā-ahā a sāy	I drink water
n'ya-coquago asaho	I eat meat
quarqaue	brandy
asu-muaye	to be drunk
n'ya quar-quac asu	I drink rum
omuc'l, or omahō	nothing
ho	yes
n'ya hub n'yay pilýay	I have a home
n'ya-hut pour yayo	I had a horse yesterday
y'ayo	
n'ya hut meton yat'l ninia	I shall have a horse to-morrow

Sept. 19.—Left San Felipe at 8 A. M. Trees and grass gave place to rocks and sand. About two and a half leagues from San Felipe we entered the dry bed of an anoyo which traversed for nearly a league a winding ravine produced by a fault in the mountains.

The width in some places was barely sufficient to admit the passage of our wagons, while the perpendicular height of the rock on either side was at least fifteen feet. The rock, at first coarse granite, with tumuli of Pedrigal, passed into an indurated shale, talcose or mica slate. Veins of quartz were still numerous.

Encamped at El Puerto. Three and a half leagues from San Felipe, we found springs of water, a little grass, but no wood. Here were many emigrants, who gave the same dreary account of the desert as was told us last night; much sand and no grass. One of the men showed me a piece of lead-ore, apparently containing silver, found at this place.

[1] According to Tomaso, the Diegunos have but five numerals, although others of the tribe gave me, hesitatingly, ten: viz., huic, hawoc, hamook, chaypop, shuckleakayo, sumhook, suap sahook, (hiphook, and yainat, apparently erroneously taken from the Yumas.)

Left El Puerto at 8 A. M., Sept. 20th, crossed a steep hill, and entered the basin of Vallicito. Here abounded cacti, maguey, fonguiera spinosa, and wild sage, but not a blade of grass. Wading the sand for a league, the hills close in, to form a narrow valley where we find grass and excellent springs of water impregnated with sulphur. Here we encamp; near us are the ruins of adobe huts, indicating the decline of the Indians. There remain a few naked and miserable wretches who have a garden of green melons, but nothing to eat except the roots of wild maguey.

This day we first met with the mizquite bean, upon which the prosperity of our horses and mules, and the success of our expedition, are expected to depend. The accompanying sketch represents a branch of the mizquite screw-bean.[1] These screw-like pods grow in clusters of eight or ten upon the same stem. Both the screw and the pod of the mizquite contain much saccharine matter, and are very nutritious. They ripen at different seasons of the year, and are very abundant, each tree producing many bushels.

VALLICITO, *Sept. 20th.*

	12h M.	3h P. M.	6h P. M.
Green's Syphon Barometer,	28.511 in.	28.492 in.	28.439 in.
Detached Thermometer,	99°.50	96°.05	96°.05
Detached Thermometer,	99°	99°.	98°

VALLICITO, *Sept. 21st.*

	6h A. M.	9h A. M.	12h M.	3h P. M.
Green's Syphon Barometer,	28.400 in.	28.461 in.	28.484 in.	28.443 in.
Detached Thermometer,	61°.05	96°.	100°.05	99°.05
Detached Thermometer,	62°.	101°.	99°.	99°.

Sept. 21st.—The day was so warm that we were compelled to lie by at Vallicito until about 5½ P. M., when we pursued our route down the valley which soon stretched out into a plain. The road followed a bed of sand; in which the feet of our horses sunk below the fetlock at every step. Six miles from the springs of Vallicito, a semi-spherical hill in the midst of the valley separated two roads, the right-hand one leading directly to Cariw Creek, the left by a circuit of half a mile, taking you by the way of a mineral spring of drinkable water. The scenery here by moonlight was beautiful. The hills in the back ground, with angles sharp and sides perpendicular, were singular in the extreme. By the dim light it was hard to believe that they were not ruins of ancient works of art. One had been a temple to the gods; another a regularly bastioned fort. The fine large trees which mark the course of the run have furnished the name by which it is known, "Palmetto Spring."

Vegetation in the valley remains unchanged. Cacti, maguey, kreosote lurrea Mexicana, dwarf cedar, and the fonguiera spinosa, are abundant.

[1] This sketch, and those alluded to in pages 107 and 108, did not accompany the manuscript.

Many meteors are seen shooting from the zenith to the S. W. A cloud arose in the East, with frequent flashes of lightning, but the night passed without rain.

Arrived at Cariso Creek, fifteen miles from Vallecito, eight from Palmetto Spring, at midnight. Found the water of the creek quite brackish. Mules and horses would scarcely taste it, thirsty as they were; of food for them, there was none. The emigrants had consumed every blade of grass, and every stick of cane, so that our sorrowful animals are tied in groups to the wagons to ponder their fate upon the desert.

Saturday, *Sept. 22d.*—The sun was perhaps half an hour high, when our hungry animals were again put in harness. At camp, the creek appears fifty feet wide and nearly a foot in depth; but a mile or two below, it is entirely lost in the thirsty sand.

Our route was through the valley of the Carazul. Its banks are of clay, worn by rain into fantastic shapes, and occasionally mountains appear beyond.

The road is strewn with emigrants winding their way to the "placers." No rocks were visible save masses of pedrigal, stately in structure, and containing large ferruginous nodules. Two leagues from camp we passed a steep ridge, seemingly formed of gypsum clear as glass.

Noon.—We are now fairly upon the desert; sandy hills behind, a dreary, desolate plain before us, far as the eye can reach. An undulating surface of sand, with pebbles of jasper, is sprinkled with small green clumps of Laurea Mexicana.

Thermometer 108°, Fahrenheit, in the shade. 3h P. M. Twelve miles from Cariso Creek; stopped to dig for water, but in vain. Thermometer 106° in the shade.

There appeared in the east a cloud, which soon assumed that peculiar appearance which often precedes a violent storm. A dark mass approached; a hurricane was upon us, and we were enveloped in a cloud of sand. The mules were driven from their path, the canvass covers were torn to shreds, and the wagons themselves in danger of being upset. For fifteen minutes we were blinded, when a torrent of rain quieted the dust; a shower of hail succeeded, and the men, throwing themselves upon the ground, hid their faces in the sand for protection. There was neither flash nor report of lightning for an hour. It came, at length, as night was closing in, to add sublimity to the scene. Pools and streams of water appeared in every direction; and spots upon the parched desert which, two hours before, seemed never to have been kissed even by a gentle dew, now afforded buckets-full of water for the thirsty mules. It was dark when one of the party returned, saying that the road led into a lake which he had been unable to find his way across. Our destination for the night was what the emigrants call New Lake; the nearest point at which we expected to find water. But now we had left the sandy soil of the upper desert, and were traversing a lower plateau whose clayey bed retained the copious shower like a cup. At this time our parties were greatly scattered; some far in advance, others far behind. With us were neither tents nor provisions; to encamp was, hence, impossible. Thinking that the extent of the inundation could not be great, we entered the water and pushed onward. For a mile,

at least, we traversed this lake-like sheet of water; the mules wading to their knees at every step, and still the chains of lightning that seemed to encircle us showed, far as the eye could reach, nothing but water. Yes, there was one spot of land visible—Signal Mountain, about five miles distant—and, after a brief consultation, we turned towards it. Wandering about at night in an unheard-of lake, not knowing into what gulf the next step might plunge us, would have been sufficiently romantic, without the storm, which still raged unabated, the lightning, which blinded, and the thunder, which stunned us. At length the camp-fire of the advanced party was discovered, and served as a beacon to lead us safely into port. The tired mules loudly expressed their gladness at reaching terra firma, and finding, twenty-five miles from Cariso Creek, a resting-place at camp. There is no grass here, but a rank growth of what is called careless weed is very abundant. This affords little nutriment. The hungry animals, however, prefer weeds to nothing. At 11 P. M. the stars were shining brightly, and scarcely a cloud was to be seen. Lieutenant Coutts, commander of the escort, thinks that during the storm he felt an earthquake.

Morning, *Sept.* 23*d*, showed our encampment to be upon the banks of a beautiful little sheet of water, called, by the emigrants, "New Lake." Kearney's route, Cooke's and Graham's trails, must all have been north of this lake, or this body of water would have been seen. The water is fresh, but in position it is far from the Salt Lake laid down upon Emory's map.

The prominent mountain, lying about four miles south and ten degrees east from camp, and apparently two thousand feet in height, must serve as a beacon to travellers crossing the Colorado, and may probably be found a convenient point from which to flash gunpowder for the determination of the difference of longitude between San Diego and the mouth of Rio Gila. Hence it may be called "Signal Mountain," and this lake so near its fort, "Signal Lake." The accompanying hasty sketches give rough views of both lake and mountain.[1] The former is about a quarter of a mile in length, and a hundred yards wide; depth not ascertained. Mud-hens were the only navigators visible. The southern bank is high, and sprinkled with mizquite trees. Upon the north is marsh, with careless weed. At its eastern extremity, the lake communicates with a little bayou, the course of which is distinctly marked toward the southeast with mizquite. This is a portion of the stream which has been termed by the emigrants "New River."

Left Signal Lake at 8 A. M., hoping to find grass at our next stopping-place. There is a trail upon each bank of the bayou. Proceeding in a general E. S. E. course, we crossed the stream at a distance of five or six miles from the lake. At this point, the banks were steep, the bed of the stream from ten to twenty feet in width, and ten feet below the surface of the surrounding plateau. The depth of the water was less than a foot; and there was no current, for, in many spots above, the channel was dry. A

[1] Vide note, p. 105.

few miles beyond the bayou, we struck the border of a large grove of mizquite, where we found great quantities of beans. Here were first found shells of the fresh-water muscle. Hares and many partridges were seen. The deep channel of New River again appeared with more water than before. Twelve miles from Signal Lake, we again struck an angle of the river, where the banks were low and the stream nearly fifty yards wide. The water was sweet, apparently deep, and silvery fish, as large as perch, were seen in it. The scene from this place is roughly represented in the accompanying sketch.[1] As we approached our destination for the night, the sands of the desert gave place to green patches of grass. At sunset, we encamped about eighteen miles from Signal Lake, at a point on this river called, par excellence, New River, the oasis of the desert, where sweet water and excellent grass are abundant.

Monday, *Sept. 24th*, half an hour after sunrise. Thermometer, 72°, Barometer, 30.119 inches. The grass here is good, and so abundant that we will be enabled to wait here for our remaining trains, and recruit the weary animals. We are now in the midst of the desert, and at the recruiting place of all travellers. The white tents of the numerous emigrants give the place quite the air of a village. The grass upon the plains is short, green, and tender. Upon the banks of the stream it grows tall and thick. Dr. Perry, the botanist, thinks the grass a new species, which he proposes to call "Chrondrosium Desutorum." Although the river bears no marks of being new—as its name implies, the grass which grows in its vicinity has probably but lately made its appearance upon the desert. A change seems passing over this region, rain becomes more abundant, mizquite grows, and careless weed springs up, soon to give place to more tender herbage.

NEW RIVER JORNADA, *Sept. 25th*, 1849—

	6h A. M.	9h A. M.	12h M.	3h P. M.	6h P. M.
Green's Syphon Barometer, No. 222	29.935 in.	30.014 in.	30.000 in.	29.908 in.	29.880 in.
Attached thermometer	68°.5	94°.5	100°.5	104°.5	95°
Detached Thermometer	69°	98°	104°	108°	98°

(Observed with Fox's Dip Circle for Magnetic Inclination and Intensity.)

Sept. 26th. A sunrise. Thermometer, 75°; barometer, 29.880 inches. This day made a reconnoissance in the vicinity of New River. Three and a half miles S. S. E. from camp, crossed the bed of New River upon dry ground. Careless weed and grass very luxuriant. The bank of the mizquite grove was gay with the songs of small birds. South, the mountain range, patches of green grass, with here and there a kreosote plant, appeared. All else was hard clay, baked and cracked in the sun to appear like a pavement of wood. Every where, near the banks of the stream, the Planorbus and other fresh-water shells have been found in abundance; and here small volutes covered the ground, and in some places were heaped up in such quantities as to appear like snow. The heat was intense. An astonishing mirage often presented

[1] Vide note, p. 105.

to view the appearance of water; as we approached, there seemed to be a bank of trees reflected distinctly from the smooth surface below. The illusion faded away as we drew near, to reappear in the distance. Eight miles from camp, the river impeded further progress, being fifty yards wide, and apparently deep. Mud-hens were swimming on its surface, and herons with their long bills were dipping for fish.

Dr. Parry went to the mountains to-day, by taking a course nearly S. W. He crossed no streams except the one at camp. The foot of the hills was sprinkled with locust trees, but the mountains seemed destitute of vegetation.

Sept. 27th, at sunrise.— Thermometer 70°, Barometer 29.814 in. At 5h P. M. recommenced our journey. Two miles from New River our route lay over a level plain, green with the characteristic grass, and the Laurea Mexicana. Grass by degrees gave way to drifting sand; and buttes covered with green shrubs alone broke the monotony of the desert. Five miles from camp we crossed the dry bed of an ancient stream, with steep banks, and a sandy level bed ten feet below the surface of the desert, and one hundred and eighty feet wide. Mizquite lined its banks, while kreosote and wild-sage sprinkled the valley.

Eight miles from New River we encamped at the "Lagoon," where we found water, but no grass or beans for the animals.

Sept. 28th.— Left the "Lagoon" at 4h A. M., and by the aid of Venus, whose light was so strong as to cast a decided shadow, we ascended a bank to the upper desert, leaving in the valley upon our right, one and a half miles from camp, the "Second Wells." We moved on east over the desert, covered with pebbles of jasper or deep-drifting sand, and without shells; with no green thing to relieve the eye save the Laurea Mexicana, which covets solitude. Twenty miles brought us again upon the steep sand-banks which long had bounded our horizon. We descended eighty to one hundred feet, into a muzquite-covered cañada, or valley, extending from this point about twenty miles in width to the Rio Colorado. Upon this lower plain, where were found the same fresh-water shells as distinguished the region of New River, we pursued a N. E. course, parallel to the bank which bounds the desert proper, for seven miles, to the three "Wells." Here we encamped, twenty-seven miles from the Lagoon. The wells are dug ten feet deep, at the bottom of a small natural basin, which seems scooped from the plain.

At the camp of the "Three Wells," twelve miles west from the crossing of the Rio Colorado, 1849, September 28th, at 8h 15m P. M., there occurred an earthquake. The oscillatory motion was from east to west. It shook the tents, spilled water from a nearly full bucket, awoke those who were asleep, and frightened many of those who were awake. The rocking motion continued about two minutes.

Sept. 29th.— At 5½h. A. M., left "Three Wells," and kept along the foot of the sand-banks, a little N. of east, for eight miles. Met many emigrants with women and children, facing the desert with cheerful looks. Frank says "that the happiest set of

fellows he has ever seen upon the desert, was that encamped at 'The Wells' last night with their wives and children."

At the fork of the road we were met by our old guide Tomaso, who had been despatched to warn the Indians of our approach. He was accompanied by Santiago, chief, and the principal men of the band of Yumas, which occupies the village at the lower crossing of the Colorado. Santiago wore a blue great-coat, and a fancy cotton handkerchief bound his head. His legs and feet were bare; others were clad in the simple breech-cloth. All were mounted on spirited horses. The road up to the bank to the left, is the emigrant trail over the deep-drifting sands of the desert. Taking the more circuitous route to the right, we were escorted by the Indians a short distance, to their village in the cañada, luxuriant with maize and melons. We were at once surrounded by great numbers of Indian men and women, evincing friendliness, curiosity, and intelligence. The women are generally fat, and their dress consists of a fringe made of strips of bark bound around the hips, and hanging loosely to the middle of the thighs. The men are large, muscular, and well-formed. Their countenances are pleasing, and seem lighted by intelligence. I doubt whether America can boast of a finer race of Indians. Their warriors wear the white breech-cloth, and their hair hanging in plaits to the middle of their backs, is adorned with eagle-feathers and the rattle of a rattlesnake. They are exquisite horsemen, and carry their bow and lance with inimitable grace. A dozen of these warriors conducted us beyond their village three miles, through fields of maize, and groves of alamo and willow to the Rio Colorado, where we encamped, twelve miles below where the Rio Gila unites its "sea-green waters" with the rightly-named Colorado.

Until October 1st we remained at the lower crossing of the Colorado, waiting for a road to be cut upon the right bank, five miles to the emigrant crossing. Our Indian neighbors were very sociable, bringing us grass, beans, melons, and squashes; for which they received in return, tobacco or money. Old Santiago, their chief, could not speak Spanish, and so our guide Tomaso was made interpreter. There were also here a few of the Co-mo-ya Indians from the desert or San Felipe, and they could converse with us. Santiago and his people professed great friendship for Americans in general, and us in particular. They had never stolen from the emigrants, nor maltreated them in any way; but the Indians higher up, near the mouth of the Gila, they represented as being a desperate set of rascals. They plundered the emigrants of what they could not steal. The day before, a German had been decoyed away from his party and murdered. They had even come to open hostility with some parties of the emigrants, and fought pitched battles; and, as they numbered from five to ten thousand people, they were always victorious. These accounts seemed the more probable, as they agreed with those given by the emigrants themselves. Santiago concluded by requesting us to remain with him, as we were, as he said, too few and too weak to cope with those at the mouth of the Gila.

The basis of our road along the bank of the Colorado, was an Indian foot-path, which wound around every tree that time had thrown across its ancient track, doubling the true distance.

Passing through a forest of cotton-wood and willow, we came to the foot of "Pilot Knob," and having crossed a spur which extends to the river, found ourselves upon the bank at the emigrant crossing. Here we encamped. Pilot Knob is an isolated mountain, and rises above us to the height of about fifteen hundred feet. We ascend the highest peak to fire rockets, and watch for signals from the Sierra beyond the desert.

Tuesday, *Oct. 2d*, 1849.—Left the foot of Pilot Knob, and travelled on through groves of mizquite, upon the banks of the Colorado; not an Indian had we seen since leaving the village of Santiago; but Tomaso, with some alarm, pointed out fresh foot-prints in the path we followed. We emerged upon the river. The branching paths were soon after lost. A densely-wooded ravine rendered it impossible to follow the immediate bank of the river. In search of the way, I soon found myself separated from the escort, and alone following a well-trodden path. Eager to reach my destination, I pushed on for an Indian guide. At length the winding path led me into a village of the Yumas. As I rode to the principal hut, without an interpreter, I felt it was imprudent thus to throw myself into the power of these savages. They at once surrounded me. One, with an emerald pendant from his nose, held the bridle of my mule, some played with my pistols, others handled my sword. Seeming to put perfect confidence in their honesty, I nevertheless watched them narrowly, while I endeavored to explain, in Spanish, the object of my visit. Him with the jewelled nose I found to be Anton, a petty chief, or captain of his village. He understood but little of Spanish. Soon there rode up upon a spirited horse, an Indian, whom I found to be a Comoya from San Felipe, called "Mal Anton," and with him I could converse. They having consented to guide me to the mouth of the Rio Gila, I shook off the curious men, women, and children that nearly buried my mule, and rode on; I passed through large patches of maize, melons, zandias, and squashes, leaving villages to the left and to the right. Lost in the maze of paths, and being unable to elicit a word from the grim-looking Indians I met, I turned for my guides. Soon they appeared, coming at full run; the chief in advance, armed with a musket, and Mal Anton followed upon his wild pony, gracefully swinging over his head the noose of his lariat. The chief then led the way, while the other followed me through deep ravines and rude plantations. At length, having no fancy for sharing the fate of my namesake in Mexico, I ordered Mal Anton with his lariat in advance. "Tuirc v un bon Corazon?" he inquired as he passed. I assured him of protection as long as Americans were well-treated by them. They led me two miles, to the junction of the Rio Gila with the Colorado, where I found a hill, excellent for an astronomical observatory. Eating a melon Anton had gathered for me, I returned and conducted the whole party

hither; encamped, placed the transit in the meridian upon a temporary stand of stone, and observed the same night the passage of both limbs of the moon, and several moon culminating stars.

Wednesday, *Oct. 3d.*—To-day came Pablo, grand chief of the Yumas, with his scarlet coat trimmed with gold lace, his epaulettes of silver wire, and, to crown all, green goggles. His legs and feet were bare, but he did not allow that to detract from the dignity of his manner. Tomaso ushered him in and acted as interpreter, translating my Spanish into Indian for him, and his Indian into Spanish for me. I explained to him, that their territory now belonged to the United States; that the government took an interest in the welfare of the Indians who were honest and well-disposed; that we were disposed to live in amity with them, but were prepared to chastise those who were inclined to evil. He promised that his people should not steal from, or otherwise injure Americans, and I gave him those presents that I had prepared. Having taken a glass of agua-ardiente, his tongue was loosed, his dignity was overcome, and he no longer needed an interpreter. Pablo spoke Spanish better, by far, than I could.

Oct. 4th, 1849.—Many Indians in camp; all, as I ever expected to find them, most peaceably disposed. Bows, and arrows pointed with jasper, guns and pistols, (mostly broken and discarded by the emigrants,) are constantly brought into camp. There is, however, perfect confidence among all parties.

Friday, *Oct. 5th*, 1849. To-day the Indians of the Yuma tribe held a grand council in honor of our arrival; and as Pablo Coelum, the great chief in epaulettes and green goggles, had been chosen under the Mexican reign, they determined to show their adherence to the United States by deposing their old chief, and, in a republican manner, electing a new one. The successful candidate was our old friend Santiago, captain of the band of Cuchans at the lower crossing. He seems a good old man, and worthy of his honors. Upon his election, he was escorted to my tent for the customary presents, and promised good faith towards all Americans.

Tomaso soon returned with three minor chiefs, or "Captaines de los Cuchanes," Anastasio, Anton, and Pasqual. The band of Anton lives eight or ten miles above us, and is famed for theft, robbery, and murder. Anton is one of their orators, and replied to me in a speech of half an hour's length: but Tomaso pretended that he did not understand the Cuchan language, and would not translate it.

Oct. 7th, 1849.—Took a walk into the villages to see how the Indians live. They all knew me, and received me kindly enough into their family circles, composed of about a dozen men, women, and children, sitting or lying upon the ground, under the shade of a flat roof of branches of trees supported by posts at the four corners. The women, dressed in girdles of bark stripped into thongs, and, partially braided, hanging in a fringe to the thighs, and ornamented with many strings of shell or glass beads, were making a mush of zandias, (water-melons,) or grinding grass seed into flour.

The men, with breech-cloths, or perhaps a shirt cast off by the emigrants, were

ornamented with rings in their noses and eagles' feathers in their hair. The children wore no covering except what nature gave them, but were decked with loads of beads upon their necks, and small strings of the same were inserted through their ears.

The laborious part of their toilet, that in which all their taste and skill are put in requisition, consists in painting. Warriors dye their faces jet black, with a strip of red from the forehead, down the nose, and across the chin. Women and young men usually paint with red, and ornament their chins with dots or stripes of blue or black. Around their eyes are circles of black. Their bodies are generally of a dark red, and polished with an oily substance, so as to resemble well-cleaned mahogany. The face and body are sometimes fancifully striped with black. Of their hair they are quite proud, and take great care in dressing and trimming it. It falls naturally from the crown of the head, and is neatly and squarely trimmed in front to reach to the eye-brows. The rest is matted into plaits, and falls upon the back, reaching nearly to the ground.

Strings of broken shells called "pook," are highly valued among them. These consist of circular pieces of sea-shell, with holes very nicely driven in the centre. They are very ancient, and were formerly used as money. A string is now worth a horse. An Indian dandy is never dressed without them, and the number of strings worn indicates the wealth of the possessor. The figure of the young dandy, though large, is so faultless in its proportions, that, when I have seen him dressed in his clean white breech-cloth, with no other covering to his carefully painted person, except the graceful plume upon his head, and the wide bracelet of leather, with buckskin fringe, and bright brass buttons, which serve as mirrors, upon his left arm, I could but applaud the scorn with which he looked upon European dress, and the resolute firmness with which he refused the proffered gift of pants.

The Yumas, or as those near the mouth of the Gila call themselves, Cuchans, appear to be skilled in none of the arts. They have neither sheep, cattle, nor poultry. Horses and a few pet lap-dogs, are the only domestic animals found at their ranchos. The men are warriors, and occasionally fish and hunt. The women not only attend to their household duties, but also cultivate fields of maize and melons, and collect grass-seed, which they pound to flour for bread.

Returning to camp, I found the deposed chief Pablo Coelum, and his friend, Captain Anton, loaded with presents of melons, for which in return was expected tobacco, red flannel, &c.

Learned from Pablo many words of the Yuma language. Rio Colorado is in their tongue "Hahwith-e-cha-whut," meaning as in Spanish, red river. Rio Gila they call "Hah-qua-su-ethel," meaning salt river. The water is indeed brackish, and salt-water plants grow upon its banks.

Oct. 12th, 1849.—To-day large numbers of Yumas have started upon an expedition against the Mar-i-co-pas. They are mounted on good horses, which they stride without

a saddle, and manage with a halter. Their coal-black faces, and striped bodies and legs, give them a fierce aspect. Their hair is no longer suffered to hang loosely, but is bound with strips of scarlet woollen cloth, with long ends streaming behind. They are led by their famous war-chief, "Caballo-en-Pilo," and, with bow in hand, and quiver of arrows at their back, they look quite formidable.

Monday, *Oct. 15th.*—Arrived Colonel Collyer, Collector of the port of San Francisco, escorted by Captain Thorne, with thirty dragoons. Under their protection is also a party of emigrants commanded by Mr. Audubon the younger, naturalist, and Lieutenant Browning of the Navy.

Mr. Langdon Haven, and a son of Commodore Sloat, were with this party, which was suffering for the want of provisions.

Oct. 16th.—This evening has furnished a sad occurrence. Brevet Captain Thorne, son of Mr. Herman Thorne of New York, while superintending the transportation of his party across the Rio Colorado, just below the junction of the Rio Gila, was thrown into the river by the upsetting of his heavily-laden boat, and was drowned. The current of the river was so rapid, that all exertions, even those of the Yuma Indians, the best swimmers in the world, were unavailing. Captain Thorne was succeeded in the command of the escort by Lieutenant Beckwith.

Oct. 19th.—Mr. Ingraham has just informed me that the wooden box in which is kept Chronometer No. 719, cracked into pieces last night while used in keeping time. This is another proof of the exceeding dryness of this climate, and I regret that I have no hygrometer to determine it. All the boxes in which the instruments were packed are being destroyed. The nicely-seasoned and well-finished cases made in England many years since for instruments of Troughton and Simms, have shrunk so as not to admit the original contents.

A few nights since, while I was reading the micrometer of the zenith sector, the horn with which my reading lens was incased snapped, and flew from my fingers in three pieces. The peculiar state of the atmosphere was the only cause assignable for such an occurrence.

Oct. 25th.—Continued the survey at the junction of the two rivers. The Rio Gila, a short distance from its mouth, is so shallow that the Indians wade across it. The Colorado at the ferry, a short distance below the junction, is about twelve feet deep. The waters of the Colorado are almost opaque with clay tinctured with the red oxide of iron. But the water is sweet, and when allowed to rest, becomes limpid. The waters of the Gila are covered with a sediment nearly black, and have a brackish taste; making appropriate the Yuma name for it—Ha-qua-siul—meaning "salt water."[1] Both rivers are rapid, and their junction forms a distinctly marked and nearly straight line, leading from the east bank of the Gila to the channel of the Colorado. They unite, and, singularly enough, contract to one-fifth the width of the

[1] Oct. 7th, p. 113, this river is called "Hah-qua-su-ethel."—H. R. S.

Colorado, above, in order to leap through a narrow gorge, which some convulsion of nature has torn through an isolated hill. Upon this hill, eighty feet perpendicularly almost above the water, stands our observatory.

Oct. 27*th.*—Pasqual, one of the war-chiefs, and Captain Anton, tell me that they are in daily expectation of an attack from the Maricopas. The Yumas deserve chastisement; for, in their late expedition, they surprised their enemies and brought off captive two Indian boys, whom they afterwards sold as slaves to the Mexicans.

Oct. 28*th.*—Thronged, as usual, with Indian visiters. They say that the Maricopas came in sight of camp yesterday; but, seeing United States troops, dared not attack the Yumas.

Oct. 30*th.*—This morning at about four o'clock there was great alarm among the Cuchans (Yumas) who live up on the left bank of the Colorado. Our whole camp was aroused by their shouting and firing. By daylight they were swimming the river in crowds; men with their horses, and women with their children; all crying out lustily "Maricope—Mar-i-cope!" Every hill-top was crowded with armed warriors, and others were riding hither and thither; why or wherefore, none seemed to know. At length, Anton told me that many Maricopes had attacked them, and killed one Yuma. By ten o'clock A. M. our camp was deserted by the Indians, and for the rest of the day not one has been seen.

The soldiers think the whole story of Maricopes a ruse, and apprehended an attack to-night. Dr. Coutts has increased the number of sentinels for the night.

Oct. 31*st.*—Indians have been to-day sociable as formerly; each chief bringing presents of excellent melons. Among them came, for the first time, the great war-chief, "Cabello-en-Pilo." I made him a small present, which secured his friendship.

Nov. 2*d.*—Among my early Indian visiters this morning, is one whom the whole tribe calls an hermaphrodite. She is gigantic in size, muscular, and well-proportioned. Her breasts are not developed like those of a woman, but she dresses like one of the gentler sex, and it is said she cohabits with a man. She is in disposition mild, and often hangs her head with a mental blush at the jokes of her companions.

From Pablo Coelam, by birth a Comogei, but formerly chief of the Yumas, or Cuchans; from Jose Antonia, whose father was a Mexican, but born of a Yuma mother, and always living with the tribe; from Tomaso, chief of the Diegunos; from Antonia and Mal-Antonio, intelligent Indians from San Felipe; and from other Indians with whom I could converse, I have collected all information possible regarding the tribes of which they knew.

The term "Yuma" signifies "sons of the river," and is applied only to those born upon the banks of the Rio Colorado. The Yumas are divided into five lesser tribes or bands: namely,

1st., *Cuchans;* numbering about five thousand persons, and living in villages upon

both banks of the Rio Colorado, within about twenty miles from the mouth of the Rio Gila. They are a noble race; well formed, active, and intelligent.

2d., *Mah-ha-os.* They are a great nation, and live upon the right bank higher up the Colorado, seven days' journey from the mouth of the Rio Gila. Being very poor, they wear only the breech-cloth. They are warriors, and well armed with bows, arrows, and lances.

3d., *Hah-wal-coes.* This great nation possesses the left (east) bank of the Colorado, eight days' journey above the junction of the Rio Gila. I have been shown to-day, by an Indian, a very good blanket, black and white checked, said to have been made by the Hah-wal-coes.

4*th.* *Yam-pai-o* is the name of the tribe which occupies the left bank of the Colorado, six days' journey above the junction with the Rio Gila.

These four nations speak the same language, differing from the Cuchan, and Pablo says he can understand none of them, except the Mah-ha-os. They are, notwithstanding, firm friends and allies of the Cuchans, always assisting them when at war with their perpetual enemies, the Maricopas. In these wars, captives are made slaves, and are for ever degraded. The mother will not own her son after such a misfortune has once befallen him.

At the mouth of the Colorado, about eighty miles below the junction of the Gila, is the tribe called "Co-co-pah." According to the previous definition, these also must be Yumas; but they are enemies of the Cuchans, and no intercourse exists between them. The Gila Indians call it but three days' journey to the country of the Co-co-pahs, and yet they seem to know them less, and fear them more, than any other Indians.

There are upon the desert west of the Colorado two tribes of Indians, called Cah-wee-os, and Co-mo-yah or Co-mo-yei. The Co-mo-yahs occupy the banks of the New River, near the Salt Lake, and the Cah-wee-os live farther north, upon the head-waters of the same stream. Pablo himself is a Co-mo-yah; he was born upon the banks of New River ("Hah-withl-high") of the desert, emigrated hither twenty-five years ago, and when I arrived he was Captain General of the Cuchan tribe. Several Co-mo-yahs are here, and they can generally be distinguished from the Cuchans by an oval contour of the face.

Pablo says that New River was formerly a running stream; that it rose north of the country of the Cah-wee-os, and flowed into the Colorado one day's journey below the lower crossing of the village of Captain Santiago: but, for some twenty or thirty years, the water in it was merely in pools, until the past season, when abundant rains restored its former dimensions, and again water flowed from the salt lakes to the Colorado.

One month has now elapsed since my arrival at this place, and I have spent all my leisure moments in studying the character of the Indians. I have visited their ranchos, and have daily admitted them freely into my tent. Upon the table are always many little things curious and valuable to them, and men, women, and

children, are permitted to examine and pass them from hand to hand without being watched, and never, to my knowledge, have I lost the value of a penny. With men shrewd as are the Cuchans, this might result from policy; but if thieving were tolerated among them, it seems strange that children should not be tempted by the many curious things they handled to recur to the habit.

Sunday, *Nov.* 18*th.*—The day was exceedingly pleasant, like our Indian summer. Thermometer, at three o'clock P. M., 82°. For a long time, I have endeavored to ascertain what were the superstitions of the Cuchans; what was their substitute for religion; what their modes and objects of worship. All the reply I could get from Tomaso, and other Indians who glory in the name of Christians, was "Ellos-saben-nada-nada," (They know nothing at all;) and when I made them interpret for me, with the pure Yumas that knew no Spanish, the reply was still "nada." "The Yumas had no god, they worshipped nothing, and went no where after death." At length, a woman appeared with a brass medal bearing the image of the Virgin Mary, when some one knelt to it with clasped hands; all looked on in silence and apparent awe, and afterwards expressed their approbation by saying "ah-hóté-kah" (good).

To-day, chief Anastasio took up a French prayer-book, and listened evidently with reverence at hearing it read. He then made a long dissertation in his own language, of which I understood little, except that after death the body of a Yuma is buried, and his ashes ascend to heaven; that he himself had a good heart, and hence was worth any Christian.

Thursday, *Nov.* 22*d.*—The rising sun dispelled the clouds and brought a charming day. At 12 M., the barometer, by a sudden fall of about an half inch, indicated the approach of one of our periodical storms, which soon swept over us. The wind, as is usual at such times, nearly precipitated our tents from the cliff into the river below. However, at sunset the wind moderated, the moon peeped from the clouds, and we obtained good lunar observations.

Friday, *Nov.* 23*d.*—Having been employed so steadily in observing at night, and computing all day, my health begins to suffer, and last night I was too nervous to sleep; hence the wail of the poor dog, that nightly howls the requiem of his drowned master, seemed more sad to me than ever. When Captain Thorne was lost in the Colorado some weeks since, a Mexican boy shared the same fate. He left a faithful dog, who has declined the alluring invitations of emigrants and soldiers, preferring rather to lick the ground his master last trod, than accept the daintiest fare from a stranger's hand.

Saturday, *Dec.* 1*st,* 1849.—Having determined, with all the accuracy which two months' time could admit, the latitude (32°.43′.31″. 6. N.) and longitude (111°.33′. 04″. W. of Greenwich) of the monument near the junction of the Rio Gila with the Colorado, and from thence measured 85°.34′.16″. 2 W. of S., the azimuth of the line of boundary leading to the Pacific Ocean; and also having settled with the

Mexican commission, which arrived yesterday, all questions relating to the boundary at this point, from which any difficulty could be apprehended, we left the Mexican gentlemen in charge of our fixtures, and turned towards San Diego.

Of late my time has been so much occupied with professional pursuits, that I have had less intercourse with the Indians than formerly, but my opinions of them are little changed from those previously expressed. I will merely add, that to this day, among the Yumas, I have never seen anger expressed by word or action, or known one of their women to be harshly treated. They are sprightly, full of life, of gaiety and good humour.

I will add a vocabulary of the Yuma (or rather Cuchan) language. Great pains have been taken to render it correct. We endeavored, and some of us succeeded to a certain extent, to converse with the Indians in their native tongue.

In the words of the vocabulary the sounds of the vowels are as follows, viz:

a, like *ah*.

e, as in *me*, and ĕ, as in met, and è like a in fate.

i, as in pine, and ĭ, as in pin.

o, as in note, and ŏ, as in not.

u, as in flute.

The syllable over which the accent is placed should be very strongly pronounced.

The language of the Yumas seems wanting in none of the sounds we have in English, and they pronounce, with great ease and distinctness, any English or Spanish word which they hear spoken.

VOCABULARY OF ABOUT TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY WORDS IN YUMA AND ENGLISH.

Yuma (Cuchan.)	English.	Yuma (Cuchan.)	English.
è-patch (or) è-páh	man.	è-ètche	hair.
seen-yáck	woman.	è-dótche	face.
o-shúrche, or o-so*	wife.	ee-yú*	face.
n'a-vère	husband.	ee-yu-calóque*	forehead.
hèr-mái*	boy.	smyth'l (or) è-sīm-ile	ear.
mè-sèr-hái*	girl.	ho-máie*	son.
hail-pĭt	infant.	m'-cháie*	daughter.
loth-mo-cúl	father.	soche*	brother.
n'taie*	mother.	am-yùck*	sister.
mĕt-è-páie*	Indian.	a-tuc-sáh-o, or ee-a-tuc-suche	chin.
è-cóut-such-è-rów-o	head.	è-pulche, or ee-pailche	tongue.
oom-whelthо*	head.	are-dóche	teeth.
o-cóu-o*	hair.	yah-bo-íněh	beard.

Yuma (Cuchan.)	English.
n'yeth'l	neck.
ee'-seth'l (or) è-séel	arm.
ee-wée*	shoulder.
ee-sálche	hand.
ee-salche sérap	fingers.
ee-sálche-calla-hótche	finger-nails.
ee-mátche	body.
ta-wa-wám*	body.
mee-sith'l	leg.
é-mětch-slip-a-slap-yáh	foot.
é-mětch seráp	toes.
é-mee-cas-sás*	toes.
a-tan*	back.
a-pee-árpe*	hat.
ee-éie*	heart.
a-w'hut*	blood.
he-paith-la'-o*	town-village.
ee-pa'h-han	rich man.
co-hóte	chief.
è-dotche-ée	eye.
ee-yu-sune-yá-o*	eye.
è-hótche (or) ee-hós	nose.
ee-yu-qua-ófe*	mouth.
n'yee-pah-è-sáh-he	arrow of wood.
a-ta-cárte*	hatchet.
n'é-ma-ro*	knife.
é-cal-hór*	canoe.
ha-with'l, or ha-wéel	river.
ha-weel-cha-whoot	Rio Colorado.
ha-qua-sĭ-eél	Rio Gila.
n'hum-an-óche	shoes.
a-órbe	tobacco.
am-mai	sky-heaven.
n'yatch	sun.
ha-rup	whiskey.
huth'l-ya (or) hull-yár	moon.
klup-wa-taie (or) hut-char	star.
no-ma-sup	day.
n'ye-as-cup	night.
n'yat-a-so-arpe	midnight.
met-n'-yúm	light.
n'yat-col-sée	darkness.
esta-no-sup	morning.
n'yat-an-náie	evening.
huc-n'a-pin	noon.
oo-cher	spring.
o-mo-ca-che-púe	summer.

Yuma (Cuchan.)	English.
ha-tĭ-ol	autumn.
con-niee*	warrior.
hon-o-wai*	parents.
n'yet'l*	friend.
matro-habée-é*	compadré.
n'ye-valyáy	house.
een-ou-wa*	house.
een-ou-mùt*	hut.
ar-tim*	bow.
o-tées-a	bow.
n'ye-páh	arrow.
n'yee-pah-táh	arrow of reed.
sho-kine	ice.
o-mút	land.
a-ha-thlou-o	sea.
ha-sha-cut	lake.
ha-mut-ma-tárre	valley.
wee-qua-táie (or) ha-bée	hill or mountain.
ha-mut-ma-tárre quel marm	island.
o-wee	stone.
e'-sith'l	salt.
n'yer-ma-ro	iron.
e'-eesh	tree.
e-ée or e-eetch	wood.
ee-atch-a-berrbeerrch	leaf.
ta-seú-o	meat.
huts	horse.
hoo-wée	dog.
n'ya-pin	winter.
mit-har	wind.
mit-har-co-no	thunder.
n'ya-col-sée	lightning.
way-mah-coutche	breech-cloth.
mu-híe	rain.
ha-lúp	snow.
n'awo-cópe	hail.
á-á-wó	fire.
a-há	water.
n'yat	I.
manto	thou.
ha-britzk	he.
co-bar-ro (or) cobarque	no.
áh-àh (or) oh	yes.
epallque	much.
lueel-yóh	to-day.
ten-igh	yesterday.
qual-a-yoque	to-morrow.

Yuma (Cuchan.)	English.
sin (or) asiéntie	one.
ha-wick (or) ha-vick	two.
ha-móok	three.
cha-póp	four.
se-rap	five.
hum-hook	six.
path-caye	seven.
chip-hook	eight.
hum.ha-mook	nine.
sah-hook	ten.[1]
a-her-máh	bird.
ès-pátch	eagle.
sor-mĕh	eagles' feathers.
sah-with'l	feathers.
a-chee	fish.
haur-arlk	white.
quin-ele (or) n'yúlk	black.
a-cha-whut	red.
ha-woo-surche	blue.
at-so-woo-surche	green (same as blue.)
a-quésque	yellow.
o-taique	great.
o-nóe-òque	small.
a hóte-kăh (or) a-hotk	good.
ha-loolk	bad.
e-hauc (or) e-háu-ac	handsome.
ee-pah	ugly.
huts-eele	cold.
ep-eelk	warm.
que-diqùe (kerdeek) or n'yuc-a-yuc	to come.
a-woo-noorch	to desire.
a-woo-sèrche, or n'you-a-mìck	very bad.
a-hóte'k	good.
a-ah-oche	a light.
n'yo-pike	I have none.
as-a-o (or) atch-a-mám	to eat.
a-see (or) ha-súe	to drink.
co-nó	to run.
a-hese (or) chee-nine	to dance.
et-sìms	to wash.
n'yats-her-sàllk	I wish.
atch-ar-see-várch	to sing.
a-see-niah	to sleep.
a-ee-póre	to be sleepy.
quer-quèr, (or) atch-ah-querck	to speak.

Yuma (Cuchan.)	English.
o-óok	to see.
a-moo-hán	to love.
au-ou-oúe	to kill.
au-núe	to sit.
a-boúck	to stand.
n'yee-moom (or) at-co-bér-qùie	to go.
manúrke	paper.
ac-coúrt	shortly.
ac-court-n'ya-móoms	I go shortly.
a-ho-mah (or) marrico-tah	beans, (small) with black spots.
qui-yay-vay-may-deek	how do you do?
yam-a-bárque?	who comes there?
mé-cham-pau-ee-ka	I am hungry.
ee-yah (ee-yahts, plural)	mezquite long-bean.
ho-wo-dówk	you have some.
es-mé-déek	who knows.
è-pailque-n'ya-móok	very great.
chi-mĕt-a-qúis	musk-melon.
ché-met-a-hán	good melon.
chè-mèt-ou-yá	water-melon, (zandia.)
che-met-tóh	water melon or zandia.
nee-ca-chain	cigar.
as-ee-póe	to smoke.
ae-corque	far off.
a-hóte'k-a-hau-ac	very good.
ha-lulk-a-hau-ac	very bad.
chim-èn-yùch	scissors.
n'yeem-cot-a-bar-bah	river's bank.
ha-bee-co-há	Emory's hill.
ha-bee-co-a-chis	Pyramid hill.
ha-bee-to-cúe	capital dome hill.
ha-be-co-là	Pilot knob.
que-you-so-win-a and ha-bee-quou-yeera	Pilot range.
At-co-ben-quiè-n'ye-val-yay-yee-moom	I am going home.
mel-ee-kéet-á	chimney rock.
n'ye-móom	I am going.
é-eesse	mezquite screw-bean.
me-tuc-a-deek	I am going above.
seen-yac-n'ye-háu-ác	the woman is handsome.

[1] In counting above ten they have no new terms, but combinations of the decade are used.

Yuma (Cuchan.)	English.
ce-pàh-n'yá-a-nùc	the man is ugly.
at-co-berquie-n'ya-ral-yay-me-moom-ah-hôte'k	It is well that I am going home.
n'ya-háp	California.
n'yá-háp-mé-ye-moom	I am going to California.
cobárrque	he is not here.
ings-tam-hóre	devil.
coo-coo-máh-at	God.
ĕn-carque	give me.
o-oobe-éncarque	give me tobacco.
sa-cóol	beads.
mezqueeno	stingy.

Yuma (Cuchan.)	English.
marèque (mareck)	white beans.
tèr-ditch	maize.
no-py-am?	have you none?
n'yo-péke	I have none.
Hér-cóh	Mexicans.
Pain-gote-sáh	Americans.
ac-o-táie	grass-seed.
pook	beads made of small pieces of sea-shells with holes in centre and strung.
que-diquo (ker-déek)	come here.

☞ The words marked with an asterisk (*) were learned from Pablo; some of them were found to be of his native tongue, Comoyei, and probably nearly all are. Those not marked have been tested by a reference to the native Cuchans. The phrases given were in daily use among us, and were well understood to convey the meaning given.

V. TRIBAL ORGANIZATION, HISTORY, AND GOVERNMENT. B.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION, HISTORY, AND GOVERNMENT.

SYNOPSIS.

1. The Naüni or Comanches of Texas. (One Plate.)
2. Oral Traditions respecting the History of the Ojibwa Nation. (Two Plates.)
3. Contributions to the History, Customs, and Opinions of the Dacota Tribes. (Six Plates.)

1. THE NA-Ü-NI, OR COMANCHES OF TEXAS; THEIR TRAITS AND BELIEFS, AND THEIR DIVISIONS AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS.

BY ROBERT S. NEIGHBORS, ESQ.

SIR:

I HAVE given the subject-matters contained in your book of inquiries respecting the several tribes of Indians of the United States, as much attention as circumstances would admit, and have the honor to enclose for your consideration, this sketch of the Comanches, which was obtained from the best sources of information we have in regard to them.

Owing to the difficulty in finding time to give this subject the attention it requires, this sketch is very imperfect, but in the general questions answered, I have obtained all the information I could get.

Our intercourse with this tribe is so limited, and they have so little confidence as yet in the whites, together with the great difficulty in finding interpreters who fully understand their language, has rendered it impossible for me to obtain more information on the subjects referred to, than this slight sketch. I have had no leisure

to obtain information from any tribe but the Comanches, but would respectfully refer the Commissioner to a communication of the Hon. David G. Burnet,[1] to the Commissioner of Indian affairs, which is a very perfect sketch of the condition of the small tribes of Texas Indians.

I have the honor to be be,

Very respectfully, your obedient Servant,

ROBERT S. NEIGHBORS, *Special Agent*

The Comanches know nothing positively of their origin, and their traditions on this point are very vague and unsatisfactory. They believe they have always lived near the same country they now occupy, and they know of but one migration of their tribes; this took place many years since, when they travelled from the west, and met with what they term the "Mountain Spaniards" in the mountains of New Mexico. They lived with them many years, and intermarried with each other. The first chief they recollect was named "Ish-shu-ku," (Wolf-house); he was a great and wise chief. At the time he lived, they still resided in Mexico. From thence they visited the prairies for the purpose of hunting, and intermarried with the other tribes inhabiting those regions. These were the Wacos, Tah-wac-car-ros, Toriuash, and branches of the Pawnee tribes.

They call themselves "Na-üni," which signifies — first alive, or live people. They are called Comanche by the Mexicans, Nar-a-tah, by the Wacos, Tah-wac-car-ros, &c., Par-too-ku by the Osages, and Sow-a-to by the Caddoes. When they came from the west, there were no people living on the lands they now occupy. The first white people they saw were on the west side of the Rio Grande or Del Norte. They lived there at that time, and made a treaty with the white traders that they met. The first guns they ever saw they got from the Spaniards; they were common shot-guns. The first rifle, they saw with American traders. The first cloth or dry goods was bought from the French "many years since." They had never heard of it until that time. They got the first tobacco from the Wacos, who raised it themselves; but they are ignorant at what time this took place. Afterwards, they bought from the French who traded them, the cloth, &c.

They have an imperfect tradition that another race of people inhabited this country before them, and that there was a great flood of waters which covered the whole earth, and that the inhabitants, who they suppose were white and civilized, were metamorphosed into "white birds" and flew away; by which means they saved themselves from being destroyed. After this, they believe the Great Spirit made the Comanches on this continent.

They have never heard of any animals except those which are generally known in this region; neither are they aware of anything connected with crossing the large

[1] Vide Part I., p. 229.

waters. The first war they recollect was with the Lipans, a branch of the Apaches. They believe in and venerate several deities. They worship one Supreme Being, who they think inhabits a country above the sun. The Sun, Moon, and Earth are their principal objects of worship — the Sun, as the primary cause of all living things; the Moon as the God of night, and the Earth as our common mother.

They believe that the will of the Great Spirit is supreme; that he dispenses good and evil at his will, also life and death. They think if they lie to the Great Spirit, he will cause them to die; and many other punishments are inflicted if they displease him. All their success in war or hunting is derived from Him whom they worship: it is called "making medicine."

They use many charms, and are very superstitious. All charms are supposed to be derived from the Great Spirit, which they buy from their "medicine men." They offer Him many sacrifices. The first puff of smoke is offered to the Supreme, the second to the Sun, the third to the Earth, and after these, to whatever they venerate. The first morsel of what they intend to eat is presented to the Great Spirit, and then buried in the ground. All their implements of war are made by, or undergo charms from, their priests or magicians, who practise charms for the purpose. Their shields are made in imitation of the sun, and before going to war they are stuck upon their lances, facing the rising sun; and no person is permitted to handle or touch them except their owners. They believe that they were made by a secondary spirit, who was sent down to the earth by the Supreme. When he first made them, they were imperfect. The spirit returned to the Supreme, and told what he had made. He was then directed to return and complete his work by giving the beings he had created sense, and instruct them how to live. He taught them how to make bows and arrows, and gave them horses, &c. &c.

They have no name for the country they inhabit, or for the whole continent. They know of no great changes in their tribe, but they have increased greatly in numbers since they left Mexico, by their connexion with other small prairie bands, and the numerous captives taken in their wars — principally from Mexico.

They are at present divided into eight distinct bands, each ruled by their own chiefs, and appear to have a strong connecting link in the similarity of habits and language, and frequently they unite in war or council; occasionally one band is at war with a nation, and the others at peace. The eight divisions of the tribe are classed and named by themselves as follows:

1st. Ho-is, or Timber people, because they live in a timbered country. They are also called "Pine-takers" or honey-eaters, being fond of honey.

2d. "No-ko-nies," because they always live and travel in a circle; their country that they claim being circular.

3d. "Teu-a-wish," or Liver-eaters, because they eat the liver of all game they kill in its raw state.

4th. "No-na-um," because they live in the high prairie where there is no timber or running water, and never leave that kind of country.

5th. "It-chit-a-bud-ah." Cold people, or the northern band, because they live in a cold country.

6th. "Hai-ne-na-une," or Corn-eaters, being fond of corn.

7th. "Koo-che-ta-kers," or Buffalo-eaters.

8th. "Par-kee-na-um," or Water-people; because they always camp as near the waters of lakes or creeks as they can get.

A large number of them speak Spanish imperfectly, and some few understand a little English. All their business is transacted in their own language, for which an interpreter is sufficient. There are at the present time very few pure-blooded Comanches, having intermarried as previously stated. They have not changed their location since their emigration, and their territory in Texas has diminished by the continued encroachments of the whites. The principal chiefs that are known are "Pa-ha-yu-ca," or one who has connexion with his uncle's wife; "Mo-po-cho-co-pie," or Old owl; "Pochan-a-qua-hiep," or Bull-hump, commonly known as Buffalo-hump; "Santa Anna;" "Sah-vi-artee," or Small Wolf; "Tuna-cio-quasha," or Bear's Tail; "Moora-ke-toph," or Mule-dung—Hois chiefs—"Po-hu-ca-wa-kit," or Medicine-hunter; "O-ha-wa-kit," or Yellow-hunter, Ten-a-wish chiefs; "Chip-es-se-ah," or Growing-chief, Koo-chi-ta-ku; "Oho-is," or Naked-head, No-ko-nie. They assume the pre-eminence of all prairie Indians; but this is only allowed by the small tribes, who live on the borders of their country. They have no proof, by monuments, &c., of any other race having existed where they at present live, previous to themselves; and the few traditions preserved by the old men are very imperfect. They believe that the earth is a plain or flat surface.

The principal rivers in their country are the head-waters of the Brazos, Colorado, and Red Rivers; all emptying into the Gulf of Mexico. There are no lakes known, but there are large springs, affording great water-power on the heads of the principal rivers. The surface of the country is generally hilly, which is sterile; but there are many beautiful valleys, abounding in vegetation, and susceptible of the highest cultivation. Wood is scarce, but a sufficiency for future settlers. The prairies are covered with a species of grass, called, by the whites and Mexicans, "musquite," which is highly nutritious.

The constant firing of the prairies checks the increase of timber, and visibly impoverishes the soil. There are no marshes or swamps of any extent in the country, and the only obstacle to roads is the rocks, through which passes can be found with little difficulty. No volcanic eruptions exist at the present time, and no signs of any at a former period, as far as has yet been discovered.

The climate is usually very dry. The heat of the weather varies greatly; changing with a rapidity unknown in any other latitude, the thermometer frequently descending

from 65° to 45° in the space of a few minutes. This is in consequence of a wind suddenly arising, termed, by the Texians, "Northers." The south and southwest winds generally prevail. The country is subject to severe thunder-storms, accompanied by violent rains, which fill the streams to overflowing. There are several valuable salt springs, from which salt can be easily manufactured. There are evidences of stone-coal and many valuable mineral productions, but hitherto, the country being dangerous of access, no white person is acquainted with the exact localities or the probable richness of the mines. Some silver and lead mines, supposed to be exceedingly valuable, have lately been discovered. There are no Indian traditions or evidences of larger animals having previously lived in the world. Their old men are ignorant, except from their imperfect traditions, of everything that transpired previous to their own generation. They cannot recollect how long since they used utensils of stone, or, if they ever did, what was their shape or use. There are none remaining among them at present. They believe the earth is stationary, and that the stars are inhabited, but have no idea of their movements. When an eclipse occurs, they suppose that some planet has intervened between the earth and the sun. They have no computation of time beyond the seasons. They count them by the rising height of the grass, the falling of the leaves, and the cold and hot season. They very seldom count by new moons. One sun is one day, and they denote the time of day by pointing to the position the sun has attained in the heavens.

They believe the Indian Paradise to be beyond the sun, where the Great Spirit sits and rules.

Numeration.—They count by decimals, from one to one thousand, as I am informed by the principal chiefs, but they now frequently count by the Caddo mode—from one to ten, and by tens to one hundred, &c.

COMANCHE NUMERATION.

One	Sem-mus.
Two	Wa-ha.
Three	Pa-hu.
Four	Ha-yar-ooh-wa.
Five	Mo-wa-ka.
Six	Nah-wa.
Seven	Tah-a-cho-te.
Eight	Nah-wa-wa-cho-te.
Nine	Sem-mo-man-ce.
Ten	Shur-mun.
Eleven	Shum-me-ma-to-e-cut.
Twelve	Wa-ha-ta-ma-to-e-cut.
Thirteen	Ta-hu-ma-to-e-cut.

Fourteen	Ha-yar-ook-wa-ma-to-e-cut.
Fifteen	Moo-wa-ka-ma-to-e-cut.
Sixteen	Nah-wa-ma-to-e-cut.
Seventeen	Tah-a-cho-te-ma-to-e-cut.
Eighteen	Nah-wa-wa-cho-te-ma-to-e-cut.
Nineteen	Sun-mo-wash-ta-ma-to-e-cut.
Twenty	Wa-ha-ma-mu-ma-to-e-cut.
Thirty	Pa-ha-ma-mu, &c.

They have no accounts; all their business transactions are simple trade and barter. They are ignorant of the elements of figures; even of a perpendicular stroke for 1, 11, &c. They make no grave-posts or monuments indicating the rank of a deceased person. There is little known of their medicines. So far as has been discovered, they are confined to simple roots and herbs. They trust more to incantations made by the medicine-men, who also bleed in fevers by scarification on the part affected, and not in the veins. Their principal treatment in diseases is starvation. They do not understand amputation, but bind up a broken limb with splints. Their litters for conveying the wounded or sick are composed of simply two poles, with skins stretched across them, and long enough to be supported by a horse in front and rear.

The position of a chief is not hereditary, but the result of his own superior cunning, knowledge, or success in war, or some act or acts that rank him according to his merits. The subjects under discussion in council are at all times open to popular opinion, and the chiefs are the main exponents of it. The democratic principle is strongly implanted in them. They consult, principally, the warrior class, and the weaker minds are wholly influenced by popular opinion. Each man endeavors to obtain as high a position as their merits allow. War chiefs commit hostilities without consulting the other tribes. Any proposition or treaties proposed by the whites are discussed privately, and the answer given by the chief as the unanimous voice of the tribe. In deliberations in council, they consult each other, and one addresses the meeting. The council is opened by passing the council pipe from one to the other, and invoking the Deity to preside. It is conducted with great propriety, and closed in the same manner. There is one appointed as crier or messenger, whose duty it is to fill the pipe, &c. Questions, especially of importance, are deliberately considered, and considerable time frequently elapses before they are answered; but they are all decided on the principle of apparent unanimity. Capital punishments are rare; each party acting generally for himself, and avenging his own injuries. Each chief is ranked according to his popularity, and his rank is maintained on the same principle.

He is deprived of his office by any misfortune, such as loss of many men in battle, or even a signal defeat, or being taken prisoner, but never for any private act unconnected with the welfare of the whole tribe. They have no medals except those lately

given them, which are worn more as symbols of peace than as marks of distinction among themselves. Each tribe has no definite number of chiefs, every one being ranked according to his followers. The priesthood appear to exercise no influence in their general government, but, on war being declared, they exert their influence with the Deity. The females have no voice or even influence in their councils. Any principal chief has a right to call a general council of his own tribe, and a council of all the tribes is called by the separate chiefs of each tribe. They acknowledge no legal summons from the whites to council on any subject, except it coincides with their own views; and always inquire into the subject of consultation before attending.

There are no subdivisions of land acknowledged in their territory, and no exclusive right of game. He who kills the game retains the skin, and the meat is divided according to the necessity of the party, always without contention, as each individual shares his food with every member of the tribe, or with strangers who visit them. No dispute ever arises between tribes with regard to their hunting grounds, the whole being held in common.

The intercourse laws of the United States Indians, never having been extended over those in the state of Texas, no conclusions can be drawn from their effect. Negotiations can be carried on with better results in their own country than at the seat of government, as absent chiefs do not place much reliance in what they are told by others, but at the same time, an actual intercourse with the head of the government gives the tribe a decidedly better view of its character and influence. The principal chiefs have shown every disposition to advance in civilization, and only require the co-operation of the Americans, to influence their followers in the same course.

No individual action is considered as a crime, but every man acts for himself according to his own judgment, unless some superior power, for instance, that of a popular chief, should exercise authority over him. They believe that when they were created, the Great Spirit gave them the privilege of a free and unconstrained use of their individual faculties. They do not worship any Evil Spirit, and are not aware of its existence, attributing every thing to arise from the Great Spirit, whether of good or evil. They use fire in all their religious observances and dances, or Medicine-making, but I am unacquainted with the estimation in which it is held.

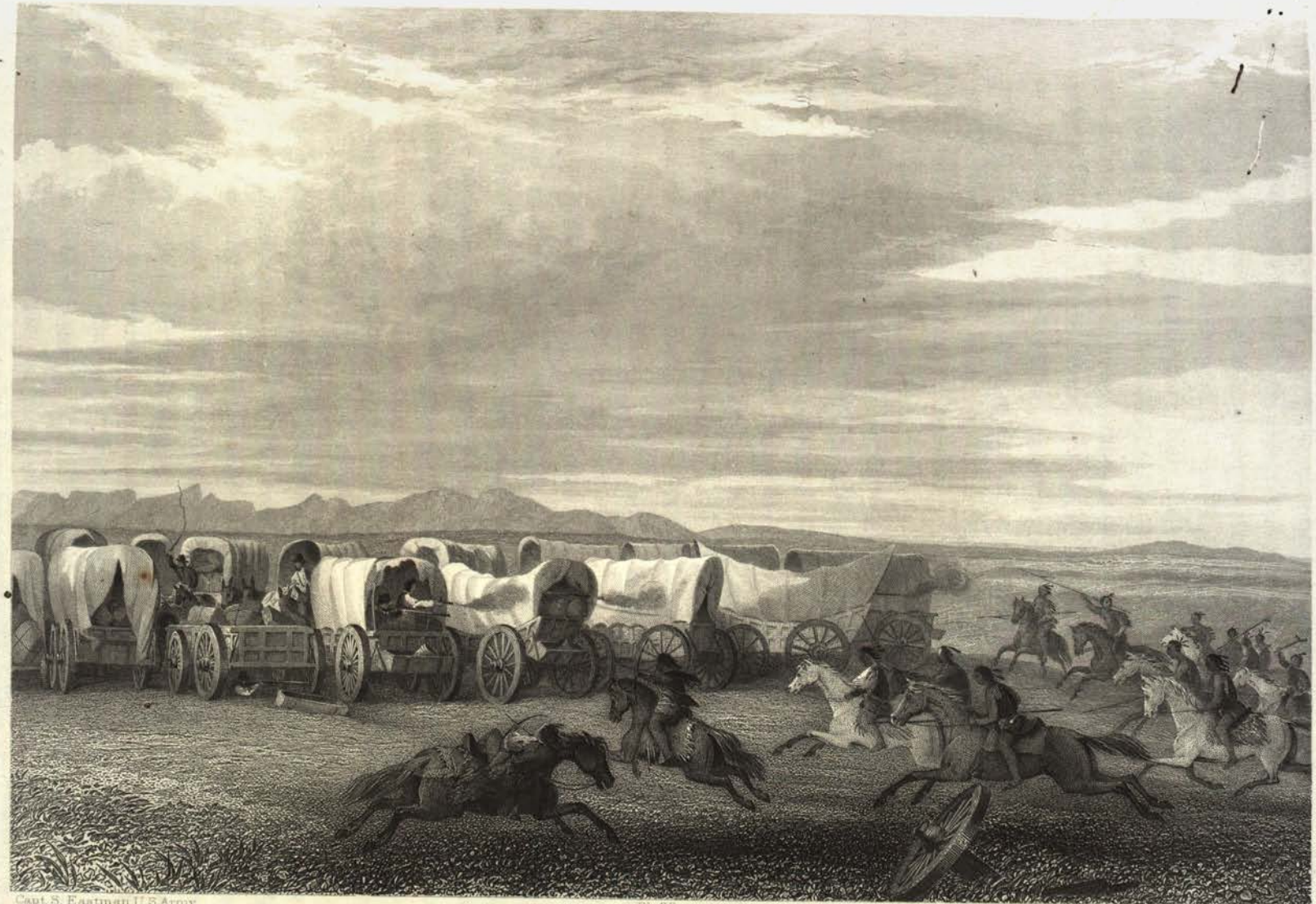
They believe in the immortality of the soul, in their happy hunting-grounds, but have no definite idea of its transit from this life to another, or in what manner they will re-appear hereafter. The ties of consanguity are very strong, not only with regard to their blood relations, but extends itself to relations by marriage, &c., who are considered as, and generally called "brothers"—all offences committed against any member, are avenged by all, or any member connected with the family. In this nation a hunter will generally supply a sufficiency of food and clothing for a family. The marriage state only continues during the pleasure of the parties, as a man claims the right to divorce himself whenever he chooses. Polygamy is practised to a great

extent — some chiefs having more than ten wives, but inconstancy is the natural result of it, which is frequently punished by cutting off the nose of the transgressor, and sometimes even by death; but more frequently the woman escapes unpunished, and the seducer is deprived of all his available property, which is yielded to the injured party, by custom, without resistance. The women perform all manual labour, war and hunting being all the occupation of the men. Jealousy is frequently a great cause of discord, but the husband exercises unbounded authority over the person of his wife. Their lodges are generally neat, and on the entrance of a stranger, the owner of a lodge designates the route he shall pass, and the seat he shall occupy. Any infringement of this rule is liable to give offence.

They are formal and suspicious to strangers, but hospitable and social to those they consider their friends. They have no regular meals, but eat when they feel hungry, each party helping himself, and joining in the meal without invitation or ceremony. The parents exercise full control in giving their daughters in marriage, they being generally purchased at a stipulated price by their suitors. There is no marriage ceremony of any description — they enter the marriage state at a very early age, frequently before the age of puberty. The children are named from some circumstance in tender years, which is frequently changed in after life by some act of greater importance. Whatever children are stolen from their enemies, are incorporated in the family to whom they belong, and treated as their own children, without distinction of color or nation. There is considerable respect shown by the younger branches of the community to the patriarchal chiefs of the tribe.

When they make a sacred pledge or promise, they call upon the great spirit as their father, and the earth as their mother, to testify to the truth of their asseverations. Their talk in council is short, and their oratorical powers considered of little value; but good judgment is held in high estimation. The children are practised at a very early age to the use of the bow and arrow, but the chiefs and principal braves are now accustomed to the use of the shot-gun and rifle, without dispensing with the bow and arrow, which are always carried and used in war. When a chieftain wishes to go to war, he declares his intentions, and the preliminaries are discussed at a war-dance. When the affair is agreed upon, a certain place is designated near the point of action, where to congregate at a specified time, to which place the chiefs repair, the warriors proceeding separately in small bands by various routes, in order, if discovered, to deceive the enemy as to the point of attack, and to procure subsistence, each party living on the produce of the chase; no provisions being carried for public use. They fight on horseback with whatever arms they can procure; but their principal reliance is on the bow and arrow.

They are the most expert riders in the world. Men are never taken prisoners by them in battle, but killed and scalped in all cases. The women are sometimes made prisoners, in which case their chastity is uniformly not respected.



Capt. S. Eastman U.S.Army. Pl. 33. James Smillie.

EMIGRANTS ATTACKED BY THE COMANCHES.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILAD^A

They have dances of various descriptions, always characteristic of the subject. Females are frequently admitted to the dance, but these dances are entirely distinct from those of the men. They have contests in racing, and several games of chance. Their principal game is the same as all the northern bands, called "bullet," "button," &c., which consists in changing a bullet rapidly from one hand to the other, accompanied by a song to which they keep time with the motion of their arms, and the opposite party guessing which hand it is in. They sometimes stake all they possess on a single game.

When pressed by hunger from scarcity of game, they subsist on their young horses and mules. The flesh of the young wild-horse is considered a delicacy.

Their common dress is the breech-cloth and moccasins, with a buffalo robe flung loosely over the shoulders; but some have now begun to imitate the more civilized tribes. They have a great variety of ornaments, many of which are of pure silver, principally fashioned into large brooches. Their decorations are derived from birds and shells which are bartered to them by the traders. The hawk and eagle feathers are the most esteemed of the bird. They use several native dyes, produced from roots, but I am ignorant of the names or the process of manufacture. Vermilion, indigo, and verdigris, are sold them by the traders. They also paint with white and red clay on particular occasions. They are of a light character, with a gay cast of mind, and rather fervid temperament. From observation I am induced to believe that their minds are susceptible of a considerable degree of cultivation. Christianity has never been introduced among them. This tribe is subject to many trespassers, not only from the whites, but also from the neighboring tribes of Indians, who hunt through portions of their country, destroying great quantities of game.

The scarcity of fire-arms, and their incomplete knowledge of that weapon, renders them unequal to contend with the frontier tribes, who have obtained experience from contact with the whites. Their burials are strictly private. When a man dies, his horses are generally killed and buried, and all his principal effects burnt. The first to carry him to his paradise, and the latter for his use on his arrival. They formerly also killed their favorite wife, but this custom has been done away with, from intercourse with the more civilized Indians.

The death of a chief causes great tribulation to the tribe — on such occasions they assemble without distinction, and bewail his death with extreme lamentation, until they receive from the relatives of the deceased, sufficient presents to cause them to stop; for instance, if a man wants a favorite horse belonging to the brother of the deceased, he continues crying till he obtains it. When they are killed in battle, it is a cause of much greater lamentation than from a natural death, and a much greater number of mourners bewail the loss. The presents given by relatives are also much more valuable. The deceased is packed upon a horse as soon as he expires, and taken to the highest hill in the neighborhood, and buried privately, without any monument to note the place, as far as has been discovered. The wives of the deceased,

after he is buried, assemble around the dead horses, with a knife in one hand, and whet-stone in the other, and with great lamentations, cut their arms, legs, and body in gashes, until they are exhausted by the loss of blood, and frequently commit suicide from extreme grief on the occasion.

From the liberality with which they dispose of their effects on all occasions of the kind, it would induce the belief that they acquire property merely for the purpose of giving it to others."

Plate 33 is an illustration of the mode of attack by the Comanches on the emigrants, when crossing the western prairies, en route for New Mexico, Utah, Oregon, and California.

When the emigrants are suddenly attacked by these tribes, (all of whom are mounted) they drive their wagons together, forming a circle, with the heads of the animals towards the centre, and the fore-wheel of one wagon locking in with the hind-wheel of the next, thus forming a compact and strong enclosure, from which they are enabled to defend themselves with efficiency and safety to themselves and animals. If a growth of wood be near, the wagons are driven into it, and the wheels locked against the trees, thus preventing the animals from running off with the wagons. The attack is made without much order, but every effort is made to frighten the animals, by whooping, hallooing, and wounding them with their arrows, so as to produce as much confusion as possible among the emigrants. Often the animals become so furious, that they break away from their teams, and are then captured by the Indians.

For their language, which is found to be cognate with the Shoshonee group, reference is made to the article LANGUAGE, No. IX. This vocabulary is derived from Mr. Neighbours.

Their numeral terms, to thirty, have been given in the preceding pages.

H. R. S.

2. ORAL TRADITIONS RESPECTING THE HISTORY OF THE OJIBWA NATION.

BY WILLIAM W. WARREN.

[The following traditions are given, as being entitled to the highest respect, but without endorsing the opinions incidentally expressed, or the particular archæological dates. Mr. Warren is himself the descendant, by the maternal side, of one of the most respectable Indian families of the ancient capital of this nation, to which he refers; and his sources of oral information are the best. He is a graduate, I think, of Union Theological Seminary, N. Y., and is well versed in the Ojibwa language, as well as with the traditions and manners and customs of this important and far-stretching tribe of the Algonquin group.—H. R. S.]

THE ancient history of the Ojibwas consists in oral traditions, which partake mostly, if not altogether, of the marvellous and supernatural; and the writer is not prepared, at this early stage of his inquiries and studies, to give a decided opinion, deduced from these fabulous traditions, of their origin and history prior to the landing of the Pale-faces in America.

He is, however, collecting every tradition that pertains to, or can throw any light on this subject; and he hopes, at some future day, to be able to place the fruits of his inquiries in abler hands, who are better qualified to handle the subject.

Through a close acquaintance with their religious rites and beliefs, I have formed an opinion which I will offer at this time, leaving it to those who have studied the Red Race, their rites and traditions, much more closely than myself, either to reject or more fully carry out the idea. The Ojibwa believes that his soul or shadow, after the death of the body, follows a wide beaten path which leads towards the west, and that it goes to a country abounding in every thing that the Indian covets on earth—game in abundance, dancing, and rejoicing. The soul enters a long lodge, in which all his relatives, for generations past, are congregated, and they welcome him with gladness. To reach this land of joy and bliss, he crosses a deep and rapid water, &c. From this universal belief I am led to think, that formerly, ages past, these Indians lived in a land of plenty—"a land flowing with milk and honey"—towards the west; that they have, by coercion or otherwise, emigrated east, till the broad Atlantic arrested their further progress, and the white man has turned the faces of tribes and remnants of

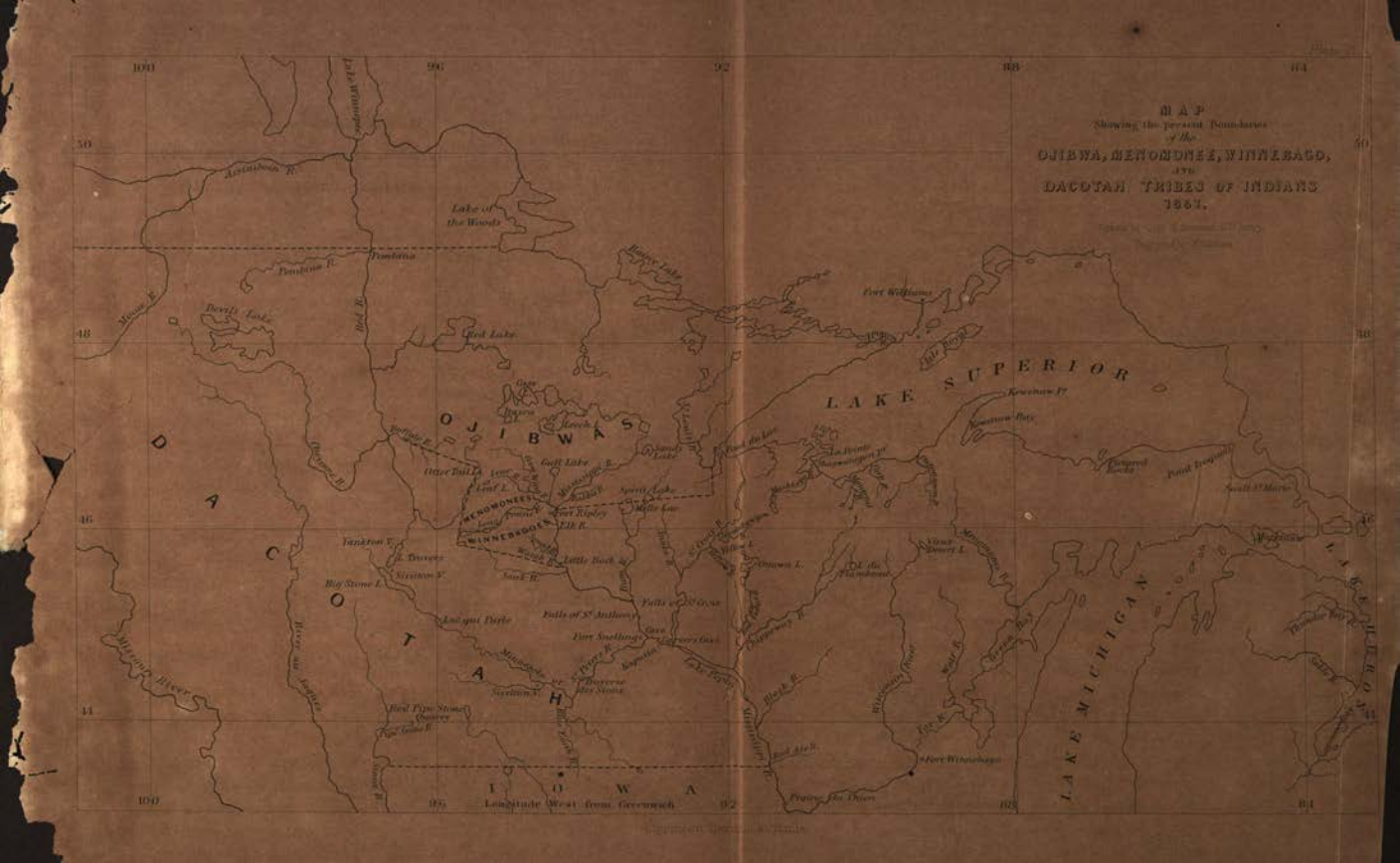
tribes again in the direction whence they originally came. It is natural that this event in their ancient history should, in the course of ages, have merged into the present belief of a western home of spirits.

It is believed by some eminent men and writers, that the Red Race of America are the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel. I mention this belief here to say, that I have noted much, in the course of my inquiries, that would induce me to fall into the same belief, besides the general reasons that are adduced to prove the fact. I have noticed that in all their principal and oldest traditions and lodge tales, twelve brothers are spoken of: they are the sons of *Ge-tub-e*, a name nearly similar to Jacob. The oldest of these brothers is called *Mujekewis*, and the youngest *Wa-jeeg-e-wa-kon-ay*, named after his *coat* of fisher's skins, with which he resisted the machinations of evil spirits. He was the beloved of his father and the Great Spirit; the wisest and most powerful of his twelve brothers.

The tradition also in which originated the *Ke-na-big-wusk*, or snake-root, which forms one of the four main branches of the *Me-da-win*, is similar in character to the brazen serpent of Moses, that saved the lives of the unbelieving Israelites. In the Indian tradition, the serpent is made to show to man a root, which saved the lives of a great town, which was being depopulated by pestilence.

Not only in these instances is the similarity of the Ojibwa oral traditions, and the written history of the Hebrews, evident and most striking. It is out of place here, to particularize further, as I consider this a subject deserving separate attention, and closer investigation than ever it has received. Of late years the Ojibwas have been progressing westward, and from their traditions, it is evident they had commenced it before the white man landed in America. They were probably driven from the east by more powerful tribes, till they made their final stand, above two centuries and a half ago, on Lake Superior, and made their central town on an island in the lake (Lapointe), where they were found by the first whites, who visited them in the attitude of an encroaching and invading tribe, surrounded on all sides by enemies, whom they denominate Nodowaig, or Iroquois, Odugameeg, or Foxes, Aboinug, or Sioux, and Omameeg.

They date with certainty their first acquaintance with the whites, eight generations ago, and for a long time before this, they agree in stating that Moningwunakaun (Lapointe) had formed their central seat and town. Many of the chiefs, and less thinking old men, even affirm and believe, that this is the spot in which their ancestors have lived since "the world was new." It is only by a study of their varied and numerous fable-like traditions, that I can trace them as coming from an easterly direction, prior to their residence on the island of Lapointe. From these traditions we learn that they once were familiar with the great salt ocean — again, that they once lived on a great river, — again, on a great lake, where they exterminated a powerful tribe they call the Mundau; at last we find them on Lake Superior, from which place


MAP
Showing the present Boundaries
of the
OJIBWA, MENOMONEE, WINNEBAGO,
AND
DACOTAH TRIBES OF INDIANS
1861.
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE MICHIGAN
OJIBWAS
DACOTAH
MENOMONEES
WINNEBAGOES
IOWA
Longitude West from Greenwich
100
98
96
94
92
90
88
86
84
50
48
46
44
42

they have still pressed westward for the past two centuries, till they occupy all the country about the head-waters of the Mississippi; and stand, one foot on the edge of the vast western prairies, and the other in the dense forests of Eastern America. (Plate 31.)

With the same progressive advance they have been making for two hundred years past, it has taken this tribe eight hundred years, from the time they left the eastern sea-board of the Atlantic, to assume their present local position on this continent. This time and progress, however, are only assumed, as they may have been driven west to Lake Superior, with much more celerity than they have advanced, since our acquaintance with them as a tribe.

In the inquiries set on foot by the Indian Department of our Government, respecting the history of the Indian tribes, facts only are sought; for this reason we do not introduce fabulous traditions that pertain to their history, but will commence from the time they relate events with any truth and certainty, and this is from the time they first became acquainted with the white man. For a long time prior to this event, the Ojibwa branch of the Algonquin stock, of the aboriginal race of America, had been living on Lake Superior; their principal town was on the island of Mo-ning-wun-a-kán-ing, and covered a space of ground more than three miles in length, and two miles wide, judging from the vestiges still plainly visible — especially to be seen in the small growth of trees now covering the spot, compared to trees growing on other parts of the island; and also in deep-beaten paths, that a few years since were still visible in different parts of the island.

Besides the main body on the island, bands lived on different points of the lake shore, at the bays of *Shag-waum-e-kong*, *Kuk-e-wa-on-aun*, *Ka-puk-wa-e-ka*, and other places; but it was in fear and trembling, for in those days the Ojibwas had many enemies that sought to exterminate them.

They practised the arts of agriculture, and raised on the island large quantities of corn and potatoes. They lived also by hunting. The main land opposite their village abounded in moose, bear, elk, deer; and the buffalo, in those days, ranged in herds within half a day's journey from the lake shore. Every stream that flowed into the lake abounded in beaver, otter, and muskrat. The waters of the lake also afforded them fish of many kinds. The trout, sisquoet, white fish, and sturgeon, which, in spawning time, would fill their rivers, where, making racks across the stream, they would spear and hook up great quantities as the fish came down after spawning. They made nets of cedar and basswood bark, and from the sinews of animals.

The ribs of the moose and buffalo made materials for their knives; a stone tied to the end of a stick, with which they broke sticks and branches, answered the purpose of an axe; the thigh-bone of a muskrat made their awls, clay their kettles, and bows of wood, stone-headed arrows, and spear heads made of bone, formed their implements of hunting and war.

Fire was made from the friction of two sticks. Their shirts and leggins were made of finely dressed skins. Blankets of beaver-skins, eight of which sewed together formed the robe of a man.

It is a fact worthy of record, that copper, though abounding in their country on the lake shore, they never used or formed into implements for use: They considered it, and still do, at the present day, in the light of a sacred article, and never used it but as ornaments to their medicine-bags.

If ancient tools have been found, and marks are discovered showing that copper was worked on Lake Superior ages ago, it is not at all probable, on this account, that the race now living there were the workers of it.

At this era, there was maintained at *Mo-ning-wun-a-kan-ing*, the central town and power of the Ojibwas, a continual fire as a symbol of their nationality.[1] They maintained also a civil polity, which, however, was much mixed up with their religious and medicinal beliefs.

The totem of the *Ah-áw-wa*[2] ruled over them, and Muk-wah, or Bear Totem, led them to war.

The rites of the *Me-da-we-win*, or their mode of worshipping the one Great Spirit, and the lesser spirits, that fill earth, sky, and water, was practised in those days in its purest and most original forms.

They say that a large wigwam was erected on the Island, which they called Me-da-wig-wam, and in which all the holier rites of their religion were practised. Though probably rude in its structure and build, and not lasting in its materials, yet it was the temple of these primitive sons of the forest. And in their religious phraseology, the island of their ancient temple is known to this day as *Me-da-wig-wam*, or Me-da-we-lodge.

In those days their native and primitive customs were in full force and rigidly adhered to. Neither man nor woman ever passed the age of puberty without severe and protracted fasts. Besides the one great and overruling spirit, each person sought in dreams and fasts his particular guardian, or dream-spirit.

Many more persons are said to have lived the full term of life allotted to mankind than do at the present day.

When a person fell sick, a small-pox lodge was immediately made, purposely for him, and a medicine-man called to attend and cure. Only this personage had any intercourse with the sick.

If a person died of a severe or violent disease, his clothing, the barks, and even the poles that formed his lodge, were burned by fire. Thus did they of old guard against pestilence; and sickness appears to have been more rare than at the present day.

---

[1] This opinion agrees with a tradition mentioned in the Notes to Ontwa, an Indian poem, published about 1822.

[2] Ah-áw-wa, Mo-awh-wauk, and Mong, are nearly synonymous, and mean the Loon, which is the totem of the royal Ojibwa family.

The old men all agree in saying that before the white man found and resided among them, there were fewer murders, thefts, and lying; more fear and devotion to the Great Spirit; more obedience to their parents, respect for old age, and chastity in man and woman, than exists among them now. The council of the *Me-da-we* initiators partook, and partakes still, of the spirit of the ten commandments, that was given to the children by the great *Jehovah*, amid the lightnings and thunderings of Mount Sinai.

In those days the ties of blood were stronger among them. There was more good-will, hospitality, and charity, practised towards one another; and the widow and orphan were never allowed to live in poverty and want.

In the traditionary emigration of the tribe from the east, a portion of them moved in the direction of the North of Lake Superior, and are now known as the Muskegoes and *Sug-waun-dug-ah-win-ine-wug*, or "Thick Woodsmen." Other portions of the tribe stopped at Sault Ste-Marie, which has also been one of the oldest towns they now tell of.

In the Straits of "*Me-she-ni-mick-in-auk-ong*,"[1] or "Great Turtle," they parted from their relations, the Ottawa and *Po-da-waud-um-eeg*.[2] With these two tribes, together with the *O-dish-quag-um-ceg*,[3] or Algonquins, they to this day claim the closest affinity.

The confederation of the six nations, whom they denominate *Nod-o-way-se-wug*,[4] from *Nod-o-way*, "The Adder," appears to have been their most inveterate foes, and who, having been first discovered by the whites, and armed with guns, succeeded in driving west the remnant of these Ojibwa tribes, that had remained behind their main body, who were at this era already living on Lake Superior. With them went the *Wy-an-dot*, Po-da-wand-um-ee, Ottawa, and O-dish-quag-umee.

The old men of the Ojibways claim, that before this event happened, the main body of their tribe had already found their way to Lake Superior, and were living at Lapointe. With the portion of the tribe stopping at St. Marie, Saganaw, and the Muskegoes, I claim no close acquaintance, and will mention them only as they are connected with the general history of the tribes. That portion of the tribe that made their town at Lapointe, as it were, formed the advance guard, or van of the Algic stock. They now number eight thousand souls, spread over a large extent of country. At the time they were hemmed in by their enemies at Lapointe, they say that they numbered more: and it is natural to suppose, that their bloody, exterminating wars, in connexion with pestilence, that has twice visited them within the past hundred

---

[1] The original Ojibwa name for the Island of Mackinaw.

[2] Pottawattomies.

[3] Broad Waters; i. e., Lake of the Two Mountains, Canada.

[4] By this name they sometimes call the Sioux, (meaning enemy.)

years, would greatly lessen their numbers; it is therefore within bounds to estimate the tribe living at Lapointe and different portions of the lake, eight generations ago, at about twenty thousand. The marks they have left, alone, on the island, in space would accommodate nearly that number.

Their extermination of the *Mundua* tribe is a traditionary event, related to me by the Sandy Lake chief, and others, and which I have thought proper to introduce here, as an answer in part to the query respecting the lost tribe of Eries, and as an event happening many hundred years ago. There was at one time, living on the shores of a large lake, a grand and powerful tribe of people called Munduas. They were congregated in one single town, which was so large, that one standing on a hill in the centre, could not see the limits of it. This tribe were fierce and warlike; their hand was against every other tribe. Their prisoners they burned with fire, as offerings to their spirits. All the surrounding tribes lived in great fear of them, till their Ojibwa brother called them to council, and sent the wampum of war to collect the warriors of many tribes together. A war-party was raised, whose line of warriors extended as far as the eye could reach. They marched against the great town of the Mundua, and attacked it on all sides that it could be approached by land. Though the numbers of their assailants was overwhelming, the Mundua had such full confidence in their own prowess and numerical strength, that the first day of attack they sent only their boys to repel the invaders. The boys being driven in, they on the second day turned out their young men to fight their foes, while the rest of the town were feasting and dancing. Still, however, the Ojibwas and their allies gradually beat them back, till on the eve of the second day's fight, they found themselves in possession of half of the great town. The third day dawned, and the Mundua beginning to think it a serious business, their old and tried warriors, "mighty men of valor," sang their war-song, put on their paints and ornaments of war, and sallied out to drive back their invaders.

This day, the fight was hand to hand and fierce as fire. There is nothing in their traditionary accounts to equal the violence of the struggle in this battle; the bravest warriors in America had met: one fighting for vengeance, glory, and renown; the other for every thing that is dear to man, even their very existence. The Mundua were obliged at last to give way, and, hotly pressed by their foes, men, women, and children, threw themselves into the lake. At this juncture their aged chief, (who was also a medicine-man,) seeing the dead bodies of his bravest warriors covering the ground, called with a loud voice for the assistance of the Great Spirit, but no answer being made to his prayer, he called on the evil spirits of earth and water, and suddenly there arose from the bosom of the lake a dark and heavy fog, and covered in folds of darkness the scene of the bloody fight.

The old chief gathered together the remnants of his slaughtered tribe, and, under cover of the evil spirits' fog, they left their town for ever. For a day and a night,

they travelled onward, and were congratulating themselves on their escape, when a gale of wind that the medicine-men of the Ojibwas had caused the Great Spirit to raise, dispersed the evil fog, and the surprise of the Mundua was astounding to find themselves standing on a hill back of their devoted town, and in full view of their enemies. "It is the will of the Great Spirit that we should perish," exclaimed the aged chief, and once more they dragged their weary limbs in flight. They fled into a forest, where they buried their women and children in the ground, leaving them but a breathing hole. The men then returned, and beguiled the pursuers by leading them in a different direction. A few escaped, who afterwards returned and dug up their women and children. This small remnant of the once powerful Mundua was the next year attacked by an Ojibwa war-party, taken prisoners, and were incorporated into this tribe. Individuals are pointed out, to this day, as descended from them, and have the marten totem.

We will now relate events happening a few years prior to their acquaintance with the whites. The exact time, however, is uncertain.

One prominent reason why the Ojibwas chose to live on an island, is evident; and that was, for more security from their numerous foes. The Nodowa war-parties did not here reach them, as they came no farther than the Sault at the foot of the lake. But they had as powerful and inveterate enemies in the Odugaumeeg and Aboinug, into whose country they were encroaching.

The *Odug-aum-eeg* occupied a country towards the southwest, about the waters of Wisconsin, on Ton-a-gun and Chippeway Rivers.

The Sioux lived about the waters of St. Croix, Mississippi, and St. Louis Rivers. Sandy Lake, Mille Lac, and Yellow Lake, being then the sites of their principal towns.

A tribe also, called *O-man-ee*, is told of as their earliest enemies. They are spoken of as living at Mille Lac in earthern houses, and were in a general battle exterminated or driven off.

The Ojibwas were most harassed by the Odug-aum-eeg and A-boin-ug, or Sioux and Foxes.

The lake shores of Superior were familiar to the war-parties of these two warlike tribes.

At one time, a war-party of Sioux found their way from the nearest point of the main, to the island of La Pointe, and during the night two of their warriors crossed on a log, a distance of two miles, and returned in a canoe, with four scalps they had taken on the island.

On another occasion, a large party of Foxes floated down the Ontonagun in their small inland bark canoes. They landed in the night on the island of their foes, and early in the morning captured four women that had gone to gather wood; the spot is still pointed out.

The revenge of the Ojibwas was quick and complete; as the Foxes, by their

exultant yells, discovered to their enemies the course of their flight, and hundreds of the Ojibwa warriors embarked hastily in their large lake canoes in pursuit. A dense fog covered the lake, and, depending on this for eventual escape, and confident in their numbers, the Foxes, intoxicated with their success, kept up a continual yelling and singing. Thus guided, the Ojibwas silently and swiftly pursued them, keeping purposely in their wake, till they arrived opposite a line of steep rocky coast, a mile above the mouth of Montreal River and eight leagues from La Pointe; here they fell on the Foxes with great fury,—fighting in large canoes which sat firmly in the water, they nearly destroyed to a man the party of four hundred Foxes, who, being in small canoes, were upset, and most of them drowned and dispatched in the water (Plate 32). This is the only naval engagement the old men of this tribe tell of.

Soon after the above occurrence, a party of Foxes fell on a camp of Ojibwas at Kah-puk-wa-ka, while the men were out hunting. They captured two youths, having driven them into boggy ground. One of these prisoners was the son of a principal Ojibwa chief named *Bi-ans-wah*, and belonging to the *Ah-awh-wauk* family.

A tale was told me by a direct descendant of this *Ah-awh-wauk* family connected with the capture of this youth, which deserves a place in the records of the tribe. At the time the capture was made, the father of the young man was out on a hunt. Returning home, he heard the heart-rending news, and knowing that his son's fate would be the stake, he immediately pursued the returning captors singly and alone. Following in their trail, he arrived at one of their principal villages while the Foxes were in the act of burning his son with fire. He stepped boldly into the midst of his enemies, and offered to take the place of his son. "My son," said he, "has seen but a few winters; his feet have never trod the war-path: but the hairs of my head are white, and over the graves of my relatives I have hung many scalps that I have taken from the heads of your warriors." The old chief's offer was accepted by the Foxes,—his son released, and himself burnt at the stake with all the tortures that savage ingenuity could invent. The son returned to his people, and was afterwards known by his father's name. He became a noted man in his tribe, and, in the course of his history, we will have occasion to notice his deeds in after life.

The act related above was terribly avenged by the Ojibwa tribe. A large war-party was collected and marched against the towns of the Foxes, on the Chippewa river; and they returned not until six villages of their enemies had been laid waste, and their inhabitants destroyed. After this event the Fox tribe retired from the country bordering on Lake Superior, and fell back on the Mississippi.

The war between the two tribes was bloody in the extreme, and carried on with all the cruelty of savage warfare. Captives were taken and burnt by fire. This custom originated in the following manner.

A noted warrior of the Ojibwas was once taken captive by his own nephew, son to his sister, who had been captured and married among the Foxes. The nephew, to

Capt S. Eastman, U. S. Army, Del. Pl. 32. C. E. Wagstaff & J. Andrews, Engs

Combat between the Ojibwas and the Sacs and Foxes on Lake Superior.

show his people his utter disregard to any tie of relationship with the Ojibwas, planted two stakes in the ground, and taking his captive by the arm, tied his feet and hands to the stakes, remarking "that he wished to warm his uncle by a good fire," he then built up a large fire, and after roasting one side of his victim, he turned the other to the blaze; when the naked body had been burnt to a blister, he untied him, and letting him loose, told him "to go home, and tell the Ojibwas how the Foxes treated their uncles." The uncle recovered from his fire-wounds, and in a future excursion succeeded in capturing his nephew. He took him to the village of the Ojibwas, where he tied him to a stake, and taking a fresh elk-skin, on which a layer of fat had purposely been left, he placed it over a fire, until it became one immense blaze, and then throwing it over the naked shoulders of his nephew, remarked, "Nephew, when I was in your village, you warmed me before a good fire; now I, in return, give you a mantle to warm your back." The elk-skin, covered with fat, burnt furiously, and crisping, lighted around the body of his nephew a dreadful mantle, that soon consumed him. This act was again retaliated by the Foxes, and death by fire soon became customary with both tribes.

Soon after their lake fight with this tribe, a war-party of Sioux, numbering one hundred and fifty men, found their way to the extreme point of *Shag-ah-waum-ik*, directly opposite the town of Lapointe, one mile distant. Here they laid in wait, and one morning attacked two young men who had gone to the point to look for ducks. The spot being in those days covered with numerous sand-hills, they defended themselves till the village opposite became alarmed, and the Ojibwa warriors, quickly collecting, ran to the southern extremity of their town, and at Gooseberry creek embarked in their canoes, and paddled straight across to the little portage, a place where Shag-ah-waum-ik is but a few rods wide — once in possession of this spot, the Sioux were entirely cut off from retreat. The van of both parties arrived there at the same moment, and a severe fight for egress was maintained by the Sioux; they were however driven back, and being caught as it were in a trap, were to a man killed, except two who swam into the lake, and as their bodies were not found, it was supposed that they had performed the almost superhuman act of swimming three or four miles in fresh water.

The particles of bones still strewn over the whole point are said to be the remains of the slain warriors.

An anecdote is told of a warrior of the Crane family, who, being left by his fellows in the hurry of embarking, lashed his bow and quiver of arrows to his back, and swam to Shag-ah-waumick, over a mile distant; so eager was he for the fight. He arrived after the battle was over, and was so enraged by disappointment, that he struck, indiscriminately, his fellows, for having left him behind.

The encounters which I have briefly mentioned are related by the old men with great minuteness, and interspersed with anecdotes. Happening before their intercourse

with the whites, they fought with their primitive weapons; spears, bows and arrows, and war-clubs.

We now come to the period when the white man first became known to them. The tradition of this important era in their history is briefly as follows:

A principal man of the *Me-da-we-win*, named *Ma-se-wa-pe-ga*, dreamed a dream, in which he beheld spirits in the shape of men, but having white skins, and their heads were covered. They approached him with a smile on the face, and the hands extended.

This dream he told to the principal men of his tribe, in a council, and over a feast to his dream-spirit. He informed them that the spirits he had seen in his dream resided in the east, and that he would go and find them.

For one year *Ma-se-wa-pe-ga* prepared for his journey. He made a strong canoe, and dried meat for his wappo, and, with only his wife as a companion, he left Lapointe to go and find the spirits he had seen in his dream.[1] He went down the Great Lake, and entered into a river that flowed towards the rising of the sun. He passed through tribes of the red man that spoke different languages.

At last, when the river had become wide, and like a lake, he found on the banks one night, as he encamped, a hut built of logs, and the stumps of large trees that had been cut by other and sharper instruments than their rude axes.

The signs thus discovered were apparently two winters old.

Much encouraged, *Ma-se-wa-pe-ga* continued his course down stream, and the next day again came to another deserted log hut.

The third day he saw another log hut, from the chimney of which arose a smoke. It was occupied by the white spirits of his dream, who came out and cordially welcomed him with a shake of the hand.

When he returned to his people, he brought the presents he had received of an axe, a knife, beads, and some scarlet cloth, which he had carefully secured in his medicine-bag, and brought safely to *Mo-ning-wan-a-kaun-ing*.

Collecting his people to council, he showed them the sacred presents of the white spirits.

The next season numbers followed *Ma-se-wa-pe-ga* on his second visit to the whites. They carried with them many beaver-skins, and returned with the fire-arms that from this time made them the terror of their enemies.

From this time the dispersion of the tribe from La Pointe can be dated. The Indians say, eight generations or "string of lives" ago, which, estimating an Indian generation at thirty-five years, would make two hundred and eighty years ago.

One cause has been given to me, in the course of my inquiries, by persons of the tribe, which is said to have led to their dispersion from the island.

---

[1] Even in the present day the Indians have nearly the same belief in their fast dreams as the Hebrews of old.

Poisoning, in those days, was a common mode of revenging an injury. These Indians, on a small scale, have had their ages of Medicis, Borgias and poisons, as well as the whites; and it is told that it required but the slightest cause for a person to draw down upon himself the displeasure of a medicine-man, and die of his poison. Instances occurred, where the poisoners are known to have dug up their victims, and invite the relatives to a feast on the body.

This horrid ceremony was got up in utter darkness, and not till the friends of the deceased had received their share of the feast were torches suddenly lighted, and they became aware of the nature of the banquet. Fear of the poisoner's power and vengeance would constrain them to eat what was placed before them. This was a usual sacrificial feast to the spirit of the poison.

At this period, the tribe lived in great awe of one another, and especially of their medicine-men: the fear of whom has not yet quite died away, and which is the secret of the power of this body among them.

At this period, it is also affirmed that it was customary to offer to their different Me-da-we spirits, human sacrifices of one another, and of their children. This sacrifice is said to have been made at the roots of a huge pine-tree that stood somewhere in the centre of the island, which reared its branches far above other trees.

The virgin feast of human flesh, which we sometimes hear spoken of, and read of, was also in full practice; and there was an old woman alive at La Pointe a few years since, who could tell tales on this head (her own experience) that would make the blood run cold.

To such an extent were these evil practices carried, that at last fear fell on the inhabitants of La Pointe; the weeping and wailing of *je-bi-ug* or ghosts were heard nightly resounding through their town, till at last they fled, and a general dispersion took place, which left their island entirely deserted.

I have asked old *Be-she-ke* and *Tug-waug-aun-ay*, chiefs at La Pointe, and old men of other bands, for corroboration of this tale I have here related; and though not denying it altogether, they are unwilling to acknowledge the fact, which is but natural they should, from respect to the memory of their ancestors.

My information was derived from old half-breeds of the Cadotte family, who were informed of the above facts by very old Indians; who, thirty or forty years since, were still living at La Pointe, some of them over a century old, and who could remember the tales their immediate fathers related to them.

It is a fact also worthy of mention, that before traders came and made their residence on the island, no Indian, it is said, dare sleep over-night on the site of their old town, for fear of the *Je-bi-ug*.

The first traders that built on the island, during the old French domination, found their gardens overgrown with many years' growth of trees, and it is comparatively

lately, that the band living on the opposite bay of *Shag-ah-waum-ik*, returned to live on the island.

Being hard pressed by their enemies, or in time of great famine, such a thing as eating human flesh might have been adopted to save life—as even at the present time it often happens among the Indians north of Lake Superior. This, together with the fact of their poisoning one another, might have given rise to the above story, and might have conduced in some measure to their dispersion, which I am inclined to believe took place naturally, as they prevailed against their enemies, and became possessed of a larger extent of country.

After this, being aware of the white man's presence on the continent, the next occurrence of importance was the taking of the Sioux village of Sandy Lake, on the Mississippi.

Bi-ans-wah, the young man whose father had died for him at the stake, became, after this occurrence, a fierce and inveterate enemy of the Sioux and Foxes, taking every opportunity, and indeed making it the business of his life, to revenge the death of his brave father.

With a large band of his tribe, he pushed on up the lake, and made a stand at Fond du Lac, *Wi-a-quah-ke-che-gum-e*. At this point *Bi-ans-wah* collected a large war-party, from the different villages of the Ojibwas on the lake shore, at the head of which he proceeded in canoes up the St. Louis, and attacked with great success the then large Sioux town of Sandy Lake. They destroyed numbers of their enemies, and drove them forever from the lake. Here Bi-ans-wah, with his band, eventually made their abiding-place and village. It is at this point that the Ojibwas, in their western conquests, first came on to the Mississippi. They made this their central point and rallying-place, where parties collected, who marched against and wrested from the Sioux Leech, Cass, Winnipeg, Mille Lac, and Red lakes. It is from this point that the different bands, now living on and over the head-waters of the Mississippi, radiated.

Bi-ans-wah, besides his deeds in war, is also noted as having put a stop to the inhuman custom of burning prisoners by fire. This he effected by a treaty of peace with the Sioux, and though the peace was soon after broken, yet both parties mutually refrained from the above practice. From this time prisoners were seldom taken, and if taken never burnt.

Besides the large band that pushed their way to the head-waters of the great river, other bands left the lake shore, and made their towns at Courtoreille, Lac du Flambeau, and on the St. Croix river; conquering, at the expense of much blood, the country as they advanced.

One morning a party of young men going out from the Bay of *Shag-á-wáum-ik* to spear fish through the ice in the fore part of the winter, discovered a smoke arising from the eastern extremity of the then unfrequented island of their old town, La Pointe. They proceeded thither, and found, in a rude cabin made of logs, two white

men in the last stages of starvation. They had evidently been driven on the island by ice, late in the fall, where they had remained for some time, suffering the pangs of hunger. At the time denoted, they had been reduced to the extremity of roasting their cloth and blankets over the coals, and thus eating them as a last means of sustaining life.

The Indians carefully conveyed them to their village, and fed them with judicious kindness. But one, however, survived; who, after remaining with them through the winter, returned to Quebec, where he came from.

The above story is invariably given by the old men of Lapointe on being asked the question, "Who was the first white man that found the Indians at Lapointe after they were known to be on the continent?"

The events narrated happened seven string of lives ago.

Of Fathers Marquette and Alloez, whom Mr. Bancroft states as having, one hundred and eighty-two years ago, found their way to the Bay of *Shag-á-wáum-ik*, and there opened a mission among a large band of Indians, I cannot obtain from them corroborative testimony sufficient to invalidate the fact that they were the people thus visited.

Unless they were the white men found as the above story relates, the Indians have no knowledge or account of them.

An old antique silver crucifix was, in 1847, found by an old woman in her garden, near Lapointe, after its having been ploughed up. This circumstance would go to prove that the fearless and enterprising Jesuits had been of old about the spot.

The first white men that made a permanent residence among them were traders. During the old French domination, a post was built on the Island of La Pointe, at the mouth of a creek or slough between the present site of the American Fur Company's post and the Presbyterian mission.

The buildings were surrounded by palisades of cedar, and cannon are said to have been mounted on guard.

A tragedy happened here which is minutely spoken of by the Indians, and which caused the dismantling and evacuation of the post.

The trader in charge, whose name was Joseph ——•——, was murdered, with his wife and two children, in cold blood, by his hired man. Two causes are given for this outrage: first, the man, being discovered pilfering goods from his master, was afraid to be denounced and punished in the spring, on the arrival of the master, or governor, and for this reason he determined on his death; and second, he had become enamoured with his master's wife, and wished to get possession of her. After killing her husband he tried to force her to his wishes, but she defended herself in such a manner with an Indian spear, that he was obliged, in self-defence, to despatch her, and afterwards her two children. He buried the bodies in a pile of chips and shavings heaped up in one corner of the fort.

This act was perpetrated in the spring, while the Indians were all camped in their sugar bushes on the main shore, and the ice was become weak and rotten.

The murderer told the Indians who inquired for their trader, the plausible story that his master had gone with his family on a dog train, to visit them at their sugar camps. The ice being bad, all supposed that he had broken in, and drowned in the lake. A few days after, when the bay became free of ice, the Indians turned out to hunt for the bodies of their trader and family along the shores of the island and main, but without success.

In the course of the spring, a light canoe arrived from Quebec with a partner of the trading company that owned the post. At first, the story of the murderer was believed, but spots of blood, afterwards discovered on the door and walls of the apartment where he had murdered the trader's wife, led to suspicion, and the man was ordered to be bound and confined. A day or two after this, the partner, walking round the place endeavoring to find further traces of the supposed murder, stuck his sword into the pile of rubbish lying in the corner of the fort. The stench arising from the point of his cane told, that there the bodies were concealed. They were immediately dug up in presence of the murderer, who thereupon confessed his crime.

The fort was razed to the ground, and the cannon and iron works thrown into the adjacent pond, where, the bottom being deep and miry, they have never been discovered.

The culprit was taken to Quebec for punishment, but, as some have it, escaped on the way, and was afterwards tomahawked by an Indian warrior, while boasting of his deed of blood at the red pole, where warriors were telling of their feats in war.

It had become customary, during the French domination, for the Ojibwas of Lake Superior to visit yearly Mackinac, Montreal, and even Quebec. They were well treated by the French, who had, at this time, already intermarried with them, and thus formed a link that made them, ever after, their fast friends.

In their wars with the British, the Ojibwas took active part with the French, and numbers of their warriors, headed by their chief, *Ma-mong-e-se-da*, were present at the battle and fall of Quebec, where the two great captains, Wolfe and Montcalm, fell.

The Ojibwas also joined the league of their relative, the great Ottowa chief, *Pontiac*, and were mainly instrumental at the taking of Fort Mackinac, through the stratagem of playing ball for the amusement of the fated garrison.

After the conquest of Canada by the British, the different French trading-posts were dismantled, and but a few of the old French traders and voyagers remained in Lake Superior. Among these, they mention *Ke-che-sub-ud-ese*, or John Baptist Cadotte, who was in the vicinity at the taking of Fort Mackinac, and massacre of the garrison by the Ojibwas and Ottowas. It was this man's Indian wife who is said to have saved the life of Alexander Henry, the only Englishman that survived the massacre.[1]

[1 Besides Henry, two Englishmen, named Solomons and Clark, escaped. One crept up a chimney; the other hid himself under a heap of corn. Vide my Personal Memoirs. Two officers and ten men were also saved. Vide Parkman's Pontiac, p. 596. — H. R. S.]

Cadotte, in partnership with Henry, were the first traders after the fall of the French, who came into the country of the Ojibwas. They wintered two years at *Na-ásh-ib-ik-ong*, a point of sand-rock in the bay of *Shag-a-waum-ik*, and for two years are said to have worked the mines of copper on the Ontanagun river.

Cadotte was the first permanent white settler on the Sault Ste. Marie, where he died at an advanced age, leaving a family of children and grand-children, half-breeds, spread over the whole Ojibwa country.

It is about the period of the taking of Fort Mackinac, that the last fight between the Ojibwas and Iroquois is told of, as having happened. The St. Marie Indians know probably this circumstance better than old Besheke of Lapointe, from whom I obtained it. As the story goes, a war-party of Ojibwas were collected to march into the *Nod-o-wa* country, in search of scalps. When arrived a short distance below the rapids of Ste. Marie, on encamping, they heard yelling, singing, and much noise on the river below them, and sending out scouts, they soon learned that it was a party of *Nod-o-ways*, bound on a war-excursion into their country. The enemy had also encamped, and were making merry on liquor, stolen, probably, from white traders.

The Ojibwas, waiting until they had drunk themselves asleep, fell on them, and nearly destroyed the whole party.

The spot from this circumstance was named Point Iroquois. This is the last war-party that the Nodowas are said to have sent against the Lake Superior Ojibwas.

Some years after this occurred, a man arose among the Ojibwas of La Pointe, who became a renowned war-leader, and took up with great success the quarrels of his tribe with the Sioux and Foxes. Waub-o-jeeg, or White Fisher of the Reindeer, Totem, was the son of *Ma-mong-e-se-da*, the chief that led the Ojibwa warriors under Montcalm, at the taking of Quebec. He was by blood partly of Sioux extraction, being related to old Wabashaw, chief of a band of *Men-da-wák-an-ton*, Sioux, living at the foot of Lake Pepin.

When arrived at the full age of maturity, he collected a war-party of three hundred warriors, and floated down the St. Croix river at their head, into the country of their enemies.

At the mouth of Snake river they were to meet a party collected from Mille-Lac and Sandy Lake, to join them on their war excursion. Not finding the party as expected, and confident in his numbers, Waub-o-jeeg pursued his way down stream, leaving marks, however, by which the other party would be guided.

Arriving early in the morning at the head of the portage that leads around the falls of St. Croix, the men had already lifted their light canoes on their heads, to carry across the portage, when the scouts came in with the news, that a large body of Sioux and Foxes were landing at the foot of the portage. The Ojibwas put on their war-paints and ornaments, and in the middle of the portage they met their enemies, who were bound on the same errand as themselves. The combined Sioux and Fox

warriors were much more numerous than the Ojibwas, so much so, that it is said that the Foxes, confident in their numbers, requested the Sioux to stand by, and see how easily they could rout the Ojibwas. The Sioux therefore stood, or sat on the rocks at a distance, quietly smoking their pipes.

The fight is said to have been fierce and hardly contested. About noon, the Foxes commenced to give ground, having lost some of their leading men. At last they turned and fairly fled, the Ojibwas after them. They would probably have been killed to a man, and driven into the water, had not, at this moment, the Sioux, eager and fresh for a fight, raised their war-whoop, and rushed to the rescue of their defeated allies.

The Ojibwas resisted their new enemies manfully, and it was not till their ammunition had failed, that they, in turn, showed their backs in flight.

But few would have escaped to tell the sad tale of their defeat, had not, at this juncture, the party from Sandy Lake, who were to have met them at Snake River, arrived at the head of the portage, and, seeing their friends driven over the rocks into the water, they jumped out of their canoes, and sixty warriors, fresh for the contest, withstood the onset of the Sioux and Foxes till their friends rallied again to the fight.

The allied Sioux and Foxes, being out of ammunition, are said to have, in turn, fled, and their slaughter to have been great. Many were driven over the steep rocks into the boiling rapids below; and every crevice in the rocks contained a dead or wounded enemy.

From this time, the Foxes retired south, and gave up the contest with their victorious enemies.

Wau-bo-jeeg, who led the Lake Superior bands in this battle, often afterwards led his warriors with great success against the Sioux, and became noted for his bravery and wisdom. He swayed the influence of a master-spirit over his whole tribe. He is one of those that the Ojibwa of the present day speak of with pride.

Bi-ans-wah and *Wau-bo-jeeg* fought for their people and for conquests; *Ma-mong-e-se-da* for the French; and *An-dag-weos*, another chief, cotemporaneous with Waub-o-jeeg, was justly noted for his peaceable disposition, and unwavering friendship for the whites. He was a chief of the *Ah-auh-wauk* stock, and had great influence with his people, who were, in those days, wild and untameable, and required a strong hand to check a propensity for pillaging from white traders, to which *An-dag-weos* was as a guardian spirit. He was the grandfather of the present old chief *Be-she-ke* of La Pointe.

We will now return to the northern wing of the tribe, who, under their chief *Bi-ans-wah*, had pushed their way to Sandy Lake. From this place we have said that they harassed the Sioux till they drove them from Leech, Cass, Winnipeg, Red, and Mille Lakes, which last was a large and favorite village of their enemies. These lakes, in every way adapted to their mode of living — abounding in game, wild rice, fish, maple to make sugar, and birch bark for canoes, were occupied by detached bands

of the Ojibwas. They lived in fear and trembling, and, for more safety, at first located on islands in the different lakes.

From the time, now over a century ago, when they first conquered these places, not a year has passed but their blood has been spilled in their defence; and many, very many, have lost their lives: notwithstanding which, they have hung on, unyielding, and tenacious, till they have compelled their enemies to retire west of the St. Peters, and Red River of the North; and south, to the mouth of the St. Peters.

Their hunts are made altogether on the hunting grounds of the Sioux, and it was a common boast of their late war-chief *Hole-in-the-day*, *Bug-on-a-ke-shig*, that had not the white man interfered, and at the treaty of *Prairie-du-Chien* drawn the lines between them, his people would now be dwelling at St. Peters.

The bands now living on and over the head-waters of the Mississippi, now live over a country embraced within the area of four hundred miles north and south, and two hundred east and west, from Mille-Lac to Pembina, and from Sandy Lake to the Red River of the North.

They number between three and four thousand souls.

On the tract of country they occupy, many spots are pointed out where the warriors of these two contending tribes have met in battle, and their blood flowed freely. More fights, massacres, and surprises are told of, than would, if detailed, fill a large book. In this condensed account, however, we shall only notice their principal battles.

A few years after the smoke of the Ojibwa lodges had first arisen from Sandy Lake, one of their war-parties met a party of their enemies the Sioux, on a point in Lake Winnipeg, where a considerable fight ensued, the consequence of which was the eventual evacuation of the lake by the Sioux.

The Ojibwas note this fight, as having killed in it a one-footed Sioux, the other having been either cut or froze off.

About ninety years ago, as near as we can compute from Indian time, a party of about three hundred Sioux warriors ascended the Mississippi in their canoes, went up the Crow-wing, made portages across to Leech Lake, and floated down the Mississippi through Lake Winnipeg, capturing and killing straggling Ojibwas as they went. They arrived at Sandy Lake, and attacked the village of the Ojibwas. The men being away on a war-excursion, the Sioux with ease killed and captured their women and children. The Ojibwa warriors had left their fated village, to the number of sixty warriors. On arriving at the confluence of the Mississippi, they discovered the traces of their enemies, who had gone up the Crow-wing. Too late to return to the defence of their village, they laid in wait a short distance below the mouth of the Crow-wing, for the descent of their enemies.

They dug hiding-holes on the high eastern bank of the Mississippi, where the river makes a sudden curve, and the whole force of the current flows under the bank. They had not waited long before the Sioux came floating in triumph, with many scalps and

prisoners. They landed opposite the upper mouth of the Crow-wing, to cook their morning meal here, in plain view of their ambushed enemy. They beat the drum, and danced the scalp-dance.

The Ojibwas, perfectly enraged at the sight, impatiently waited till their more numerous foes had again embarked, and came floating down within a few feet of and under them. In the canoes of their enemies they recognised their wives and children, that had been taken captive, and it was with a perfect phrensy of rage that they let fly their bullets and arrows with unerring aim, picking out the most prominent figures and plumed heads of the Sioux. In the surprise and excitement which ensued, the prisoners purposely tripped over the canoes of their captors, and many escaped to the shore, from which their husbands were, with dreadful yells, dealing out the death-winged bullet and arrow among their enemies. Many Sioux were killed while they were within range of the Ojibwa missiles, and some were drowned in the deep current. The remainder, still more than doubly outnumbering their enemies, landed about half a mile below, and returned bravely to give battle to the Ojibwas, and revenge the warriors they had lost. They first tied their remaining captives to trees.

The fight is said to have lasted three days with great fierceness. The Ojibwas were only saved from annihilation from their more numerous foes by being posted on a hill where they had dug holes, from which, entirely concealed themselves, they let fly their bullets and arrows on their less hidden enemies.

The ammunition of both parties is said to have failed in the earlier part of the fight, and the Sioux digging counter holes, they fought with stones, knives, and war-clubs.

The Sioux were the first to retreat, taking with them their remaining prisoners.

This occurrence nearly depopulated the then flourishing village of Sandy Lake. Their numbers were, however, gradually increased by families from the Great Lake; and forty years after, they had regained their former numbers and consequence. At this time, they were again almost cut off to a man.

Headed by their chief, this band would, in the fall of the year, move their camps about Mille Lac and Crow-wing river to hunt the deer, bear, buffalo, and elk, that abounded in these regions. While thus encamped in force, the Sioux never dared to attack them, though straggling parties and hunters were often set upon and never returned.

One season, however, the Sioux mustered their warriors in force, and with four hundred men, they followed the return trail of the Ojibwa camp, as they returned to their village in March, to camp in their sugar bushes.

The Ojibwas were encamped, when attacked, at *Sa-sub-a-gum-a*, or Cross Lake, about thirty miles northeast from the mouth of Crow-wing river.

A day before the attack, a part of the camp had separated from the main body and moved off towards Mille Lac; and early in the morning, before the attack was begun, a

number of women had gone on ahead with loads to leave at the next camping ground: the lives of all these were saved.

The camp numbered about twenty lodges, eight of which were long, and averaged twenty persons in a lodge; the whole number probably between two and three hundred, men, women, and children.

The camp was located on a long point of land running out into the lake, and was approachable only by the ice on the lake. The scouts of the Sioux were discovered early in the morning, and the Ojibwas gained a short time to prepare for defence. The attack was bravely made by the Sioux, in open day, and in a long line on the ice. The Ojibwas, on seeing their enemies thus advance, dancing and yelling, straight against their lodges, two of their bravest warriors (*Bedud* and *She-sheeb*) sallied forth, and, meeting their foes on the open ice, commenced the engagement. Their fellows following their example, the Ojibwa warriors formed a barrier of their bodies on the ice, for the shelter of their women and children. They sustained the unequal fight for a long time; many lives were lost, for they had no shelter to protect them. The snow on the ice is said to have melted with the blood of the slain and wounded.

The remnant of the Ojibwa warriors at last retreated to their lodges, where they maintained the conflict a long time in defence of their helpless families; not a lodge pole, or shrub, or tree, but what was perforated with bullets, in the area where they made this last stand.

To make our story short, when the Sioux had silenced the last yell and gun of their enemies, they killed the women and children, taking a few captive.

Some of these captives returned, and are still living — others, among whom was a grandson of the famous *Bi-ans-wah*, is said to be still living; now, an aged man among the Sioux.

Soon after the second almost entire annihilation of the Sandy Lake band at Cross Lake, the Pillagers received a severe blow in the loss of a number of their bravest warriors, in a hard fight with the north, or Sisseton Sioux.

This band of Ojibwas had fearlessly pushed their way westward from Sandy Lake, in the footsteps of their retreating foe, till they came to Leech Lake, which place, finding that it was adapted to their mode of life, and defence against the war-parties of the Sioux, they made the site of their permanent rallying-point or village.

The name of the Pillagers, or *Muk-un-dua-win-in-e-wug*, pillage-men, was given to them by their fellow Ojibwas and whites, on account of their having taken away the goods of a trader, about eighty years ago, at the mouth of a creek still known as Pillage creek, emptying into the Crow-wing river.

The band is also noted for their wildness, and as having on several later occasions acted to the letter of their name in their dealings with traders and missionaries.

Out of the numberless occasions of bloodshed, in which this band have been engaged with the Sioux, I will relate a fight wherein they lost many of their bravest warriors;

their conduct on this occasion is but a fair sample of the fearless fool-hardy spirit, with which they are possessed, and which they retain to this day.

A party of forty of their best warriors left Leech Lake on an excursion against the Sioux. Arriving in the vicinity of Leaf Lake, the head-waters of Leaf river, which empties in the Crow-wing, they heard the occasional report of guns in the direction of a distant hill; early in the morning they approached the place where they expected to find the enemy. The Sioux had just decamped, leaving their fires still burning. Their trail led in the direction of Leaf Lake, and though apparently numerous, the Ojibwas recklessly followed them.

In a wide, open prairie, they discovered three of their enemies ahead of them, and though still a quarter of a mile off, one of their number urging on the rest, the Pillagers commenced the chase. The Sioux, instantly perceiving them to be enemies, ran for their lives, and kept their distance ahead, occasionally stopping on a hill for a moment, and throwing up their blankets, in order to lure their pursuers on. In this manner the chase was followed up a long distance, at full speed, when they at last came on to Leaf Lake. The Pillagers were strung along for over a mile, the fleetest of foot keeping ahead. The Sioux still led the chase around the sandy beach of the lake, till they at last disappeared into a ravine, thickly wooded. Fearless of consequences, the foremost Pillagers rushed after them; on running up a hill, a sight burst on them, that, for the first time, made them think of turning back.

On a smooth prairie, there stood a camp of over three hundred Sioux lodges; the inmates had been alarmed by the pursued, and figures were running to and fro in wild disorder, and warriors were collecting at the beat of the drum. The poor Pillagers, viewing all this from a distance, turned back, out of breath, and in the centre of their enemies, who were supplied with horses; they could do nothing but sell their lives as dearly as possible; this they determined to do, and when half of their number had collected, they laid an ambush for the coming of their foes.

On the shores of the lake, near a ravine which led to the Sioux camp, was a low narrow piece of ground, covered with high grass: on one side was the lake, and on the other, a watery marsh, which extended some distance inland. This pass the Ojibwas occupied, hiding in the tall grass; while their numbers kept increasing from the stragglers behind, till nearly their whole party was thus collected.

The Sioux had, by this time, gathered their warriors and put on their war-ornaments, and appeared from the ravine in a dense body of painted warriors, whooping and yelling. At their head ran backwards and forwards a prominent figure, who held in his hand the war-flag of feathers, and on his breast shone a large white medal. He wore a blue garnished coat, and being a prominent mark, at the first fire of the ambushed Ojibwas he fell dead.

At the fall of their leader the Sioux, regardless of the usual Indian mode of fighting, of dodging up and down, and behind trees, rushed on in a body to overwhelm at one

blow their enemies. The bullets of the Pillagers mowed them down in numbers, yet, utterly regardless, they grappled with them, and silenced, by main force, the firing and yelling. Some of the Pillagers threw themselves into the marsh, where they became a mark for their enemies' bullets; others retired from the pass into the woods, and, from behind trees, kept up the unequal fight. The whole of their party had now arrived, and the last one was he who had urged them on to the mad pursuit of the three Sioux. On arriving at the scene of the fight, he had heard the reproaches of his remaining comrades in silence; and now, telling those that could to save themselves by flight, he rushed forward to attract the attention of the Sioux, in order to give his friends a chance for escape. The few that thus got off, for a long time heard the repeated volleys fired at their devoted comrade, which were answered by his single gun and solitary *Sas-sak-way*, as he for a time maintained the unequal fight. At last, the loud and exultant yells of the Sioux told that they had killed their brave foe.

Not one-third of those forty warriors ever returned to Leech Lake. A few years since, the leaders, *Kukunshawinin* and *Wenongay*, were still alive, and it was the boast of the latter, when he struck the war-pole to relate his exploits, that in this fight he shot down seven Sioux, and brought home their scalps. At this rate, the slaughter among the Sesseton ranks must have been great.

In relating the above fight, I have gone ahead of my narration, as some important battles happened prior to this time.

From the best Indian information, I have calculated seventy-five years as the time since the Ojibwas first visited the St. Peters River.

This was on an occasion when a large war-party was collected by the Ojibwas to revenge the sacking of Sandy Lake, and the fight at Crow-wing. In imitation of the Sioux, they pierced into the heart of their enemies' country, and attacked a village a short distance above the mouth of the St. Peters. This daring party was led by *No-kay*, a celebrated warrior in his time, and grandfather of the present noted chief *Waub-o-jeeg*.

From this time, the Ojibwas on and over the head-waters of the Mississippi, made the broad current of this river their chief war-trail. They found it an easy matter to embark in their canoes, and float down to the vicinity of their enemies' villages; where, after securing one or more scalps, they returned home by land.

This practice they have kept up to the present day with great success, and it is only the interference of the whites, and the rapid increase of civilized population about St. Peters, that has saved the *Men-da-wak-an-ton* (Sioux) from being driven off or annihilated.

The course of the streams, the head-waters of which the Ojibwas have secured by conquest, flowing down to the haunts and villages of their enemies, has given them an advantage, which, in searching for the causes that have conduced to their great success against the warlike and numerous Sioux, should not be forgotten.

The Ojibwas innately respect the bravery of the *Da-ko-tas*, and call them strong-hearted men. It is only by hard, unremitted fighting, and much loss of life and blood, that the Ojibwa holds the position he now does, as the conquering tribe.

Shortly after their first incursion to St. Peters,[1] under No-kay, the Ojibwas again collected a war-party of one hundred and twenty men, and embarking in their canoes, floated down the Mississippi.

In floating down a river on a war-party, one canoe is always sent in advance, and scouts are sometimes sent ahead by land. This is to guard against ambush on the river banks, which, in their warfare, has been much practised.

On this occasion, when the party had arrived near the mouth of Elk river, the scouts in the foremost canoe, as they were silently floating down, close to the eastern bank of the Mississippi, heard Sioux talking and laughing on the bank immediately above them.

Instantly turning their canoe up stream, they stole along the bank, and escaped behind a point, unseen by their enemies. Here meeting the foremost canoes of their friends, the alarm was quickly but silently spread from canoe to canoe, which were strung along for half a mile. They happened to be opposite an extensive bottom, thickly wooded. The Ojibwas sprang to land, and pulling their canoes after them, rushed through the woods to attack their enemies.

Emerging from the wood on to the open prairie, they saw a long line of their enemies, equal in number to themselves. They were leisurely walking along, bent on a war-excursion; being out of bullet range from the wood, the Ojibwa warriors rushed on as if to a feast, "first come, best served." Their war-yell was answered by the Sioux, and bullet and arrow were returned for bullet and arrow.

For a short time the Sioux stood the eager onset of their enemies, when seeing warrior after warrior emerge from the woods, on a line of half a mile, the idea must have seized them, that their enemies many times outnumbered them. Under this impression they turned and fled, occasionally turning and firing at their pursuers; thus a running fight was kept up for upwards of three miles, when the Sioux, at the mouth of Elk river, met a large party of their fellows, who had come across the country from the St. Peters river, to join the war-party. With this addition, they outnumbered the Ojibwas nearly double, and the chase was turned the other way. The Ojibwas ran up and along the banks of Elk river, and when tired of their long run, they stopped in a fine grove of oak trees, determined to make a stand.[2]

Here the fight was sustained for some time,—the Ojibwas firing from the shelter of

---

[1] In the Ojibwa tongue this river is called *Osh-ke-bug-e-se-be*, (New Leaf River.)

[2] Through this place the main road up to the Mississippi now passes. The holes in the ground are still visible, and some contain particles of bones.

trees, and the Sioux digging holes in the ground, and in this manner gradually approaching the covert of their enemies.

When all hopes of dislodging the Ojibwa force had failed, the Sioux set fire to the dry prairie grass, and the wind blowing against them, the Ojibwas were effectually made to run. Their foes, making their approach in the smoke of the fire, again renewed the chase. They were at last driven on to an island, where the Sioux not daring to molest them, the fight ended.

The Ojibwas lost eight killed, and many wounded. Among the killed was a brave warrior, *Ke-che-waub-ish-ash*. Three of their number were burnt by the fire.

The Sioux are said to have suffered a greater loss; as they themselves concede that the Ojibwas in battle are better shots than they are.

The following summer, after the above engagement, another fight took place at this point, by the adverse parties again accidentally meeting. The place of these fights is now known as *Me-gaud-e-win-ing*, or the battle-ground.

The Sioux never advanced far within the lines of country occupied by the Ojibwas, after the noted fight at Crow-wing[1] river.

Short intervals of peace have occasionally happened in the course of the bloody feud between these two tribes.

One peace is mentioned as having occurred during the lifetime of the great-grandfathers of the present generation.

It was brought about by the chief *Bi-ans-wah*, who in this place proposed to the Sioux the discarding of their old custom of burning captives by fire. This peace was broken by the Sioux again, about fifty years ago, and another short peace was effected between the two tribes in the following manner:

A large war-party of Sioux was discovered by the scouts of an Ojibwa camp on Platte river. The Ojibwas, on account of their women and children, fearing the result of an attack, determined on a bold manœuvre, which, should it fail, they were to fight to the last.

A flag was attached to a pole, and a brave warrior sallied out singly to meet the Sioux. He discovered them as they were stealing along to attack their camp. He shouted to them, and, as the whole party were preparing to rush towards him, he threw down his gun, and with his flag he fearlessly ran into their midst, when he was caught in the arms of two stalwart warriors; many blows were aimed at him with war-clubs and knives, and he expected every moment to suffer death; but a tall Sioux took his part, and defended him, warding off the blows that were aimed at his head. After the excitement in the Sioux ranks had in a measure subsided, one of their warriors stepped up, and taking hold of the Ojibwa, offered to wrestle with him. He was easily

[1] The Ojibwa name for this stream is *Kag-aug-e-we-gwon*, meaning *Crow's Feather*. This is also the name of their *bravest* warrior now living.

thrown; getting up, he again took hold of his opponent, and was again prostrated: on this, the discomfited Sioux lighted his pipe and smoked with him (the sign of peace.) He gave him also, as presents, his pipe, gun, and clothing. On this, the brave Ojibwa led the party to his camp, where the two hostile tribes saluted one another with firing of guns, &c. The pipe of peace was smoked; the pipe-dance danced; and they eat out of the same dish.

The war-club for a little time was buried.

During this peace, a party of thirty Ojibwas, headed by *Káh-dá-waub-e-da*, or Broken Tooth, chief of Sandy Lake, and grandson of *Bi-ans-wah*, made a peace visit to St. Peters. They floated down the Mississippi, and arrived at the mouth of the St. Peters river, as the Sioux were preparing a war-party against the Ojibwas, intending to surprise them during the lull of peace.

The British flag, that hung over the prow of the Ojibwa chief's canoe, was pierced with bullet-holes, as the Sioux saluted their landing. There was great excitement among the Sioux ranks — chiefs ran to and fro to prevent their warriors from murdering the small peace party. Their trader also remonstrated with them, and they were at last prevailed upon to welcome the Ojibwas in peace.

Shortly after the return of this party in safety to their homes, the Sioux broke the peace, as it has ever been their practice to do.

The injuries that the Ojibwas have heaped on them, in conquering the lands of their fathers, are such, that they never have rested in peace for any length of time. The Sioux constantly brooded over their injuries, and frequently the Ojibwas, lulled into security by peace, have been surprised by them when they were unprepared for resistance.

Even within the last few years, the Sioux, caring little for the interference of the whites, in an outrageous manner have broken their faith, and sullied the soil of their Great Father with the blood of helpless women and children, and in a time of profound peace. The fourteen Ojibwas thus killed on Apple river, furnish but a sample of Sioux faith for the past two centuries, with their enemies.

On the occasion of the peace mentioned above that was broken, the Sioux reached Gull Lake on a war-party, and at the entry of Gull river killed an Ojibwa. The body was much mangled, and a war-club was left sticking in the body — a fit token that war was again declared.

The Ojibwas of the Mississippi, under their chief *Ba-be-se-gun-dib-a*, quickly collecting, and floating down the Mississippi, arrived at the mouth of the St. Peters nearly as soon as their returning enemy. On the low point beneath the cliff, upon which Fort Snelling now stands, the Ojibwas hid their canoes and laid in wait. Towards evening a long canoe load of young women, dressed and painted in their best style, floated down the Minnesota, on their way to join the scalp-dance that was being danced every night (at Little Crow's village below,) over the Ojibwa scalp recently

taken. As they came merrily laughing and paddling down stream, close to the point where their enemy lay concealed, a volley was fired into them, and their long flowing locks were made to dangle in the belt of the Ojibwa.

The war-club which the Sioux had left sticking in the mutilated body of the Ojibwa they had killed at Gull Lake, was now left sticking, with peculiar marks, in the body of one of the Sioux women, to teach them that the vengeance of the Ojibwa was quick and sure.

It is needless to notice every engagement of the kind that happened between these two tribes: we have mentioned enough to give a sample of the deadly feud that has existed between them for the past two centuries.

The actors in the fights I have thus far related have all now passed away.

The few old men of the tribe still living have also passed through the same dangers and the same fire, and their blood has flowed as freely as did that of their fathers.

The men of middle age also now living can boast of having extended the conquests of their ancestors. Their heads are decked with eagle plumes, which have been won in many a hard-contested struggle.

If possession gives a right, nearly all the country north and east of the Minnesota river belongs to them.

About fifty years ago, bands of the Ojibwas from Sandy Lake, Leech, and Mille Lakes, commenced to reside permanently on the Lower Mississippi at Gull Lake, Crow-wing river, and down as far as Little Rock.

These bands soon formed under one chief, and became known as the "Great River men." Their chief was *Ke-che Ba-be-se-gun-dib-a*, or Big Curly-head.

About this time, an event of importance in their history happened, viz., the fight at Long Prairie; some of the actors in which, though old men, are still living.

This fight occurred in the fall of the year, between forty and fifty years ago. A party of one hundred and sixty warriors was collected by *Ba-be-se-gun-dib-a*, chief of the Mississippi men, and *Esh-ke-bug-e-cosh*, or Flat-mouth, chief of the Pillagers.

At the head of their warriors they marched against the Sioux. In passing through Long Prairie, (which was then Sioux country,) they fell on a large trail of their enemies; following it up, they discovered a camp of about forty of their lodges, a short distance below the Pine Bend. Early in the morning, this large camp, situated on Long Prairie river, was attacked by the Ojibwas. The whole party repeatedly fired into the lodges from a short distance, and before the Sioux warriors had prepared to resist, many must have been killed. They at last sallied out to the number of sixty-six men, and resisted manfully. The battle lasted the whole day, and but seven of the Sioux were seen to continue the fight, and they were apparently determined to die on the spot. Miraculously, they escaped the many missiles aimed at them, till the Ojibwas, being entirely out of ammunition, and fearing their foes would be reinforced from neighboring camps, retreated.

The loss of the Sioux in this attack was great, and probably equalled the loss they inflicted on the Ojibwas on a former occasion, at Cross Lake. From this time, the Sioux fell back from the woods on to their western prairies, and after receiving repeated blows from the late *Bug-on-a-ke-shig*, *Song-uk-um-ig*, and others, they eventually altogether evacuated that portion of their former country lying north of Sac river and south and east of Leaf river to the Mississippi.

The attack on Long Prairie was made by the Ojibwas, in revenge of the massacre of two of their bravest warriors and their families, while camped out hunting. These were *Waub-o-jeeg*, namesake of the noted chief of that name, and *She-sheeb*. These two men had fought side by side at Cross Lake, and other fights. When attacked, *Waub-o-jeeg* was killed at the first fire, but *She-sheeb* fired one shot, killing one enemy and wounding another. *Waub-o-jeeg* was a head man, and much loved by his tribe; his death was therefore a common grief, and quickly revenged. His relics were scattered on the bloody battle-ground of Long Prairie, and his ammunition served to kill his murderers.

Long Prairie is noted as having been on four different occasions wetted with the blood of the two hostile tribes — Crow-wing three times, Elk river three times, Gull Lake twice, Sandy Lake thrice, Mille-Lac, and indeed every place of any note on the present border of the two tribes between Selkirk's settlement and Wisconsin river, has been freely baptized in blood.

We have now pursued the different events of importance connected with their wars in the history of the upper Mississippi branch or wing of the Ojibwa tribe, to the time of men still living; or would be living, had the Great Spirit allotted them the full term of life.

Before we come to relate events happening in the days of Strong Ground, or *Söng-uk-um-eg*, and *Hole-in-the-sky*, or *Bug-on-a-ke-shig*,[1] who but lately, still in their prime, departed for the land of spirits, We will mention a few names that have been noted in the history of this important portion of their tribe.

Bi-ans-wah, as I have mentioned, may be called their pioneer to these regions. Here he laid the foundation of a dynasty or chieftaindom, which has descended to his children, and the benefits of which they are reaping after him. His grandson, *Ka-da-wá-be-da*, became a noted chief of the Sandy Lake bands—not so much for prowess in war, as for the great influence he exerted over his bands; to whom he was truly a father. He was a warm friend to the whites, and the traders of the country loved him. These were of the old North-West, Astor, and other minor companies, that at different times in his day, sent clerks with goods to Sandy Lake and the Mississippi. Their presents to the hunters were given through the hands of *Ka-da-wá-be-da*. He

[1] *Bug-on-a-ke-shig* literally means, Hole-in-the-sky. The war-song of this chief was addressed to his guardian spirit, seen through a hole in the sky.

was noted for the spaciousness and neatness of his wigwam. On his mat table he used the knives, forks, and dishes of the whites. He also kept his liquor-case, which was ever well supplied, and from which he indulged but sparingly; occasionally enjoying with his friends a "good comfortable smoke." On his death-bed, at an advanced age, he requested that his body should not be buried in the ground, but hung up in the air on a scaffolding. His wishes being complied with, it became a custom of his family thus to dispose of their dead. His totem was the royal *Ah-auh-wauk*. He left four sons and four daughters. One of his sons, *Mong-o-zid*, or Loon's-foot, is a well-known chief of the Lake Superior Indians, and resides at Fond du Lac. He has one of his father's original medals (English) and two of his own.

Another of his sons was taken prisoner by the Sioux at Cross Lake when a child, and is residing still amongst them. His third son, *Kah-win-dum-a-win-so*, is present chief of the Sandy Lake band. Of his four daughters, one married Captain Charles Ermitinger, a noted Canadian gentleman: he took his wife to Montreal, where she died. Another daughter married Samuel Ashmun, Esq., one of the most respectable citizens of Ste. Marie. She is the mother of a fine family of men and women grown. The other daughters, one was wife to the celebrated chief and warrior, *Hole-in-the-sky*, and became the mother of the present first chief of the Mississippi bands. This family are thus interlocked by the strong ties of blood with the *Saxon* race.

Another noted chief of the Mississippi bands flourished contemporaneously with *Kah-do-waub-e-da*. His name was *Ke-che-ba-be-se-gun-dib-a*, (Big Curly-Head,) and was chief of the lower and more hardy bands, who followed close in the retreating footsteps of the Sioux on the Mississippi. This chief is aptly spoken of, as the vanguard or bulwark of his tribe. His is a name that will long be cherished in the memory of the Ojibwas. In the words of one of their principal men, "He was a father to our fathers, who looked on him as a parent: his lightest wish was quickly obeyed: his lodge was ever hung with meat; and the traders vied with each other who should treat him best: his hand was open, and when he had plenty, our fathers wanted not." He was noted not only for his charity and goodness of heart, but also for the strength of it for bravery.

Three times he led his warriors with success against their enemies. Each time he returned with them with bloody knives and reeking scalps. At Long Prairie fight, he led on the warriors of the Mississippi, Mille Lac, and Sandy Lake; while Flat-mouth led on the Pillagers. He was leader of the party that so quickly took back the war-club that the Sioux had left sticking in the body of one of their men at Gull Lake.

Twice the brave chief was attacked in his hunting camp by Sioux war-parties, and both times he, with his warriors, repulsed them.

Strong Ground and *Hole-in-the-day*[1] were in their youth his pipe-bearers, and waited on him till the day of his death.

[1] Called *Bug-on-a-ge-zhig*.

He died on the road, returning from Prairie-du-chien to his own country, after the great council of Indian tribes convened at that place by the United States Government, to the end that lines dividing their several countries might be marked out, and that peace might reign between them.

In this council or treaty, *Ba-be-se-gun-dib-a* almost singly represented the great body of his tribe, living on and over the head-waters of the Mississippi.

The firm, unyielding front which he presented to the Sioux, and the force of his deeds and reputation, gained for these bands the advantageous lines that, for their tribe, were drawn.

He may well be said to have secured, by a lasting treaty, the conquests of his people. Had he been aided by the presence and voice of his cotemporary chiefs, Flat-mouth and *Kah-do-waub-e-da*,[1] probably much more might have been done.

Not being used to a southern climate, many of the Ojibwas present at this treaty died from sickness.

A number of their best chiefs were among the victims. *Ba-be-se-gun-dib-ay* was of the number; who died much lamented by the tribe in general, and all those that had known the many good qualities of this native-bred chieftain.

Strong Ground and *Hole-in-the-sky* attended him to Prairie-du-chien, and assiduously cared for his wants during his last illness.

Just before he expired, he called these two young men to his bed-side, and counselled them on their future course of life. He left in their charge his Mississippi bands, and this circumstance laid the foundation of the chieftainship of these afterwards noted men.

Ba-be-se-gun-dib-a had been three times given a medal.

He left no children to reap the fruits of his name and actions, and indeed there is none now living on the great river, of close affinity to the deceased chieftain.

His totem was a crane, one of the oldest families in the tribe now residing mostly at Lake Superior.

No-ka was a noted warrior, and flourished in his prime about eighty years ago.

In revenge for the great Sioux excursion to Leech, Winnipeg, and Sandy Lakes, (which resulted in the three days' fight at Crow-wing,) he collected a war-party, which was the first to penetrate to the St. Peters river: a little above the mouth of which river, they attacked a camp of Sioux with great slaughter.

He, at another time also, with a small party of fearless spirits, penetrated into the very heart of the Sioux country.

This party returned from the Pipe-stone river, which runs into the great *Pa-go-no* or Missouri.

No-ka was noted as being in all the fights of any consequence during his lifetime on the Mississippi border.

---

[1] *Ka-de-wau-be-da was* present. Vide Treaty Prairie-du-chien, 1825.

He was also noted as a hunter, and the fruits of one day's hunt is worth mentioning, as well to show the abundance of game in those days, as his prowess in the chase.

Starting from his lodge at the mouth of Crow-wing, he in one day killed, on the first snow, sixteen elk, four buffalo, five deer, three bears, one porcupine, and one lynx.

The fruits of this day's hunt he gave to his trader, who was wintering at this place.

A story is also told of this hunter; that he fought a mad buffalo bull (in rutting time,) for half a day, with only his tomahawk-pipe; he used a small pine-tree for shelter.

The Noka river is said to have been named after this man, who used to live much about the lake from which it takes its rise.

Punk river, emptying from the west into the Mississippi, is named, in like manner, after *Sug-ut-aug-un*, father of the present chief *Ka-da-waub-e-da*, who hunted in the vicinity, and on the said river, during his lifetime.

No-ka left a son, named *Be-dud*, who distinguished himself in the feud of his tribe with the Sioux. *He* with *She-sheeb* (another brave character, who was killed at Mille Lac with *Waub-o-jeeg*,) were the two who went out at Cross Lake, on the open ice, to meet four hundred Sioux warriors as they were advancing to attack their village. Their brave example instigated their fellows to follow them; and one of the most bloody fights told of in their history was here fought.

This man was in ten different fights, where blood flowed freely. He was ever in the van,—the wadding of the Sioux's guns often burning his clothes.

It was his boast, that he had passed the ordeal of over one bag of bullets aimed at him during his lifetime.

He is buried at Long Lake, near the Mississippi.

His son, the third *Waub-o-jeeg*, is now a noted chief of the Mississippi bands, fully sustaining the name of his two ancestors and two illustrious *namesakes*, though he has turned his attention more to peace than war.

Through an intimacy with the Sioux in his early days, he talks their language freely. He has passed through many hairbreadth escapes during his lifetime, and will bear to the grave nine wounds inflicted by the Sioux. By their hands he has lost two favorite children and five brothers and sisters. His biography, however, more properly comes under a more modern era in the history of the tribe.

Another noted character, in his day, lived cotemporary with *Be-dud*, and equalled him in bravery and note.

Wush-ush-ko-con (Muskrat's liver) was the chief in his time of the Mille Lac band, under *Ba-be-se-gun-dib-a*.

The numerous fights and hairbreadth escapes, wherein this man earned a name and rank among his fellows, would fill a book as they are related by the present generation.

Ne-gan-e-ke-shig, (Day-ahead,) had he lived the full term of human existence, was a

man who would have become a noted and remarkable character. Even during his short lifetime, on two remarkable occasions, he earned the name of the "bravest of the brave" among his fellow Indians.

On one occasion he singly followed the trail of a large Sioux war-party, who had been to Gull Lake and killed an Ojibwa. The party encamped at the mouth of Noka river, and early in the morning the first riser in their camp received the bullet of *Ne-gan-e-ke-shig*. The Sioux, suspecting an ambush of their enemies, did not chase him far. A day or two after he pursued the same party to the St. Peters river, and was one of those that killed the women, at the mouth of that river, within the hearing of the drums of a large Sioux village.

On the occasion of his death, he had left Gull Lake (where he usually resided) to go to the mouth of the Crow-wing to hunt deer by torch-light.

There he found *Wush-ush-ko-kon* and another Indian. They encamped a short distance above the entry of the river. After dark, *Ne-gan-e-ke-shig*, with his wife to steer his canoe, started on his hunt. The current brought them silently to the island that lies at the mouth of the Crow-wing, causing it to divide into two mouths or entries.

Here he discovered the prow of a wooden canoe, that had been drawn partly ashore. On searching, he discovered that he had fallen on the camp of a Sioux war-party. He blew out his torch, and stept noiselessly ashore to reconnoitre. In a few moments he returned, and requested his wife to make the best of her way to their friends at Gull Lake, (fifteen miles distant,) telling her that he intended, after giving her sufficient time to make her escape, to stab as many Sioux as he could, in their sleep, with his knife, and when discovered, to fight them with his gun, calculating in the darkness to be able to make his escape by jumping into the river.

His wife, whom he had but lately married, refused to leave him, and used every endearing epithet to induce him to forego his mad intent. He was at last, through her tears and entreaties, prevailed upon to embark and return to his camp; telling his wife, however, that now he would run into more danger than if she had allowed him to have his own will—for he intended to fight the Sioux in open day, to prevent their further advance into the country.

Sending his wife early in the morning to Gull Lake, *Ne-gan-e-ke-shig*, *Wush-ush-ko-kon*, and their comrade, laid in wait on the east bank of the Mississippi, opposite a sudden bend in the river. The Sioux betimes embarked in their canoes, and commenced their course up the river. They numbered about one hundred canoes, averaging three in each canoe.

The three Ojibwa warriors allowed the main body to pass their ambush, and picking out their victims in warriors, whose heads were most bedecked with plumes, they shot down three as they passed within a few steps of their hiding-place. After their first fire they jumped up, and ran on to the hill in their rear. Here *We-gan-e-ke-shig* stopped,

while his comrade ran on; he loaded his gun, yelled his war-whoop, and returned his single bullet for the hundreds that were now flying past him. He stood his ground till all hope of escape was cut off by his being surrounded and wounded in the foot. He fought to the death.

His companions, who narrowly escaped, said, that for a long time his single yell and report of his gun was heard, before silenced by the repeated volleys of the Sioux.

His enemies, out of respect for his bravery, did not scalp or mutilate the body, but left it in a sitting posture, decked with plumes—all the honors of Indian warfare.

From this spot the war-party returned, and the object for which *Ne-gan-e-ke-shig* died was thus fulfilled.

This man was father to the *Little Curly Head*, chief of the Gull Lake band, which numbered during his lifetime three hundred souls. He was killed during a time of peace by the Sioux four years ago, and has been succeeded by his half-brother, *Que-we-san-sish*, or *Bad Boy*.

We-non-ga (Turkey-Buzzard) distinguished himself at Leaf Lake and Long Prairie fights, and also at the late massacre on Lake St. Croix. When he was an old man, he was at last scalped by his enemies. Besides the above, he was present at three minor engagements. He was the principal or head-warrior of the chief Big Curly Head.

Ke-che-waub-ish-ash (Big Marten) was also a noted brave. At *Neeb-o-je-wun-ong*, a few miles below the mouth of Rabbit river, on the Mississippi, he singly fought and repelled an attacking party of Sioux, or Sissetons. They often joined the *Knis-ten-o* and Assineboins in their excursions. They boast among their brave warriors of old *Muk-ud-a-chib*, or Black Duck. This man, with forty braves, attacked a Sisseton camp, and killed great numbers. Being warned by a friendly Assineboin from the camp, that three hundred Sioux warriors were coming to the rescue from an adjacent village, the Ojibwas retreated; but on a wide open prairie their enemies (all mounted) caught up with and surrounded them. They kept them at a distance as long as their ammunition lasted; and when this failed, the Sioux closed in with them, and the battle was hand to hand.. But one of this band of forty heroes ever returned to tell the sad tale of their fate.

The above happened about forty or fifty years ago.

Aissance (Little Clam) is the name of one of their noted chiefs and braves, who was killed at Spirit Lake about forty years ago; and the Red Lake band have still living some warriors who have distinguished themselves by noted acts of great bravery.

Of the Pillagers: when you ask them, who were their most noted warriors and men? the answer is—"They all fought alike; not one of our fathers passed through life without seeing the shedding of blood."

As a war-leader, *Mons-o-mo* was distinguished;—and the names of *Muk-ud-a-waun-o-quod* (Black Cloud) and *Sha-wa-ke-shig*, as warriors, ought to be recorded in the annals of their history.

It ceases to be a matter of surprise, that a phalanx of such men could conquer and hold the country they have bequeathed to their offspring.

We now come, in the course of our history, to the noted characters and events in the days of a generation not yet passed away. These events (so far as their relations with the whites are concerned) are within the reach of all who are curious to know. I will, therefore, but cursorily speak of the different treaties, in which they have sold the best portions of their blood-earned country.

The first treaty was at St. Peters, in 1837; again, at La Pointe, in 1842, and at Fond du Lac and Leech Lake, in 1847.

To give an idea of the condition of the Mississippi bands for the past thirty-five years, it will be necessary to mention briefly the noted characters that figured at their head.

The deeds and life of *Song-uk-um-ig*, of *Bug-on-ke-shig*, *Ba-be-se-gun-dib-ance*, *Ke-che*, *Shag-o-ba*, *Esh-ke-bug-e-coshe*, and of *Waub-o-jeeg*, require in telling much more space and time than is permitted me in this present account.

Song-uk-um-ig and his younger brother, *Bug-on-a-ke-shig*, were the pipe-bearers and warriors of the chief, *Big Curly Head*, who, on his death-bed, left to them his chieftainship and bands.

They distinguished themselves in the warfare of their tribe with the Sioux; and by their deeds obtained an influence over their fellows of the Mississippi.

During their short career, they earned a name that will be long remembered.

Song-uk-um-ig was as fine a specimen of an Indian as ever proudly trod the soil of America. He was one of those honor-loving chiefs, not only by name, but by nature also. He was noted for his unflinching bravery, generosity, and solidity or firmness; the last of which is a rare quality in the Indian, among whom but one out of ten is possessed of any firmness of character.

As an instance of his daring, on one occasion, he fought singly, by the side of a mounted comrade, with seven Sioux, and drove them off with loss.

His first fight was, when a mere boy, at Long Prairie battle. Again, he was present on an attack of a Sioux camp at Poplar Grove, on Long Prairie, where they killed many of their foes. Again, he led a night attack on a camp at Crow river.

At Round Prairie, also, he with an Ottowa cut off, from a large Sioux camp, three boys while they were sliding on the ice, in plain view of their friends.

At Fort Snelling, he was the one who fearlessly went into the guard-house, and led out four Sioux prisoners, armed with their knives, who had shot into their camp, (as usual in time of peace,) and killed four Ojibwas. These prisoners *Song-uk-um-ig* took out of the fort, and in presence of the officers and garrison of the fort[1] and a large assembly of Sioux; he bade them run for their lives from the bullets of the Ojibwas, whose relatives they had killed.

[1] This was done by order of Col. Snelling. — H. R. S.

He was present on many other occasions that tried the man's heart. He died but a few years since, at about the age of forty-eight.

Bug-on-a-ke-shig, his younger brother, was equally brave at the moment of trial, but some of his cotemporary warriors say of him, that his extreme bravery did not last. "At the moment of excitement he could have thrown himself into the fire." These are the words of one of his noted braves who often fought at his side. He had not the firmness of his brother *Song-uk-um-ig*, but was more cunning, and soon came to understand the policy of the whites perfectly. He was ambitious, and, through his cunning, stepped above his more straight-forward brother, and became head chief. He was a proud and domineering spirit, and loved to be implicitly obeyed. He had a quick and impatient temper. A spirit like this is little calculated to be loved and obeyed by the free wild sons of the forest, who love liberty too well to become the slaves of any man. *Bug-on-a-ke-shig* was more feared than loved by his bands, and had it not been for the strong support of his more influential brother, he could never have been really chief over his bands.

On one occasion, he turned out and dispersed a whole camp of his fellows with a wooden paddle. The Indians were drinking liquor, and fighting among themselves, after *Bug-on-a-ke-shig* had twice loudly ordered them to drink in quiet. He struck with his paddle promiscuously, and on this single occasion mortally offended some of his best warriors.

Notwithstanding his harsh and haughty temper, there was in the breast of this man much of the milk of human kindness; and he had that way about him that induced the few who really loved him to be willing even to die for him.

During his lifetime, he distinguished himself in eight different fights, where blood was freely shed. At St. Peters, he was almost mortally wounded — a bullet passing through his right breast and coming out near the spine. On this occasion, his daughter was killed; and from this time can be dated the bloodthirstiness with which he ever afterwards pursued his enemies.

His bravery was fully proved by his crossing the Mississippi, and with but two brave comrades, firing on the large Sioux village of *Ka-po-sia* below the mouth of the St. Peters. They narrowly escaped the general chase that was made for them by many Sioux warriors, crossing the Mississippi under a shower of bullets. There is nothing in modern Indian warfare to equal this hardy exploit.

3. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY, CUSTOMS, AND OPINIONS OF THE DACOTA TRIBE.

BY PHILANDER PRESCOTT.

TRANSMITTED FROM THE ST. PETERS AGENCY.

[THE following responses to interrogatories drawn up by the Indian Bureau of the United States in 1847, are from Mr. Philander Prescott, U. S. Interpreter at St. Peters. The respondent is himself allied to the Sioux tribe; of whom he records the customs and traditions, speaks their language fluently, and has lived many years among them in various situations and positions. His means of personal observation have, therefore, been ample; he is, moreover, a man of entire integrity of character, and unimpeachable veracity. A plain man, without pretence to education, he records simply what he has seen and heard. There is no attempt to assimilate the native words he employs to any plan of orthography. It has been deemed better, in all respects, to leave his paper in its original garb. The testimony it bears to the actual state of Indian opinion and tradition is important; and its manifest truthfulness commends it to respect. The question of the popular division of the Sioux tribe into six or seven bands, he discusses himself, more at length, in a note. Their numbers, according to the most recent count, as given by him, will be found under the statistical head.—H. R. S.]

ANSWER TO MEMORANDUM OF TOPICS FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES: 1847.

2. "By what name are they called among themselves; and by what name, or names, are they known among other tribes; and what is the meaning of these respective names?"

Dacota is the word generally used for the Sioux nation, but they have different names for separate bands or villages.

Mendawahkanton	People of sacred or spirit lakes.
Wahkpatons	" the leaves.
Wahkpacoota	" who shoot in the leaves.
Sussetonwah	"

Eyank-ton-wah	People of sacred or spirit lakes.
Tetons[1]	" " "

[1] These bands having been usually represented to be *seven*, whereas the writer states them to be but *six*, this point was again referred to him. He discusses it, as follows:

SAINT PETERS SUB-AGENCY, *February 24th*, 1851.

SIR, — Yours of the 25th January came to hand seven days since. Since that time I have been collecting what information I could in reference to the grand divisions of the Sioux.

I will give you Little Crow's definition of the term Seven Fires, which language is often used among the Sioux. Seven Fires or Seven Divisions, Little Crow says, means seven different nations of Indians, as follows, viz.:

The Sioux, 1st; the Indians west of them, 2d; Chippewas, 3d; Winnebagoes, 4th; Menomonees, 5th; Fox and Sauks, 6th; Iowas, 7th.

This is Little Crow's interpretation of the Seven Fires or Seven Divisions. Singular as this appears, yet there may be much sense in it.

Bad Hail says he has often heard the Indians talking of the Seven Fires or Divisions, but he could not make out but six, viz.:

Mendawakantons, 1st; Wahkpatons, 2d; Wahkpacootas, 3d; Sussetons, 4th; Yanktons, 5th; Tetons, 6th.

The Seventh he did not know where to find, nor who.

The Bad Hail says there are divisions amongst the Yanktons; but still they are one people as much as the Mendawakanton Sioux are; they are one division, yet there are several bands of them, and so it is with the Yanktons.

Mock-pu-we-chastah is the next one that I called on for information. He says that Wabushaw, the first acknowledged chief by the English, went to Quebec, and when he (Wabushaw) was about to start back for home, the governor asked him how many large medals he wanted, and he says Wabushaw told him seven,— wanting one large medal for each chief or village that were his friends. Here is where the Seven Fires or Divisions took its rise from, according to Mock-pu-we-chastah; and the following, he believes, are the bands which Wabushaw called Seven Fires, for which he wanted seven medals, viz.:

Wabushaw, 1st; Red Wing, 2d; Little Crow, 3d; Little Six, 4th;* Good Road, 5th; Little Rapids, 6th; Traverse de Sioux, 7th.

This is Mock-pu-we-chastah's interpretation of the Seven Fires or Divisions.

Tom-o-haw says the Yanktons are divided into bands for the purpose of hunting, but they are all one people; one party is called the South, and the other party, the North Yanktons; but there is no difference in dialect, and he considers them all as one people or division.

The next and most reliable information is Mr. Hazen Mooer's Indian farmers for Blackdog's band of Mendawakanton Sioux.

Mr. Mooer says he has lived in the Yankton country sixteen years; he says the following are the bands that he always considered to be one division of the Yanktons, viz.:

Ku-ux-aws, 1st; Pah-bax-ahs, 2d; Wah-zu-cootas, 3d; Hen-ta-pah-tus, 4th, or Yank-ton-us, or South Yanktons.

The three first named bands roam and hunt over the country from Lake Traverse to the Devil's Lake and the Missouri. The Hen-tee-pah-tees, or Yank-ton-ees, roam and hunt south of the Couteau de Prairie; but in chasing the buffalo these different bands meet together; and are nearly related to each other; and he considers them all one division.

Mr. Mooer says that if he was a going to make a seventh division, he should call the *Assinaboins* the seventh. He says he believes they speak the original Sioux dialect.

The Assinaboins probably are a band of the Yanktons, but they have become entirely alienated from them, and are at war with the Sioux; therefore, they cannot now be considered a division of the Sioux, notwithstanding they speak a similar dialect. So after all, I believe I am right in making only six grand divisions of the Sioux nation. — If any thing more should be wanting, let me know, and I will answer as far as I can.

Hoping this will satisfy you, I remain your most obedient and humble serv't,

P. PRESCOTT.

* Good Road should be before Little Six, and should be 4th, and Little Six 5th.

Supposed to be eight thousand inhabiting the Mississippi, St. Peters, Shiane, and Devil's Lake. These are the great divisions; but the tribe is still separated into smaller bands and villages, numbering from fifty to one thousand souls.

Of the eight thousand Dacotas inhabiting the Mississippi and St. Peters country, also Shiane and Devil's Lake, we will say two thousand are men, who hunt more or less; and we should average them at one fourth of a pack each, of furs and peltries. This would make five hundred packs, which I think is a full average for several years. Some seasons they come short of this average, and at others overrun it. Last year, 1847, there were over five hundred packs taken from the Sioux country.

Some of the Sioux interpreters interpret the word *Dacota* to mean confederacy or a nation united, which no doubt is correct.

The word *Sioux* is given by old French traders; what it was taken from, no person knows. The Indians know not what it originated from. If you talk about *Sioux*, among those Indians who are not acquainted with the whites, they will not understand you; but the moment you mention *Da-co-tas*, the whole nation know who you mean.

9. "Does the tribe speak one or more dialects, or are there parts of several languages spoken, or incorporated in it, requiring more than one interpreter in transacting business with them?"

The *Men-da-wa-kan-ton* — Eyankton (Yanktons) — differ somewhat in dialect; but they are readily understood by the other bands. No separate interpreter is wanted for a Da-co-ta to pass through and converse with the whole nation.

10. "What rank and relationship does the tribe bear to others?"

Each nation thinks or considers itself superior to other nations of Indians.

The traditions of other tribes or nations do not admit that any nation of Indians is superior or more humane than their own. The mode to settle discordant pretensions to original rank, &c., is, to give them law, and a protection of rights and property

11. "Are there belts of wampum, quippas, or monuments of any kind, such as heaps of stone, &c., to prove the former existence of alliances, leagues, or treaties among the tribes?"

The Dacotas rear no monuments, &c.; all the proof that I can find is tradition.

12. "What is the totemic system of the tribe; or, if it consist of separate clans or primary families, what is the number of these clans, and what is the badge of each? And, do these totems or badges denote the rank or relationship which is sought to be established by these queries?"

The badge or name of a village is generally taken from the position or place in which it is situated, as in the following instances, viz.: *Wi-atta-che-chah*, or Bad; *Ohah-hans-ḥah*, situated on a long reach of the river; *Hamine-chan*, from the mountain of rocks above Lake Pepin; *Wahk-patons*, from their being settled where there is a large quantity of foliage; *Kah-po-sia*, from the Indians having gone on a hunting tour. Some of them took up their burdens, which were said to be heavy, and walked off lightly, and made long marches, which gave rise to the name *Kah-po-sia*, which means light.

As for clans, there are many, and there are secret badges. All that can be noticed, as to clans, is, that all those that use the same roots for medicines constitute a clan. These clans are secretly formed. It is through the great medicine-dance, that a man or a woman gets initiated into these clans. Although they all join in one general dance, still the use, properties, &c., of the medicine that each clan uses is kept entirely secret from each other. They use many roots of which they know not the properties themselves; and many of them have little if any medicinal properties in them. These clans keep up constant feuds with each other; for each clan supposes that the other possesses supernatural powers, and can cause the death of any person, although he may be living at a remote distance from it. These clans have been kept up from time immemorial, and are the cause of most of the blood shed among the Sioux. If a person dies, it is laid on some one of a different clan; and from that time, revenge is sought by the relations of the deceased, and all the supernatural powers are set to work to destroy the supposed offender. If this fails, then medicine is tried; and if that does not succeed, then the more destructive weapons, such as the knife, axe, or gun, are made use of, and often prove effectual. When the Indians are drinking strong or spirituous liquors, and are intoxicated, revenge is sought after with avidity. After an Indian has succeeded in killing a supposed murderer, the relatives of the deceased seek to retaliate; and so their troubles are kept up from one generation to another. It is as much an impossibility to get one of the members of these clans to divulge any of their secrets, as it is to get a freemason to disclose those of his lodge. They pretend to have the power to heal as well as to kill; and if a conjurer cannot heal a sick person, he says at once, some one of another clan is opposing him; and the nation never will have peace and happiness until these superstitions and juggleries are broken up by civilization and by sending physicians among them.

13. "Have geographical features, within the memory of tradition, or the abundance or scarcity of game, had any thing to do with the division and multiplication of tribes and dialects, either among the Atlantic or Western States? Are there any remembered feuds, family discords, or striking rivalries among chiefs or tribes, which have led to such separations, and great multiplication of dialects?"

Tradition informs us that the Dacota or Sioux were much more numerous on the

lower part of the St. Peters river than at present; that after the traders came into the country, and purchased furs and peltries, &c., the wild animals began to recede, and a large number of the Sioux kept pace with the game; that they were in the habit of killing for food, and for the peltries. The territory now claimed by the Sioux nation is about nine hundred miles in length, and from two to five hundred miles in breadth.

The Sioux have suffered much for want of food, and have been compelled to divide into small parties, to enable them to embrace a larger circuit of country to find food. Notwithstanding, they have been compelled to eat those that had died of starvation and cold. The different villages and bands have arisen mostly from feuds amongst the clans.

14. "What great geographical features, if any, in North America, such as the Mississippi River, Alleghany Mountains, &c., are alluded to in their traditions of the original rank and movements of the tribe; and was the general track of their migration *from* or *towards* the North or the East?"

The Sioux migrate, at this time, from the North to South-west. Tradition informs us that they once inhabited the head-waters of the Mississippi. They used to go to war to the Lake of the Woods and Lake Superior; and when they went on long hunting excursions, they came down the Mississippi to hunt. At that time there were different nations of Indians on the St. Peters and Mississippi, below its mouth.

16. "What are the chief rivers in the territory or district occupied by the tribe?"

The principal river is St. Peters, which is three hundred miles in length, navigable for steamboats, in high water, about one hundred and twenty miles, to Traverse de Sioux. There is one rapid about thirty miles above Fort Snelling, which is not perceived in high water. The St. Peters takes its rise in the Coteau de Prairie. The Chiane river is a large stream; it empties into the Red river of the North. Goods are landed at Traverse de Sioux from Mackinac boats and small durhams, and from these taken to all parts of the Sioux country in carts.

17. "Are there any large springs or lakes in the district, and what is their character, size, and average depth; and into what streams have they outlets?"

There are large springs at the commencement of the Big Wood on the St. Peters, the largest of which can be seen only at low water. At this place there is an Indian village, the chief of which told me he had found mineral of a yellow colour. There was also a spring which possessed medicinal properties. There are many lakes in the Sioux country, varying from one mile to ten in length, and from half a mile to two miles in width. The valley of St. Peters river abounds with springs of the finest water in the world. Many of the streams have good water-power.

18. "What is the general character of the surface of the country occupied by the tribe? Is it hilly or level, fertile or sterile; abundant or scanty in wood and water; abounding or restricted in the extent of its natural meadows or prairies?"

The Dacota country is generally level, and very fertile; scanty in wood; abounds with water. There are a great many natural meadows. The Indians raise small quantities of corn. The agricultural advantages are good throughout the Dacota country.

19. "Are cattle and stock easily raised? Do the prairies and woods afford an abundant supply of herbage spontaneously? Are wells of water to be had at moderate depths, where the surface denies springs or streams; and is there a practicable market for the surplus grain and stock?"

Cattle and stock are easily raised by cutting wild grass for the winter's hay. The prairies and woods furnish a spontaneous growth of herbage that millions of cattle can graze upon. There is no market for any great quantity of produce at present.[1]

20. "Has the old practice of the Indians, of burning the prairies to facilitate hunting, had the effect to injure the surface of the soil, or to circumscribe, to any extent, the native forests?"

The practice of firing the prairies is generally condemned by the Indians; and many of them will not do it. They say the fires destroyed a large amount of game. The fire does much injury to the soil, and destroys large quantities of timber, particularly pine.

21. "Are there extensive barrens or deserts, marshes or swamps, reclaimable or irreclaimable, and what effect do they produce on the health of the country; and do they offer any serious obstacles to the construction of roads?"

There are but few barrens in the Dacota country. There are many marshes and swamps, some reclaimable and others not. Some seasons, particularly when the water is low, the Indians are more or less sickly. The summer of 1846 and 1847, they suffered severely from sickness. Some of the swamps will be serious obstacles to the construction of roads.

22. "Is the quantity of arable land diminished by large areas of arid mountain, or of volcanic tracts of country, with plains of sand and cactus?"

There are no visible signs of volcanic tracts in the Dacota country.

23. "Is the climate generally dry or humid? Does the heat of the weather vary greatly, or is it distributed through the different seasons with regularity and equability? What winds prevail? Is it much subject to storms of rain, with heavy thunder, or

[1] [The subsequent incorporation of Minnesota Territory from the Sioux country, and the ascent of steamboats to that point, on the Upper Mississippi, must soon render this remark no longer applicable. — H. R. S.]

tornadoes, and do these tempests of rain swell the streams so as to overflow their banks and destroy fences, and injure the crops?"

The climate is generally dry. The heat varies, in summer, from temperate to rising of 90° Fahrenheit, in two or three days, and then falls as much in the same time. The winds are about equal from all points of the compass. Southeast, east, and northeast, are the prevailing winds for rain and snow. Some winters, we have not more than two inches of snow at a time, and no sleighing at all by land during the whole season; and then again, the snow is a foot and a half in depth. The thermometer ranges from freezing to 40° below zero. However, the intense cold does not last but a few days at a time. Very heavy rain storms are not frequent, neither are very heavy peals of thunder common. Tornadoes are seldom heard of. The low grounds of the St. Peters sometimes overflow in the spring freshets and injure the Indian corn. The valley of the St. Peters is from one to two miles wide. This is the only part that overflows. The prairies are from fifty to one hundred and fifty feet above the valley of the St. Peters. (Plate 24.) The Indians say "that a number of years since there came a great freshet in July, that destroyed all the corn in the Mississippi and St. Peters valley.

24. "Does the district produce any salt-springs of value, any caves yielding saltpetre earth, or any beds of gypsum, or plaster of paris; or of marl, suitable for agricultural purposes?"

The Eyankton (Yankton) country in the neighborhood of Devil's Lake abounds with salt lakes.[1]

25. "Has the country any known beds of stone-coal, iron, lead, copper-ores, or any other valuable deposites of useful metals or minerals?"

The country in the vicinity of Lake Pepin is said to contain lead-ore on the half-breed tract and Indian lands. I once saw a lump of lead-ore that a Sioux Indian said he found near Lake Pepin, but never could be persuaded to show the place where he found it, on account of a superstitious notion that some persons of his family would die if he should cause a mine to be opened on their lands. There is said to be copper-ore on Rum river, that enters into the Mississippi, above the falls of St. Anthony. Something like slate is found on Red-wood river by the Indians. It possibly may be coal; if so, it will be of great value, as wood is scarce.

26. "What is the general character and value of the animal productions of the district? What species of quadrupeds most abound?"

There are deer, but this animal is now scarce; bears, beavers, raccoons, otters, minks, muskrats, weasels, wolves, (large and small,) foxes, (gray and cross,) red fox, lynx, badger, ground-hog, (wood-chuck,) porcupine, red squirrel, three kinds of striped

[1] [This fact may prove one of high importance in the future history of that remote, high, and arable tract of country. — H. R. S.]

Capt S. Eastman. U.S. Army. Del. Pl 24. C.E. Wagstaff & J. Andrews Eng.s

VALLEY OF THE ST. PETERS, Minnesota.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILAD.a

squirrel that burrow in the ground, no gray or black squirrel, some rabbits or conies. Of all these animals the muskrat is the most numerous; buffalo, elks, and deer, are next in quantity.. Tradition says that most of the above mentioned animals were very numerous before the fur-traders came into the country; but they began to diminish as soon as traps and fire-arms began to be used to collect furs and peltries for the traders. I have heard old hunters say that there are thousands of buffalo killed for the hide and tongue. The bear, the Indians say, began to decrease first, and then the buffalo.

27. "Do the Indian traditions make any mention of larger or gigantic animals in former periods?"

The Indians say that large animals had existed once in that country, of which they have pieces of bones that they use for medicine. They assert that formerly there was a giant who could stride over the largest rivers and the tallest pines with ease, but he was pacific in his nature, lived on the fat of animals, and carried a large bow and arrow. The Indians have a tune that they sing to the giant, particularly when they have done something they wish to boast of. There are still giants of great power, it is believed, but where they are they cannot tell; but they are sure these giants can *destroy the thunder, and kill all kinds of animals by a look of the eye.*

29. "Have they any peculiar opinions or striking traditions respecting the serpent, wolf, turtle, grizzly bear, or eagle, whose devices are used as symbols on their arms or dwellings, and how do such opinions influence their acts on meeting these species in the forests?"

These animals are held in great veneration by some of the Indians, owing to the clan-system spoken of in No. 12. The men, when initiated into the great medicine-dance and clan, have some animate object of veneration, which they hold to, as sacred through life. Whatever it may be, they cannot, or dare not kill it, or eat any part of the flesh thereof. Some fix on a wolf, some a bear, some a deer, a buffalo, an otter; others different kinds of birds, or different parts of animals; some will not eat the tail or rump-piece, others the head, the liver, and so on. Some will not eat the right wing, some the left, of a bird; the women also are prohibited from eating many of the parts of the animal that are forbidden. When they enter into the clan, any person that breaks any of these rules, by eating any thing forbidden, brings upon himself trouble of some kind. The offence is the same, even if accidentally committed. If an Indian has bad luck in hunting, he at once says some one has been breaking their laws, either by eating some parts of the animal forbidden, or they have stepped over it, or on it, particularly a woman; if she steps over any of the things held sacred, a great trouble is soon expected in the family; therefore precaution is taken, as soon as possible to appease the animal held in veneration, for they think that diseases arise from some animal entering in spirit into their system, which kills them.

31. "Are they expert in drawing maps or charts of the rivers, or sections of country which they inhabit?"

Their capacity is very limited. All their drawings or figures are very inaccurate. They have no knowledge of the rules of proportion.

33. "What is generally thought, by men of reflection, to be the probable origin and purpose of the western mounds?"

Mounds are not common in the Dacota country. There are a few about seven miles west of Fort Snelling, in which human bones are found. The Indians say the Iowas once inhabited this country, and that it is very probable these mounds were made by them. The mounds are in the vicinity of St. Peters river; there are some also at the mouth of the St. Croix river, but they are low, running east and west. The oldest Indians know nothing about the structure, neither have they been opened to see what they contain. They are some fifteen or twenty in number, round in form, and from ten to twenty feet in diameter. I am informed there are more mounds in the Sioux country.[1]

40. "If pipes are found, what is the material; is it stone, steatite, or clay — how are they formed — to admit a stem, or to be smoked without, and what are their shapes, sizes, and ornaments?"

Pipe-stone is found at the Coteau des Prairie, of a deep and pale red colour. It is similar to slate in substance. It is imbedded between two strata of sand and lime-rock, from five to ten feet deep. It is surprising to see what work the Indians have performed to get this stone: they make with their knives beautiful pipes from it. The stone is quarried with axes and hoes. There are no forests here. The Indians have to carry wood from twelve to twenty miles to cook with, while quarrying. The pipe-stone quarry is about twelve miles from Big Sioux river, its nearest point. Mr. Catlin claims to be the first white man that visited the pipe-stone, but this is not so. In 1830 I found a 6lb. cannon-ball there.

41. "How many kinds of cooking utensils were there? Describe them."

Tradition informs us that the Dacotas once used the skin of the animals they killed to cook in. This was done by putting four stakes in the ground, and fastening the four corners of the skin to the stakes, so as to leave a hollow in the centre, into which was poured water — from one to two gallons. Then a quantity of meat was cut very fine, and put in with the water. Then stones were heated and thrown in. They say three or four stones, the size of a six-pound shot, cooked the meat and made a good dish of soup.

42. "What was the process of manipulation of their darts?"

[1] [These *small* tumuli have been the subject of fanciful description. The *larger* piles have been pronounced geological by Mr. R. D. Owen. — H. R. S.]

The darts, in former times, were worn down on a coarse sandstone. This stone is very hard in its natural state, but they burn it, which softens it, and makes a very sharp grit, which will wear away iron very fast by constant rubbing. In this way, the arrow-points were made, and some few are still manufactured in the same way of iron. The arrow used for hunting is differently shaped from that they use for war. The arrow-heads are from two to four inches in length, formerly made of bone, and deer and elk horn, and sinews from the necks of buffalo.

44. "How many kinds of wampum were there? What shells were employed? What was the value of each kind? How was it estimated?"

Wampum has been in use only since the whites commenced trade with the Indian tribes, and is valued as white people value property. Wampum is manufactured by people on the sea-coast, from shells found in the ocean. Traders formerly sold from two to five strings for an otter. At the present time, ten to twenty strings are given for an otter's skin.

48. "Have they any idea of the universe, or other creations in the field of space, which have, in their belief, been made by the Great Spirit?"

The Dacotas believe the Great Spirit made all things except rice and thunder.

52. "How many moons or months compose the Indian year, &c.?"

The Dacotas count time by seasons—spring, summer, autumn, and winter, which is counted one year. Twenty-eight days or nights are counted one moon. They can tell, pretty well, about what time the new moon will appear.

53. "Do they notice the length of the summer and winter solstices, and of the vernal and autumnal equinoxes?"

The Dacotas count three months for spring, three for summer, three for fall, and three for winter, and each month or moon has a name, viz., January, the severe or hard moon, February, the moon in which raccoons run, March, the moon of sore eyes. April, the moon that the geese lay, May, the moon for planting, June, the moon for strawberries and hoeing corn, July, midsummer, August, the moon that corn is gathered, September, the moon that they make wild rice, October and November, running of the does, December, the moon when the deer shed their horns.

55. "Have they any name for the year, as contra-distinguished from a winter?"

No.

56. "Have they names for any considerable number of the stars?"

The Dacotas have a few names for stars.

60. "In what part of the heavens or the planetary system do the Indians locate their paradise, or their happy hunting grounds and land of souls?"

The Dacotas have no particular place in the heavens for their departed souls. They say there are large cities somewhere in the heavens, where they will go to, but still be in a state of war with their former enemies, and have a plenty of game.

61. "Does the tribe count by decimals?"

The Dacotas' count commences 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Then they commence again and double the count, by saying ten and one, ten and two, ten and three, ten and four, and so on to two tens; then it is two tens and one, two tens and two, two tens and three, and so on to three tens, or thirty. They keep on counting tens, until they arrive at ten times ten, which is a hundred. Some can count a thousand very readily. Others can count ten million, but they cannot understand anything about the quantity, without saying it.[1]

63. "How were accounts formerly kept?"

Accounts were formerly kept in skins. A buck-skin was the standard currency. After the beaver failed, five to ten bucks was the price of blankets of different qualities. Five muskrat-skins were valued as equal to one buck-skin. A beaver or an otter was called a plue, the *French* for furs. Buffalo-robes are taken so many for a blanket, from two to five at this time. Where Indians receive annuities, their accounts are kept in dollars and cents by the traders. The Indian mode of trading among themselves is merely an exchange of articles; for instance, an Indian wants a horse, a lodge, or a canoe; he will take what he thinks is the value of the articles wanted, and carry it to some person that he believes most likely to strike a bargain with him. He then tells him what he wants, and although what he brings may not be sufficient in the estimation of the other, to purchase what he wants, still the offer or price is not refused; because it is understood that such refusal might cause his horse to be killed, or his lodge to be cut, or his canoe broken, or some kind of mischief might happen to him.

65. "Did a single perpendicular stroke stand for one, and each additional stroke mark the additional number?" &c. &c.

Their count is by one single stroke. For a hundred they make one hundred marks. Their ages are not accurately known. Some of their grave-posts are marked by characters of the number of persons killed. Although an Indian may never have actually killed one of his enemies, he may count with those that do kill. After an enemy is killed, or shot down, four of the first persons of the war-party count it an honor, or can wear an eagle's feather, and be entitled to as much honor as the man that shot the enemy.[2] Therefore there is great strife amongst the warriors to see who

[1] [See Dacota Numeration, § VI. B.]

[2] [See Manners and Customs, ante, § II. A.]

shall touch the body first, to gain a feather, which is a great distinction, or mark of bravery. Sometimes, however, they are sadly disappointed; as if the enemy is not dead, the first one that approaches is apt to get shot, and then a pair of them die together.

66. "What is the general character of their medical practice?"

Their sick are attended as well as could be expected by a people so ignorant and superstitious. Children and youth are better nursed than the old and decrepid. The Indians say that many years ago, the E-yankton of the plains had an old man that could scarcely walk, and his sons and relations got tired of handing him about, and therefore told the old man they were going to leave him, but not to suffer a lingering death; that they would give him a gun, and put him out on the plain to be shot at by the young warriors, that he might defend himself the best way he could, and that if he succeeded in killing any one of them, it would be an honor he could take with him to the land of spirits. The young warriors, however, were quite too active for the old man, who could not hit one of them, before he himself was shot.

67. "Have their professed doctors and practitioners of medicine any exact knowledge of anatomy, of the theory of the circulation of the blood, or the pathology of diseases?"

None.

68. "How do they treat fevers, pleurisy, consumption of the lungs, obstructions of the liver, deranged or impeded functions of the stomach, constipation, or any of the leading complaints?"

By charming, or singing over the sick, and shaking a gourd-shell over them. (Plate 46, Part 1st.) The gourd-shell has beads in it, to make it rattle. They also stuff the patient with meat and strong soup.

69. What species of plants or other roots are employed as emetics or cathartics?"

They have many plants and roots that they use, but know not the properties of but few of them. Some of them use old bones of a large animal that they say once existed in the country, and others use pieces of stone for medicine. They dig the roots and dry them, to preserve them, and then pound them when they want to use them. They have one root that is very powerful, and used as a cathartic; but it often operates as an emetic also.

70. "Do they bleed in fevers? and what are the general principles of the application of the Indian lancet? Is the kind of cupping which they perform with the horn of the deer efficacious, and in what manner do they produce a vacuum?"

The Indians bleed in the arm, but not when they are very sick. When they bleed, it is generally before they get very low. They cup sometimes for the headache. The Indian's knife or lancet, in these cases, is a piece of flint. A scale of the common flint is knocked off, generally with the fire-steel, which is very sharp, and a piece of this is used for scarifying and for cupping. Sometimes they tie a small piece of wood, six or eight inches long, to the flint, and use it like a phlegm. The point of the flint is laid on the vein, and struck a light tap with a small stick; the blood then runs very freely. They most generally use the tip-end of a buffalo horn for cupping.

71. "Have they any good styptics, or healing or drawing plasters?"

They have some roots that heal new wounds very easily. Bandages and lint are not skilfully applied, nor removed in time.

72. "Is the known success with which they treat gun-shot wounds, cuts, or stabs, the result of the particular mode of treatment, or of the assiduity and care of the physicians?"

The healing-art of gun-shot wounds is mostly in nature itself.

73. "Do they ever amputate a limb, and how, and with what success? Are the arteries previously compressed?"

They seldom amputate a limb. They have no surgical instruments. They are not skilful in splints. If a limb is broken, it is almost sure to be crooked afterwards. The mode of carrying the sick or wounded is in a litter on two poles lashed together, and a blanket fastened on to it. (Plate 25.) Two men carry it, one at each end of the litter, by his head-strap, which he fastens to each side of the litter, then brings the strap over his neck. It is wonderful to see how far two Indians will carry a heavy man in this way.

74. "What is the state of the Indian Materia Medica?"

They have some medicine, that is, roots and plants. They have no metallic medicine. Their compound decoctions are simple, but no reliance can be placed on them. They have some roots that are healing to wounds. They all use one kind of medicine for cathartics. They have also medicine for injections; but the principal catholicon for all diseases is the gourd-shell, or a shell made of birch-bark, by which they *charm* away sickness and pain. They say the sick person has been afflicted by some quadruped, biped, or amphibious animal. The remedy to remove the animal from the body of the sick is for the doctor or conjurer to get the shape of the animal cut out of bark, which is placed outside of the lodge near the door, in a small bowl of water with some red earth mixed in it. The juggler is inside of the lodge, where the sick person is, making all sorts of noises, shaking his shell, and gesticulating in every

Capt. S. Eastman. U.S. Army, Del. Pl. 25. *C.E. Wagstaff & J. Andrews Engrs*

TRANSPORTING THE WOUNDED.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILAD^A

way. The animal made of bark in the vessel outside is to be shot: two or three Indians are in waiting, standing near the bowl with guns loaded with powder and wad, to shoot the animal when the conjurer makes his appearance out of the lodge. But to be sure that the conjuring shall have the desired effect, a woman must stand astride of the bowl, when the men fire into it, with her dress raised as high as the knees. The men are instructed how to act by the conjurer, and as soon as he makes his appearance out of doors, they all fire into the bowl, and blow the little bark animal to pieces. The woman steps aside, and the juggler makes a jump at the bowl upon his hands and knees, and commences blubbering in the water, and singing, and making all manner of noises. While this is going on, the woman has to jump on the juggler's back, and stand there a moment; then she gets off, and as soon as he has finished his incantations, the woman takes him by the hair of his head, and pulls him along into the lodge from whence he emerged. If there are any fragments found of the animal that has been shot, they are carefully buried, and then the ceremony is over for the present.

If this does not cure the sick, a similar ceremony is performed, but some other kind of an animal is shaped out and shot at.

75. "How do they treat imposthumes and eruptions of the skin? Do men ever interpose their skill in difficult cases of parturition; and what is the general character of the medical treatment of mothers and children? Do they employ vapor-baths efficaciously for the health of their patients?"

There is not much done for eruptions of the skin except greasing it with such soft fat meat as they can get. Small-pox is a disease they know nothing about the treatment of; and in fact any diseases that are dangerous and difficult they have no idea of a remedy for. In cases of parturition the men seldom, if ever, are called upon to assist; but if a man and his wife should be on a hunting excursion, and such a thing should happen, then of course he is forced to do what he can to assist her. The women crack many jokes at the men for their unskilfulness in such matters.

It is seldom they have a difficult case in parturition, owing, I suppose, to the women being accustomed to hardships. There have been instances known of women going out after a load of wood, and returning in a short time with the wood on their backs and a new-born babe on the top of the load. (Plate 26.) There is seldom any thing done to the mother in these cases, as she is generally well enough in one or two days to do any ordinary work. The child is wrapped in a new blanket, and kept very warm a few days. Then they begin to lash it on the cradle for carrying about on the back, by a strap attached to each side of the cradle, and then brought over the forehead. (Fig. 2, Plate 15.) In this way they will carry a child half a day, and sometimes a whole day, and the child appears perfectly at ease.

They have no treatment for paralysis but shaking the shell and singing, and

shooting the animals that the jugglers think have caused the disease. Vapor-baths are used by them, but not frequently. The manner of preparing this bath is to set four sticks in the ground, and bend them all inward, which makes them cross, and become round on the top. This enclosure is three or four feet in diameter, and about three or four feet high, with two or three blankets thrown over, which excludes the air all round. In the centre of this is placed a red-hot stone, that would weigh from six to eight pounds. The patient's posture is half-sitting or stooping over the stone. Another Indian is inside, and pours water over the stone. The steam arising from it is very oppressively hot, and causes great perspiration in a short time. After the patient has endured it as long as he can, he goes with the other man, and they both plunge into the water, which ends the vapor-bath.

76. "Does the tribe consist of one or more clans or subdivisions, &c.?"

See No. 12, for clans. See No. 2, of this book.

78. "Were the chiefs originally hereditary or elective? If hereditary, is the descent in the male or female line, &c.?"

The chieftainship is of modern date; that is, since the Indians first became acquainted with the whites. Tradition says, they knew of no chiefs until the white people began to make distinctions. The first Sioux that was ever made a chief among the Dacotas, was Wah-ba-shaw, and this was done by the British. Since that time, chieftainship has been hereditary. There are small bands existing that have no recognized chiefs. The females have nothing to do with, nor any rights in the chieftainship. There is no particular ceremony to instal a man chief, only the father, before he dies, may tell the band that he leaves his son to take his place. The son generally presents himself to the Indian agent, the principal soldier speaking for him, saying to the agent, "Our former chief has left this his son to be our chief." This is about all of the ceremony.

79. "To what extent is an Indian Council a representative assembly of the tribe, and how far are the chiefs invested with authority to act for the mass of the tribe, &c.?"

The chiefs have but little power. If an Indian wishes to do mischief, the only way a chief can influence him is to give him something, or pay him to desist from his evil intentions. The chief has no authority to act for the tribe, and dare not do it. If he does, he will be severely beaten, or killed at some future time. Their office is not of much consequence as chief, for they have no salary, and are obliged to seek a livelihood in the same way that a common Indian does; that is, by hunting. A chief is not better dressed than the rest of the Indians, and often not so well. The chief is sustained by relationship. The band of which an Indian is chief is almost always of a kin totem, which helps to sustain him.

Capt. S. Eastman. U. S. Army. Del. Pl. 26. C. E. Wagstaff & J. Andrews. Engs.

Indian Woman procuring fuel.

81. "Do the chiefs, in public council, speak the opinions and sentiments of the warrior class, previously expressed by the latter in their separate or home councils; or do they particularly consult the old men, priests, warriors, and young men composing the tribe, &c.?"

The democratic principle is implanted a little too deep in the Indians in general. They all wish to govern and not to be governed. Every Indian thinks he has a right to do as he pleases, and that no one is better than himself; and he will fight before he will give up what he thinks right. No votes are cast. All business is done by the majority of the band assembling and consulting each other. Some one will set up for or against a motion; and the one that appears the best is adopted by general consent. The voice of the chief is not considered decisive until a majority of the band have had a voice, and then the chief has to be governed according to that voice or opinion of the tribe.

82. "In what manner are the deliberations opened, conducted and closed, &c.?"

Councils are generally opened by some chief. When the subject-matter concerns the soldiers or "braves," the first or principal soldier is authorized to speak or act as orator for the party assembled. There is most generally some remark made about the weather, as an omen that the Great Spirit accords with or opposes their wishes. Questions of a grave character, that is, with the white people, are deliberated upon by all interested; and cases of revenge acted on precipitately. (Plate 27.)

83. "Are decisions made by single chiefs, or by a body of chiefs in council, carried implicitly into effect, &c.?"

Decisions made by a delegation are considered lawful and binding, but the acts of a single chief are binding only upon his own village. In cases of murder, the parties aggrieved generally seek revenge themselves, although there are some instances where a murderer is put to death by the authority of the council. An instance of this kind happened near this place in 1846, at Little Crow's village.

An old chief had three wives, and also had children by each of the three, who were always wrangling with each other, although the father had taken great pains to bring them up to be good men. After the old chief's death, the eldest son of each of these three sets of children, set up claims to the chieftainship, although their father had previously given it to his first son. The younger brothers were very jealous, and made an attempt to kill him, and very nearly succeeded. They shot him with ball and shot; both his arms were broken, and he was also wounded in the face and breast. After this heinous act, the young men made their escape, and a month afterwards returned home again, got drunk, and threatened to kill other persons. The village called a council, and resolved to put the young men to death. One of them had fallen asleep, the other was awake. The three appointed to kill them, one of whom was a

half-brother, went to the lodge where they had been drunk, and shot them. No notice, or time, or place, was given them. The executioner seeks the most favorable opportunity he can find to kill the man. Guns are generally used for this business, although the tomahawk or clubs sometimes are preferred. Messengers are sent out for the restoration of property. The most of the pilfering among themselves is done by women and children. The men say it is too low a practice for them to live by. Stealing horses, however, from an enemy, the men regard as an act of bravery and right. The women have severe and bloody fights on account of stealing from each other. The men scarcely ever interfere in these quarrels. Polygamy also generates bloody battles among the women, and the strongest generally keeps the lodge. The men attend to their own difficulties, and let the women settle theirs.

84. "Is the succession of a chief to an office vacated by death, or otherwise debated and decided in council, or may a person legally in the right line of descent, forthwith assume the functions of office?"

At the death of a chief, the one nearest of kin, in a right line, has a right to set himself up as chief. If there are no relatives, a chief is made by a council of the band. It seldom happens that a chief is deposed. There is but one chief in each band or village. Some villages have a second chief, but his functions are very limited. The custom of wearing medals is modern, and from the whites.

85. "What is the power of the priesthood as an element in the decision of political questions, &c.?"

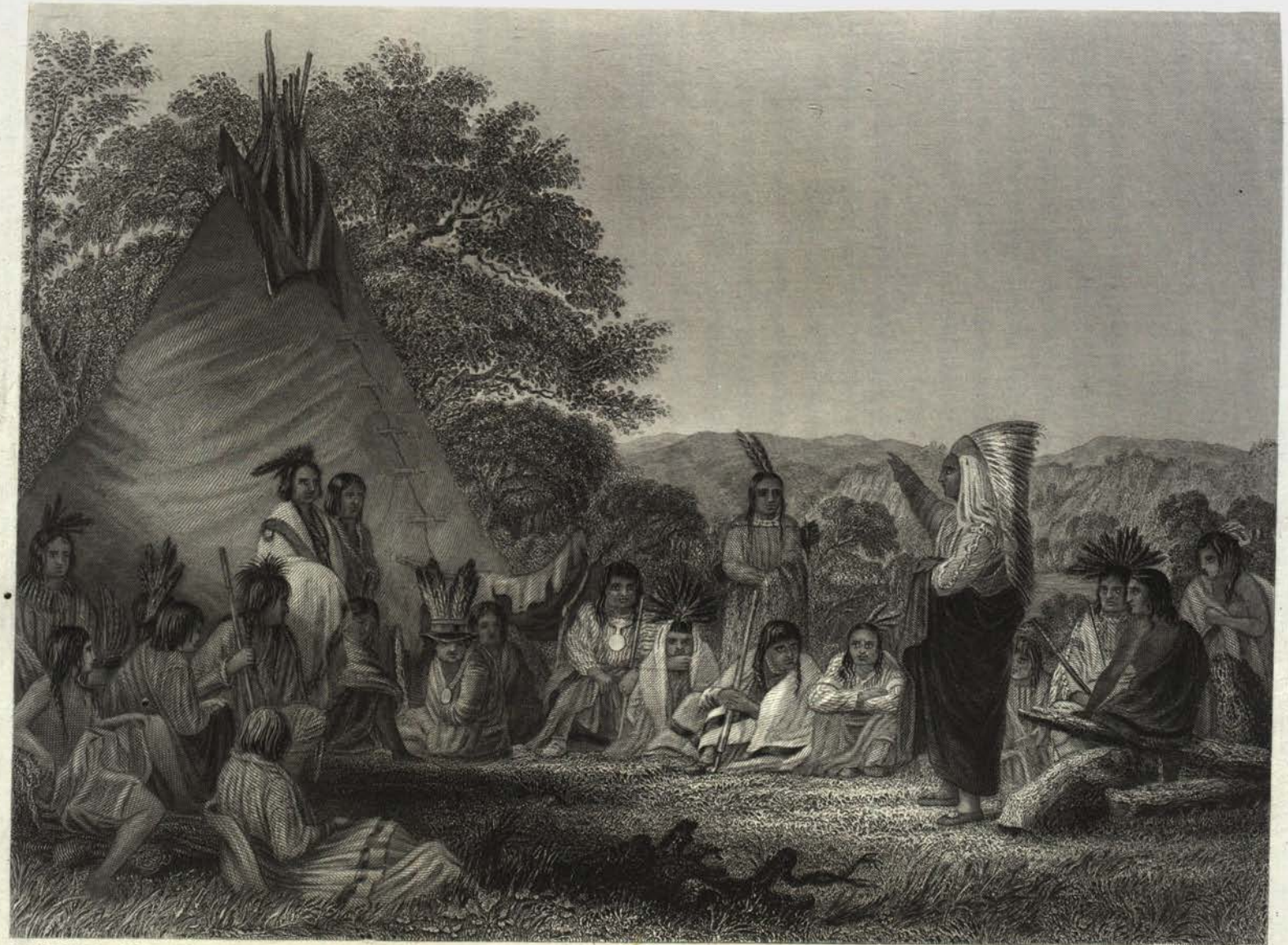
The power of the priesthood is very great. The priests or jugglers sit in council, and have a voice in all national affairs. They are the persons that make war, and they also have a voice in the sale or cession of lands.

86. "Define the power of the war-chiefs."

The power of a civil and the power of a war chief is distinct; the civil chiefs scarcely ever make a war-party. The war chiefs often get some of the priests or jugglers to make war for them. In fact, any of the jugglers can make a war-party when they choose. The war chiefs are generally distinguished from the other officers of the band. The young men often sit in councils, but seldom speak before they are twenty-five or thirty years old. Matrons never appear in council, but the women express their opinion at home; in fact, I have seen cases where the wishes of women have been carried.

89. "State what is the law of retaliation, or the private right to take life."

Any one, two, or three, may revenge the death of a relative, and it sometimes happens that two or three are killed for one. A compromise is frequently made by the offending party giving large presents. Fleeing, too, from justice has saved the



Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army. Pl. 27. John C. Mc Rae

INDIANS IN COUNCIL

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT GRAMBO & CO. PHILAD.ª

life of a murderer for years, and he sometimes escapes altogether, and dies a natural death. Other murderers are killed years after the offence; when they think all is forgotten, revenge is taken in a moment, and they are killed. They have no particular place of escape, as the people of old had. In feuds arising from polygamy, if a death occurs, the relatives of the deceased almost always seek revenge.

90. "What are the game laws, or rights of the chase, &c.?"

Each village has a certain district of country they hunt in, but do not object to families of other villages hunting with them. Among the Dacotas, I never knew an instance of blood being shed in any disputes or difficulties on the hunting grounds. The *Sesetons* and *Yanktons* have sometimes objected to the *Mendawahkantons* hunting on their lands, but they can obtain permission to do so by giving some small presents.

91. "Are furs surreptitiously hunted on another man's limits subject to be seized by the party aggrieved, &c.?"

All furs and game are held in common. The person that finds and kills game is the rightful owner. There are instances of great contention over the carcase of an animal, and some get severely cut; but this only occurs when the Indians are starving. The furs they seldom quarrel about, unless it is from stealing from each other which is the cause of quarrels among some of them. The chief rarely meddles in these contentions.

92. "Are warnings of local intrusions frequently given? or is injury to property redressed privately, like injury to life?"

Injury to property is sometimes privately revenged by destroying other property in place thereof. Indians sometimes kill each other for killing horses.

93. "If hunting parties or companions agree to hunt together for a special time, or for the season, what are the usual laws or customs regulating the hunt?"

The rules of the hunters are, to divide the meat of the animal they kill. There are many instances where an Indian kills a deer, and reserves only the hide and the very smallest portion for himself. If four or five others should come up while he is dressing the deer, they must all get a piece. As soon as a deer is killed, the Indians kindle a fire and commence roasting bits of it, so that they generally make a good meal in a few minutes. While the deer is being dressed and divided out, if an Indian wounds another deer, and it runs a considerable distance, and then another Indian kills it, he claims the animal and gets the hide, but the first man, if he comes up in time, will get a part of the meat. Stealing from each other's traps is a frequent occurrence. The loser satisfies himself by doing the same thing to the one that he suspects, or some one else.

94. "If a tribe or band pass over the lines, and hunt on the lands of another tribe, and kill game there, is it deemed a just cause of war?"

Yes, but they remonstrate first with each other.

95. "Has commercial intercourse promoted the general cause of Indian civilization?"

We believe that commerce has done nothing towards civilizing the Indians, but rather retarded it, and many of the traders oppose civilization, because they say it will stop the Indians from hunting, and the trade will decrease on that account. The traffic in furs and skins is carried on by companies, and by individuals. The goods, most of them, come from England to New York, then are re-shipped, with a profitable tariff, west to Mackinac and St. Louis. At these places the traders assemble once a year, and take their outfits, with another tariff put upon the goods. These outfits are taken into the Indian country, and petty traders and voyagers are furnished or outfitted again. So it is tariff upon tariff, and when the goods get into the hands of the Indians, the blankets cost from eight to fifteen dollars a pair, and sometimes that much for single blankets. The risk in trade is considerable; first, failures in hunting, and second, irregular prices in furs. A trader in the wilderness is guided by his last year's prices, and pays the Indians accordingly. Being so far from market, he does not learn the fluctuations, and then when he makes his return of furs, he will probably find that they are not worth half as much as the year before. So the Indians are benefited by the high price, and the actual trader has to be the loser; while the equippers at New York hoard up immense fortunes. Look at John J. Astor, for instance, as equipper.

96. "Are the chiefs and hunters shrewd, cautious, and exact in their dealings, making the purchases with judgment, and paying up their debts faithfully?" &c.

The chiefs and hunters are shrewd enough in dealing and bartering. Many people say the poor Indians are imposed upon, but it is a rare case that the trader gets the advantage. Competition is so great, that an Indian can go from one trader to another until he gets a fair price for his furs. In fact I have known instances where an Indian has got one-third more for his furs than they were worth. They rely on memory to keep their accounts, but sometimes an Indian notches on his pipe-stem, to keep an account of the amount he gets on credit. Some Indians are punctual in paying their debts, but many of them fail. I have known some of them to fall short four and five hundred dollars, which amounts stand on the trader's books until the next year. But the trader does not often get any of the old debt paid; for the Indians, owing to their improvidence, are alike every year needy, consequently the trader is compelled to give as much credit the following year, and the old debt stands unpaid for years, and probably never is paid at all. Furs diminish sometimes, owing to low water or drought, and only a small quantity of snow, so that the ponds and lakes freeze to the bottom,

and all the animals perish in the ice. The Indians seldom make any opposition to having the old debts charged, but seldom pay the amounts, or any part of them.

97. "Is it necessary for the trader to send runners to the Indian hunters' camps, or private lodges, to collect their debts, &c.?"

It is frequently necessary to send runners after debtors, because some other trader might come along and purchase the furs, or a part of them, and so the proper claimant lose his debt. The runners are generally Canadians, employed by companies or individuals. Floods do not affect the animals only for the better. Seasons of abundant rain and high water are considered good years for furs, but dry seasons are always the contrary.

98. "Is the tariff of exchanges such as generally to protect the trader from loss?"

The tariff of the traders would protect them from loss if the Indians would punctually pay, but many of the traders make shipwreck in Indian trade, owing to the many bad debts. Those debts are hardly ever thought of by the Indians after the first year, and the actual Indian trader becomes bankrupt, of which there are many instances. It is customary for the trader to give large quantities of provisions to hungry Indians, particularly to the Dacotas, who are always hungry. The sick also get a considerable quantity of necessaries. These are seldom paid for: in fact, the Indian thinks the white man ought to give him all he asks for, because they have an idea that a white man has only to ask in order to get what he wants at the very lowest rates. The trader seldom makes a charge of provisions, unless an Indian wants a large quantity. Three and four, and sometimes as many as ten, arrive at a trader's house, with furs to sell or to pay a debt. They all get supper and breakfast, and even sometimes stay two or three days, without any charge being made. I think a small trader gives away as many as a thousand meals a year in this way, and, in many instances, saves families from suffering by such liberality.

99. "Have the purposes of commerce, since the discovery of the continent, had the effect to stimulate the hunters to increased exertions, and thus to hasten the diminution or destruction of the races of animals whose furs are sought?"

The introduction of fire-arms, and traps, and commerce, has caused all kinds of animals, whose furs and peltries are sought by the white people, to decrease.

100. "What animals flee first, or diminish in the highest ratio, on the opening of a new district of the remote forest to trade? Is the buffalo first to flee? is the beaver next?"

It is difficult to tell which diminishes first, the buffalo or the beaver. The buffalo is more abundant in the Dacota country than the beaver, at the present time.

101. "Are the lands, when denuded of furs, of comparatively little value to the Indians while they remain in the hunter state? Is not the sale of such hunted lands beneficial to them?"

An Indian's land, without game, is of little value to him, for he cultivates but a small part of it — say from one-fourth to two acres is about the extent of the farm of any one family; and Indians drawing an annuity of fifteen to thirty dollars per capita, is more than most of them make by hunting at present, or for many years past.

102. "What quantity of territory is required to be kept in its wilderness state, in order to afford a sufficient number of wild animals to sustain an Indian family?"

The territory required to sustain an Indian family would be two thousand and two hundred acres of land, or thereabouts.

103. "What are the ultimate effects of the failure of game on the race? Does it not benefit by leading the native tribes to turn to industry and agriculture? And is not the pressure of commerce on the boundaries of hunting a cause of Indian civilization? Has not the introduction of heavy and coarse woollen goods, in place of valuable furs and skins, as articles of clothing, increased the means of subsistence of the native tribes?"

The failure of wild animals has, in some instances, led the Indians to believe in planting corn as a safeguard against want; but the greatest obstacle to the success of agricultural life among them is the unqualified laziness of the men and the boys, who will not work. They have a haughty spirit of pride, and I dare say you would as soon see a president or a king working with the hoe, as a young man of the Indian race. The men hunt a little in summer, go to war, kill an enemy, dance, lounge, sleep, and smoke. The women do every thing — nurse, chop wood, and carry it on their backs from a half to a whole mile; hoe the ground for planting, plant, hoe the corn, gather wild fruit, carry the lodge, and in winter cut and carry the poles to pitch it with; clear off the snow, &c., &c.; and the men often sit and look on. Commerce, I believe, does little towards the civilization of the Indians. I have resided among them twenty odd years, and I do believe they are more filthy and degraded than when I first came. I cannot observe that the introduction of woollen goods increases civilization in the least, or aids them materially in subsistence.

104. "What are the moral consequences of civilized intercourse, &c., &c.? Has not the introduction of ardent spirits been by far the most fruitful, general, and appalling cause of the depopulation of the tribes?"

The evil effects of whiskey-traders is immense, but the moral effects of Indian trade by lawful traders in the Indian country has not been detrimental, especially when carried on by the American people. The Indians complain bitterly of the white people

settling down on the lines with large quantities of whiskey. They say they believe it is done on purpose to ruin them, and they have often in council called the attention of the President to this fact, and hoped their great father would take pity on them, and stop the white people from bringing the spirit-water so near their settlements. Some of these whiskey-shops are within a half mile of Indian camps; in fact, all they have to do is to cross the Mississippi, and they can get it by barrels full. The introduction of fire-arms does not appear to have changed their condition, only by making the game more scarce. As to their moral character, fire-arms do not appear to have changed them any. The war-spirit, one hundred years ago, was as great as at present. They make peace and smoke and eat together, but break the peace the first opportunity they can get of surprising one or two persons alone. The prominent cause of discord and war, from time immemorial, is aggressions upon the rights of their hunting grounds. Trade and commerce has had but little to do with the Indian wars. Its influence has been exerted to try and make the nations live in peace with each other; for these wars are very injurious to trade and commerce, and therefore it is to the interest of the traders that there should be peace among the Indians.

105. "Are there any serious or valid objections on the part of the Indians to the introduction of schools, agriculture, the mechanic arts, or Christianity?"

The Indians think all people are bad except themselves, and they have no faith in the whites. They say the white people cannot be trusted; that if they make a treaty with them for land, the stipulations are not fulfilled; and that Indians are always imposed on by the white people, (which is not the case.) The Indians make strong opposition to schools, but the money is the cause of this. The traders want the money, and they encourage the Indians to oppose schools, by telling them that the school-fund would be paid over to them if there were no schools, and that the money would do them much more good than the schools ever would. The Indian, fond of idleness, would like to drink and smoke away the remainder of his days, and let his family look out for themselves.

Our government ought not to listen to the Indians, but go on and establish good schools; and then, when the traders find the funds are appropriated, and there is no chance of getting hold of the money, the opposition will cease. Agriculture is an art that the Indians are as fond of the proceeds of, as any human being. The most of them are the greatest gormandizers that ever lived. The only way to make them till the soil, and become civilized, is to take from them all their war-implements, and stop their jugglers, and give them physicians in the place thereof. The jugglers or Indian doctors are a curse to the nation, and help them on to ruin as fast as any thing else can. They oppose the schools on account of this system. The jugglers say schools will break up the system after a time, and cause their ruin. Christianity they acknow-

ledge to be good for white people; but they say they cannot resist temptation like white people, therefore it is useless for them to adopt the system, as they would soon break the commandments, and be worse than ever. They also say many of the white men are worse than they are. As much as Indians are opposed to religion, I never heard them scoffing or making a mock of Christianity.

106. "Are the existing intercourse laws of the United States, as last revised, efficient in removing causes of discord, and preserving peace between the advanced bodies of emigrants or settlers on the frontiers and the Indian tribes?"

The existing laws have very little practical effect on the Indians or the white people. All that keeps the Indians in subjection is the troops stationed in the Indian country. I have heard them say, "If it was not for the stone walls at Fort Snelling, they would have fine times." The laws now existing have no influence between tribe and tribe. The Indians set all laws at defiance, and go to war, and murder or kill whenever they choose. They say the white people make war when they please, and they will do the same. It is of no use to make laws for Indians, unless they are carried out. It only makes the matter worse. The late law respecting the whiskey-trade the Indians say is all a humbug, and can avail nothing. The most contemptible of the whiskey-traders laugh at the law, and sell as much, if not more, than if there was no law on the subject; because there is no one to enforce it. The late law of making Indian testimony lawful in the Indian country, is also of no effect at all, because the Indians go to the ceded land for the whiskey. The whiskey traders are very careful about crossing the Mississippi with whiskey; when they do so, it is at a time when no person can see them. In fact, it is almost impossible to get any testimony against them, under the now existing laws. The Indians came and reported the white people for selling whiskey to Indians on the ceded lands, and they were told that their testimony was good only in their own country. They laughed, and said such laws were of no use.

107. "From whence do causes of difficulties and war usually arise, and how are they best prevented?"

The sources of discord have existed from time immemorial. One of the causes is, that the different nations cannot understand each other; another is revenge; and another the evil and wicked propensities of the heart. The only way to prevent Indian wars, is to hang the guilty. It would require only a few examples to put a stop to them, within any reasonable distance of a military force. Some might say this would be hard usage, but by hanging a few guilty ones, you may save the lives of many of the innocent, and establish a permanent peace amongst the tribes and the nations.

Capt. S. Eastman. U.S. Army. Pl. 28. James Smillie.

DAKOTAH ENCAMPMENT.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT GRAMBO & CO. PHILADA

108. "What provisions of existing laws appear susceptible, in your opinion, of amendment, in order to secure more effectually the rights or welfare of the Indians?"

The existing laws protect the Indians from the intrusion of white people upon their rights, and also keep the white people from entering their country or purchasing their land. Of course the white man can take no advantage, unless sanctioned by the government. In order to secure more effectually the rights of Indians among themselves, give them law, and help them to enforce it, until they are capable of doing it themselves. Give to each family or individual a tract of land, to be held for life, and then for the heirs to inherit in succession, but never allow them to sell it. This would give them a permanent home and protection of property, and would lead them to industry; but as it now is, the Indians are in villages of from two to five hundred souls. The children steal every thing in the vegetable line before it is half-grown, and the owner seeing the fruits of his or her labour taken away from him in this way, feels discouraged from planting — when if they were scattered, say a half mile or a mile apart, it would be a great preventive against pilfering children.

109. "Could important objects be secured by the introduction of any modifications of the provisions respecting the payment or distribution of annuities, the subsistence of assembled bodies of Indians, or the investment or application of treaty funds?"

We perceive that annuities facilitate the means of the Indians getting whiskey, particularly the money part. If the Government would give the Indians goods in lieu of money, the whiskey-dealers would have but a small inducement to give as much liquor to the Indians. Their annuities could then be applied to better purposes, for farming and houses, and stock, and schooling; but Government would have to control the whole business for several years; but this might be done at the expense of the Indians. The investment of the treaty fund could be advantageously employed by laying off farms for the Indians, and employing farmers to instruct them by families, say one farmer for four families, and keep them at least half a mile apart, and have good plain warm houses built for them, for they suffer very much in the winter from cold in their open lodges.

The Dacotas have two kinds of huts or wigwams; one of a conical form, made of dressed buffalo-skins, which are easily transported. This kind of wigwam is used in the winter season, and when on their hunting excursions. To erect one of them, it is only necessary to cut a few saplings about fifteen feet in length, place the large ends on the ground in a circle, letting the tops meet, thus forming a cone. The buffalo-skins, sewed together in the form of a cape, are then thrown over them, and fastened together with a few splints. The fire is made on the ground, in the centre of the wigwam, and the smoke escapes through an aperture at the top. These wigwams are warm and comfortable. (Plate 28.)

The other kind of hut is made of bark, usually that of the elm. A frame-work for

the walls and roof is first made of saplings, fastened together by withes, or sinews of the buffalo. On this frame the bark is laid, which is kept in its place by saplings laid over it, and fastened to the under frame. There are openings for entrance left at each end. The fire is made on the ground, apertures being left in the roof for the smoke to escape. These huts are used in the summer season, when they are raising corn, and forms their permanent villages. (Plate 29.) — E.

110. "Is there any feature in the present laws which could be adapted more exactly to their present location, or to the advanced or altered state of society at present existing in the tribe?"

Keep up the intercourse law, or else forbid the Indians from passing over into the ceded country, and be sure to punish any of them who pass over the boundary. Give them traders who will supply their wants as far as their money will go, and ensure the trader or traders their payment. In this way the Indians will have no excuse for crossing into the ceded territory for goods.

111. "What provisions would tend more effectually to shield the tribes from the introduction of ardent spirits into their territories, and from the pressure of lawless or illicit traffic?"

There is but a small quantity of alcoholic drink carried into the Indian country by white men. It is done mostly by the Indians themselves. Some of the Indians travel as many as four hundred miles, and come into the ceded territory where the whiskey-traders are, and get whole barrels of whiskey, and carry it off to the Sisseton country.

112. "Is there any feature in the present system of negotiation with the tribes susceptible of amendment and improvement?"

The chiefs prefer going to Washington to treat, but the Indians, in general, would prefer treating in their own country. It would be easier to treat with the Dacotas at Washington than in their own country, on account of the influence of the traders and their relatives. The expenses would be about the same either way. The Indians often speak of the President, and say his views or orders are not carried out; that they believe their great father wishes to do them justice, but his officers will not do as he tells them.

113. "Are the game, and wood, and timber of the tribes subject to unnecessary or injurious curtailment, or trespass from the intrusion of emigrating bands, abiding for long periods on their territories?"

The principal complaint is against other nations destroying their game. Chippewas and British half-breeds are the ones they complain of most.

Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army.

Pl. 29

John C. Mc Rae

DAKOTAH VILLAGE.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT GRAMBO & CO. PHILAD.A

114. "Are any of the tribes sufficiently advanced in your district to have their funds paid to a treasurer of the tribe, to be kept by him and disbursed, agreeably to the laws of their local legislature?"

No; there is none.

115. "Are payments of annuities to chiefs, or to separate heads of families, most beneficial? Should the principal of an Indian fund be paid in annuities to the Indians at the present period, under any circumstances, and are members of the tribe generally capable of the wise or prudent application of money?"

It is best to pay annuities to separate heads of families; and it is far more beneficial to the Indians to receive only the interest of the principal. A large number of the Indians spend their money for the benefit of their families.

116. "How is the elective franchise expressed and guarded, &c. &c.?"

In giving a vote, no qualifications are required, no individual rights are surrendered. Murder, and the other crimes, are sometimes punished by council; and, frequently, individual murderers stand as high in office as the best of them. No boon is offered as security for life.

117. "Have original defects been remedied by adapting them more exactly to the genius and character of the people than they were, apparently, in the first rough drafts?"

This is what is very much wanted, but it has never been tried by this people.

118. "Have the legislative assemblies adopted a practical system of laws for the enforcement of public order, the trial of public offences, the collection of debts, the raising of revenue, the erection of public buildings, and ferries, and school-houses, and churches; or the promotion of education, the support of Christianity, and the general advance of virtue, temperance, and the public welfare, &c. &c.?"

No; but could such a system as this be established, it would, no doubt, save this nation from ruin.

119. "What ideas have the Indians of property? How do they believe private rights accrued? Have they any true views of the legal idea of property, &c. &c.?"

Private rights are held and respected by this people. Purchase, conquest, or labor, give private or national rights as long as life lasts. The starting of a deer, and pursuing it, gives no right if another Indian kills it; but if the man that first started the deer wounds it, he naturally claims it, even if another should kill it, but they generally divide the meat, the skin going to the first shot. The fact of an Indian going and planting on another person's field gives him no right to the land. Instances

of this kind have taken place; sometimes the land is given up with a little compensation for use and labor; at other times, the crop has been divided. The Indians understand what is right and wrong among themselves, as well as white people do. As to the rights of debtor and creditor, the following is a summary evidence.

Two brothers were Indian traders. One was trading with the Dacotas, the other with the Chippewas. The debtors of the Dacota trader went to war, and killed one of the debtors of the Chippewa trader, (who was hunting and stealing on the Dacota hunting grounds,) and took his furs that he had collected, and brought them to the Dacota trader in payment of his debts. The Chippewa trader claimed the furs, and applied to his brother, the Dacota trader, for them, but his brother refused to give them up, on the ground that he came lawfully by them. The Indians highly approved of the decision, as they were taken by conquest, and the Chippewa had been stealing off of the Dacota hunting ground.

120. "Was the right of a nation to the tract of country originally possessed by it, acquired by its occupancy of it by them, to the exclusion of all others, &c. &c.?"

They believe the Great Spirit gave them their land, and that no other nation has a right to hunt within the circle or territory that they occupy from time to time. They have no idea in what way they came in possession of the land they formerly possessed. Each nation thinks it is doing itself justice in taking from the enemy's land all the game it can kill. The Indians do not pretend to own or claim any country but that they occupy in hunting. As to the rights of invasion of territory, the Indians acknowledge the claims of each nation to the country they travel over in hunting; and the murderous war which is carried on they say is right, because each nation should stay within their hunting boundaries.

121. "Is the descent of property fixed? Is the eldest son entitled to any greater rights or larger share of property than the other children? Does a parent express his will or wishes before death, as the descendant of Uncas did, how his property should be disposed of, &c. &c.?"

As to property among the Dacotas, there is rarely any thing of any consequence left at the death of a parent. All the property is most generally used up in employing jugglers to sing, or charm, or drive away the disease by magic.

Orphan children among the Indians are very miserable, although their relations do all they can for them. The eldest son of the chief is entitled to his father's office. Sometimes a chief is suddenly killed in war, or by accident, on which occasion the band or village make his eldest son chief. The general usage, when a parent dies, is that the other Indians step in and take what little property is left without any sort of ceremony, and the children consequently are thrown upon their relations, to get a

living the best way they can. As to heirship in property, they seem to know nothing at all about it, or if they do, they have no chance to leave it to their children.

122. "What are the obligations felt by the Indians to pay debt? Does time greatly diminish, in their view, these obligations, and how? Does the Indian fancy that ill luck in hunting is a dispensation from the Great Spirit, and that he is exonerated thereby from the obligation of paying his debts, &c.?"

Time does diminish, in their view, the obligation to pay a debt, because they say the white people can get goods by merely going after them, or writing for them, and that when a trader obtains a new supply of goods, he is not in want of the debts due him, and that the Indian is in greater need of the amount than the trader is. Therefore they often cheat the trader by selling his furs to some person they do not owe.

If an Indian has bad luck in hunting, he says it is caused by the misconduct of some of his family, or by some enemy; that is, his family have not properly adhered to the laws of honoring the spirits of the dead, or some one owes him a spite, and by supernatural powers has caused his bad success and misery, for which he will take revenge on the person he suspects the first time an opportunity offers.

The Indians are, many of them, punctual in paying their debts as far as lies in their power. There is, I think, a general inclination to pay their national debts, which are, by Indian rule, individual debts of such long standing, that they cannot pay them within themselves. They know they all owe their traders, and they are willing to make it a national business to pay them.

As to the value of property in skins and furs, they always over-estimate it. Indeed any kind of property that they are judges of, is valued too high, and they often suffer by so doing. There are cases where Indians have sold the same article twice, but this rarely happens.

123. "What constitutes crime? Has man a right to take his fellow's blood? Is the taking of life an offence to the individual murdered, or to the Great Spirit, who gave him his life, &c. &c.?"

The Indians say it is lawful to take revenge, but otherwise, it is not right to take their fellow's blood; they consider it a great crime. When murder is committed, they regard the victim as injured, and not the Great Spirit, because all have a right to live. They have very little notion of punishment for crime hereafter in eternity: indeed, they know very little about whether the Great Spirit has any thing to do with their affairs, present or future. All the fear they have is of the spirit of the departed. They stand in great awe of the spirits of the dead, because they think it is in the power of the departed spirits to injure them in any way they please; this superstition has, in some measure, a salutary effect. It operates on them just as strong as our laws

of hanging for murder. Indeed, fear of punishment from the departed spirits keeps them in greater awe than the white people have of being hung.

124. "Can the Deity be offended? Is a man under high obligations, by the fact of his creation, to worship the Great Spirit?"

The Deity, they say, is always offended with them. They do not know by what means they were created; and when any calamity befalls them, they do not understand why. They worship, it is true, but what?—they hardly know themselves. Large stones are painted and worshipped; these stones they call their grandfathers.[1] For the expiation of sins or crimes, a sacrifice is made of some kind of an animal. Sometimes, the skin of an animal dressed, sometimes, rare pieces of white cotton and new blankets, are made use of for sacrifices, all of which are suspended in the air.

125. "Is falsehood a moral offence, because the Great Spirit abhors it, or because injuries may result to man, &c. &c.?"

The practice of lying, among the Indians, is considered very bad. In this respect, every one sees the mote in his brother's eye, but does not discover the beam that is in his own. They often would like to see falsehood punished, but have not the moral stamina to speak truth themselves. Many even desire to reward truth, but have not the ability to do so, often.

126. "Is want of veneration a crime among the Indians? Is an Indian priest or a chief more venerated than a common man, &c. &c.?"

Veneration is very great in some Indians for old age, and they all feel it for the dead. Their priests or jugglers, also, are very much venerated, but it is from fear, as much as any thing else, of some supernatural punishment. The Indians are very remarkable for their fear of uttering certain names. The father-in-law must not call the son-in-law by name; neither must the mother-in-law: and the son-in-law must not call his father-in-law or mother-in-law by name. There are also many others, in the line of relationship, who cannot call each other by name. I have heard of instances where the forbidden name has been called, and the offender was punished by having all of his or her clothes cut off of their backs and thrown away. An Indian priest or juggler is fully as much venerated as a father or mother, but it is from superstitious fear. Indian children sometimes, but very rarely, strike their parents: the punishment is generally a blow in return. We have no accounts of Indians having been stoned to death. I have known Indians killed, however, in a drunken riot, both with stones and clubs.

127. "What can the sages and wise men of the tribe say, in defence of the Indian code of doing like for like?"

[1] See Vol. I. p. 129.

There are cases where the Indians say retaliation is wrong, and they try to prevent it, and sometimes succeed in pacifying the parties. If a bad deed is done, and the offender is punished in some way, they say he has got what he gave. A person of bad character among the Indians, is scorned by them; but from fear of his cutting their lodges, killing their horses, or doing some mischief, they are obliged to invite him to their feasts. A bad man often runs at large amongst the Indians for years, on account of the above named fears. They even are obliged to let him join in their great medicine-dance. The chastity of the women is much more attended to than many people would suppose. There are but few lewd, loose women among them, and only a few will drink ardent spirits.

128. "Do they believe that there is a Deity pervading the Universe, who is the maker of all things. What ideas do they possess of the Great Spirit?" &c. &c.

The Indians believe there is a Great Spirit; his powers they do not comprehend, nor by what means man was created, or for what purpose. They believe the Deity consists of two persons, or as they themselves express it, "The Great Spirit and his wife." How man became possessed of the power he now possesses over the animal creation they cannot account for. They have no knowledge of God's having given any laws for the Indians to follow, and they do not know or believe that they will have to give an account of their deeds in another world.

129. "How does the Great Spirit manifest his presence on the earth, or in the sky? In what forms is he recognized? Is thunder considered his voice? Are storms regarded as his acts? Are cataracts evidences of his power?"

The Indians say there is a Great Spirit, but where he is they know not. They say the Great Spirit did not make the wild-rice, it came by chance. All things else the Great Spirit made. There are instances where the Indians charge the Deities with being angry with them, in cases of heavy storms; and they even go so far as to say the Deity is bad, for sending storms to give them misery.

130. "Is death the act of the Great Spirit? Do war and peace happen according to his will?" &c. &c.

Some of the Indians say that death is caused by the Great Spirit; others, that it is caused by the supernatural power of individuals. All evil, they say, comes from the heart; but who or what implanted it there, they know not. The Indians know nothing of the Devil, except what the white people have told them. All the punishment they expect to receive is in this world.

They fear the persons they have offended, and the spirits of the dead more than any thing else.

131. "How are they excused from offences against the Great Spirit?"

The Indians make sacrifices to appease the spirits, but they hardly know what kind of spirits sacrifices are made to. All of their sacrifices are made upon supposition. They often say after a violent storm, and when much injury has been done by it, "Now that the storm has done so and so, it will stop."

132. "Have they any idea whatever of atonement, or a belief or expectation that some great personage was to come on earth and answer for them to the Great Spirit?"

They have no idea of atonement, nor do they show in any of their religious ceremonies any signs of Christianity. The sacrifice of animals is to appease something that they suppose is offended with them. We never heard of but one human sacrifice, and that was a father who offered up his infant child, but for what cause we never could learn. The bad treatment of prisoners is from revenge.

133. "What is the moral character of the Priesthood? Do they bear any badge of office, &c.?"

The Indian Priesthood is made up of the very worst class. They have no badge of the office. There is but one kind or class. The priest is both prophet and doctor. Any person belonging to the great medicine-dance has a right to perform its rites and ceremonies. The office of the priests is not hereditary. Women take part in the ceremonies; they pretend to foretell events, and also to find lost articles. I once lost my watch, and told an Indian juggler that I wanted him to find it. He said yes, but I must first give him a looking-glass to look through. I gave him a small glass, and he looked into it for some time, when he asked for a black silk handkerchief, which I also gave him, together with some other little things. And when he wanted to know if I could show him pretty near the place where I had lost the watch, I told him I thought I had lost it in a certain foot-path. He asked me to go along with him there, so I went. Every now and then he would look in his glass, and keep on walking, and at last nearly stept on the watch, but did not see it either with his glass or the naked eye; so I found it myself, and showed it to him. He did not appear to care any thing about it, as he had already got possession of the glass, the black silk handkerchief, and some other little things, and he walked off. There is a class of Indians that say they can bring blessings or curses by their own power. This class is called We-chas-tah-wah-kan, or spiritual men. They attend the sick, and doctor them, when well paid for it. If an Indian is taken sick, some of the family will go to the lodge of the juggler, carrying with him a gun, a new blanket, or some other article; sometimes a horse. With a pipe filled with tobacco, this messenger approaches the juggler; pipe and payment in hand. The pipe is lighted, and the messenger presents the stem to him. Sometimes the messenger makes great lamentations while the doctor or juggler is smoking. He then takes the payment, puts it aside, and goes to see the sick man,

but seldom takes any medicine with him. When he arrives at the lodge he walks in, and sits down a little distance from the sick. He never touches his pulse to see what state he is in, but calls for a rattle, (which is made of a gourd-shell, cleaned out, with beads put inside.) Sometimes birch-bark is used for a rattle, when gourds cannot be had. The doctor then strips himself naked, except the cloth around the loins; the leggins and moccasins are also kept on. In this state of nudity the doctor or juggler commences to sing, and shake his rattle to charm away the disease. The words of the song are, hi, le, li, lah—hi, le, li, lah—hi, le, li, lah, uttered in quick succession for half a minute; then a chorus commences, ha—ha—ha—ha-ha-ha-ha. This is gone over three or four times, and then the juggler stops to smoke; after which, he sings and rattles again, and commences to suck the parts supposed to be diseased. After he sucks and draws for half a minute, shaking the shell all the time, he rises half-way up from his seat, apparently almost suffocated, hawking and gagging, and thrusts his face into a little bowl of water, gurgling and making all sorts of gestures and noises. This water is used to wash his mouth with, and cleanse it from the disease that he has drawn from the sick person. They pretend that they can draw bile from a sick person in this way; but a disease that has been brought on by supernatural powers must be treated in another manner. (See No. 74.) Many of the Indians have faith in this mode of doctoring; but it had not the desired effect in the summer of 1847, when about one hundred and fifty of them died of bilious and other fevers, which they were compelled to confess. Some Indians punctually attend funerals, and in many instances appropriate addresses are made; the habits of the deceased are narrated; advice is given; the customs of their forefathers they are admonished to keep, &c. Any of his relations may draw devices on the grave-post of the deceased. The only device I ever saw on a grave-post was the number of persons he had killed or taken prisoners of his enemies, men, women, and children. For a person killed, it was represented without a head; for a prisoner, a full figure with the hands tied; for a female, a woman's dress was on it.

134. "What general beliefs and superstitions prevail? Are there some points in which all agree? Do they believe in angels or special messengers of the Great Spirit, &c. &c.?"

Superstition prevails throughout the Indian tribes. They believe in spirits, and also that if the Indians do not live up to the laws or customs of their forefathers, the spirits will punish them for their misconduct, particularly if they omit to make feasts for the dead. They suppose these spirits have power to send the spirit of some animal to enter their bodies, and make them sick. (See No. 74.)

VI. INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY AND CHARACTER. B.

INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY AND CHARACTER.

SYNOPSIS.

We place on record the following additional facts on this topic, and shall continue to present, in succeeding parts, the accumulating materials, from the consideration of which, the inductive and inventive faculties of the race may be judged.

A. NUMERATION.

1. Choctaw.
2. Dacotas.
3. Cherokee.
4. Ojibwa of Chegoimegon.
5. Winnebago.
6. Chippewa.
7. Wyandot.
8. Hitchittee.
9. Cumanche.
10. Cuchan or Yuma.

B. ART OF RECORDING IDEAS.

1. PICTOGRAPHY.

1. Indian Census Roll.
2. Magic Song.
3. Medicine Animal of the Winnebagoes.
4. Haökah — a Dacota God.
5. Indian Signatures.
6. Mnemonic Symbols for Music.

2. ALPHABETICAL NOTATION.

1. Cherokee Syllabical Alphabet.

C. ORAL IMAGINATIVE LEGENDS.

1. Transformation of a Hunter Lad.
2. Origin of the Zea Maize.
3. The Wolf Brother.
4. Sayadio.

A. NUMERATION.

1. Choctaw.
2. Dacota.
3. Cherokee.
4. Ojibwa of Chegoimegon.
5. Winnebago.
6. Chippewa of the Upper Mississippi.
7. Wyandot.
8. Hitchittee or Chellokee.
9. Comanche.
10. Cuchan or Yuma.

---

1. CHOCTAW.

TRANSMITTED BY JOHN DRENNEN, ESQ., U. S. AGENT.

1. One ..... Chuffa
2. Two ..... Tuk lo
3. Three ..... Tu chi na
4. Four ..... Ush ta
5. Five ..... Tath la pi
6. Six ..... Han a li
7. Seven ..... Un tuk lo
8. Eight ..... Un tu chi na
9. Nine ..... Chak ka li
10. Ten ..... Po ko li
11. Eleven ..... An ah chuffa
12. Twelve ..... An ah tuk lo
13. Thirteen ..... An ah tu chi na
14. Fourteen ..... An ah ush ta
15. Fifteen ..... An ah tath la pi
16. Sixteen ..... An ah han a li
17. Seventeen ..... An ah un tuk lo
18. Eighteen ..... An ah un tu chi na
19. Nineteen ..... Abi cha ka li
20. Twenty ..... Po ko li tuk lo
21. Twenty-one ..... Po ko li tuk lo a ku cha chuffa
22. Twenty-two ..... " " " tuklo

23. Twenty-three.....Po ko li tuk lo a ku cha tu chi na
24. Twenty-four..... " " " ush ta
25. Twenty-five..... " " " tath la pi
26. Twenty-six..... " " " han a li
27. Twenty-seven..... " " " un tuk lo
28. Twenty-eight..... " " " un tu chi na
29. Twenty-nine..... " " " chak ka li
30. Thirty.....Po ko li tu chi na
40. Forty.....Po ko li ush ta
50. Fifty.....Po ko li tath la pi
60. Sixty.....Po ko li han a li
70. Seventy.....Po ko li un tuk lo
80. Eighty.....Po ko li un tu chi na
90. Ninety.....Po ko li chak a li
100. One hundred.....Tath le pa chuffa
101. One hundred and one..... " " chuffa aiana
102. One hundred and two..... " " tuk lo "
103. One hundred and three..... " " tu chi na "
104. One hundred and four..... " " ush ta "
105. One hundred and five..... " " tath la pi "
106. One hundred and six..... " " han a li "
107. One hundred and seven..... " " un tuk lo "
108. One hundred and eight..... " " un tu chi na aiana
109. One hundred and nine..... " " chak a li "
110. One hundred and ten..... " " po ko li "
120. One hundred and twenty... " " po ko li tuk lo "
130. One hundred and thirty... " " po ko li tu chi na aiana
140. One hundred and forty..... " " po ko li ush ta "
150. One hundred and fifty..... " " po ko li tath la pi "
160. One hundred and sixty..... " " po ko li han a li "
170. One hundred and seventy.. " " po ko li un tuk lo "
180. One hundred and eighty... " " po ko li un tu chi na "
190. One hundred and ninety... " " po ko li chak a li "
200. Two hundred.....Tath le pa tuk lo
300. Three hundred.....Tath le pa tu chi na
400. Four hundred.....Tath le pa ush ta
500. Five hundred.....Tath le pa tath la pi
600. Six hundred.....Tath le pa han a li
700. Seven hundred.....Tath le pa un tuk lo
800. Eight hundred.....Tath le pa un tu chi na
900. Nine hundred.....Tath le pa chak a li
1,000. One thousand.....Tath le pa si pok ni chuffa
2,000. Two thousand.....Tath le pa si pok ni tuk lo
3,000. Three thousand.....Tath le pa si pok ni tu chi na

4,000.	Four thousand	Tath le pa si pok ni ush ta
5,000.	Five thousand	Tath le pa si pok ni tath la pi
6,000.	Six thousand	Tath le pa si pok ni han a li
7,000.	Seven thousand	Tath le pa si pok ni un tuk lo
8,000.	Eight thousand	Tath le pa si pok ni un tu chi na
9,000.	Nine thousand	Tath le pa si pok ni chak a li
10,000.	Ten thousand	Tath le pa si pok ni po ko li
100,000.	One hundred thousand	Tath le pa si pok ni tath le pa chuffa
1,000,000.	One million	Mil yan chuffa
2,000,000.	Two million	Mil yan tuk lo
3,000,000.	Three million	Mil yan tu chi na
10,000,000.	Ten million	Mil yan po ko li
20,000,000.	Twenty million	Mil yan po ko li tuk lo
30,000,000.	Thirty million	Mil yan po ko li tu chi na
40,000,000.	Forty million	Mil yan po ko li ush ta
50,000,000.	Fifty million	Mil yan po ko li tath la pi
60,000,000.	Sixty million	Mil yan po ko li han a li
70,000,000.	Seventy million	Mil yan po ko li un tuk lo
80,000,000.	Eighty million	Mil yan po ko li un tu chi na
90,000,000.	Ninety million	Mil yan po ko li chak a li
100,000,000.	One hundred million	Mil yan tath le pa chuffa
200,000,000.	Two hundred million	Mil yan tath le pa tuk lo
300,000,000.	Three hundred million, &c.	Mil yan tath le pa tu chi na
1,000,000,000.	One billion	Bil yan chuffa

2. DACOTA.

BY PHILANDER PRESCOTT.

TRANSMITTED BY NATHANIEL MCLAIN, ESQ., U. S. AGENT.

1.	One	Wan chah, *or* Wa je tah
2.	Two	Nom pah
3.	Three	Yah mo nee
4.	Four	To pah
5.	Five	Zah pe tah
6.	Six	Shack coope
7.	Seven	Shack o
8.	Eight	Shah en do
9.	Nine	Nep e chu wink ah
10.	Ten	Wick o chimen ee
11.	Eleven	Akka wah ju (ten and one)
12.	Twelve	Akka nom pa (ten and two)

13. Thirteen.....Ahka yah mo nee (ten and three)
14. Fourteen.....Ahka to pah (ten and four, and so on to 20)
15. Fifteen.....Ahka zah pe tah
16. Sixteen.....Ahka shack coope
17. Seventeen.....Ahka shack o
18. Eighteen.....Ahka shah en do
19. Nineteen.....Ahka nep e chu wink ah
20. Twenty.....Wick chim ne no pah (20, or two tens and one, up to 30, when they say three tens and one, up to 40; so they keep adding by saying sampah wah je tah, which means, beyond or one more than 10, or 20, or 30, as the case may be)
21. Twenty-one.....Wick a chimen ne nopah sam pah wah je tah
22. Twenty-two.....Wick a chimen ne nopah sam pah nom pah
23. Twenty-three.....Wick a chimen ne nopah sam pah yah mo nee
24. Twenty-four.....Wick a chimen ne nopah sam pah to pah
25. Twenty-five.....Wick a chimen ne nopah sam pah zah pe tah
26. Twenty-six.....Wick a chimen ne nopah sam pah shack coope
27. Twenty-seven.....Wick a chimen ne nompah sam pah shack ko
28. Twenty-eight.....Wick a chimen ne nompah sam pah shah en do
29. Twenty-nine.....Wick a chimen ne nompah sam pah nep e chu wink ah
30. Thirty.....Wick a chimen ne yah mo nee (three tens)
40. Forty.....Wick a chimen ne to pah (four tens)
50. Fifty.....Wick a chimen ne zah pe tah (five tens)
60. Sixty.....Wick a chimen ne shack coope (six tens)
70. Seventy.....Wick a chimen ne shack ko (seven tens)
80. Eighty.....Wick a chimen ne shah en do (eight tens)
90. Ninety.....Wick a chimen ne nep e chu wink ah (nine tens)
100. One hundred.....Opong wa
101. One hundred and one.....Opong wa sam pah wah je tah
102. One hundred and two.....Opong wa sam pah nom pah
103. One hundred and three.....Opong wa sam pah yah mo nee
104. One hundred and four.....Opong wa sam pah to pah
105. One hundred and five.....Opong wa sam pah zah pe tah
106. One hundred and six.....Opong wa sam pah shack coope
107. One hundred and seven.....Opong wa sam pah shack ko
108. One hundred and eight.....Opong wa sam pah shah en do
109. One hundred and nine.....Opong wa sam pah nep e chu wink ah
110. One hundred and ten.....Opong wa sam pah wick a chimen ne
120. One hundred and twenty.....Opong wa sam pah wick a chimen ne no pah
130. One hundred and thirty.....Opong wa sam pah wick a chimen ne yah mo nee
140. One hundred and forty.....Opong wa sam pah wick a chimen ne to pah
150. One hundred and fifty.....Opong wa sam pah wick a chimen ne zah pe tah
160. One hundred and sixty.....Opong wa sam pah wick a chimen ne shack coope

170. One hundred and seventy..Opong wa sam pah wick a chimen ne shack ko
180. One hundred and eighty...Opong wa sam pah wick a chimen ne shah en do
190. One hundred and ninety...Opong wa sam pah wick a chimen ne nep e chu wink ah
200. Two hundred.....Opong wa no pah
300. Three hundred .....Opong wa yah mo nee
400. Four hundred .....Opong wa to pah
500. Five hundred.....Opong wa zah pe tah
600. Six hundred .....Opong wa shack coope
700. Seven hundred.....Opong wa shack ko
800. Eight hundred .....Opong wa shah en do
900. Nine hundred.....Opong wa nep e chu wink ah
1,000. One thousand.....Kick ta opong wa wah je tah
2,000. Two thousand.....Kick ta opong wa nom pah
3,000. Three thousand .....Kick ta opong wa yah mo nee
4,000. Four thousand.....Kick ta opong wa to pah
5,000. Five thousand .....Kick ta opong wa zah pe tah
6,000. Six thousand.....Kick ta opong wa shack o pee
7,000. Seven thousand.....Kick ta opong wa shack ko
8,000. Eight thousand.....Kick ta opong wa shah en do
9,000. Nine thousand.....Kick ta opong wa nep chu wink ah
10,000. Ten thousand.....Kick ta wick a chinem nah
100,000. One hundred thousand ...Kick ta opong wa opong wa wah je tah
1,000,000. One million.....Kick ta opong wa tunkah (big thousand)
2,000,000. Two million .....Kick ta opong wa tunkah nom pah
3,000,000. Three million.....Kick ta opong wa tunkah yah mo nee
10,000,000. Ten million.....Kick ta opong tunkah wick chimen ne
20,000,000. Twenty million.....Kick ta opong wa tunkah wick a chimen ne nom pah
30,000,000. Thirty million .....Kick ta opong wa tunkah wick a chimen ne yah mo nee
40,000,000. Forty million.....Kick ta opong wa tunkah wick chimen ne to pah
50,000,000. Fifty million .....Kick ta opong wa tunkah wick chimen ne zah pe tah
60,000,000. Sixty million .....Kick ta opong wa tunkah wick chimen ne shack coope
70,000,000. Seventy million .....Kick ta opong wa tunkah wick chimen ne shack ko
80,000,000. Eighty million.....Kick ta opong wa tunkah wick chimen ne shah en do
90,000,000. Ninety million.....Kick ta opong wa tunkah wick chimen ne nep e chu wink ah
100,000,000. One hundred million.....Kick ta opong wa tunkah opong wa wah je tah
200,000,000. Two hundred million.....Kick ta opong wa tunkah opong wa no pah
300,000,000. Three hundred millions &c.Kick ta opong wa tunkah opong wa yah mo nee
1,000,000,000. One billion .....Kick ta opong wa tunkah opong wa wick e chimen ne

The Indians themselves have no kind of an idea what these amounts are; the only way they could form any kind of an idea would be to let them see the amount counted out. One thousand is more than or a higher number than some of them can count. We hear some of them talk about thousands, and sometimes a million, but still they can give no correct idea how much of a bulk it would make; and I believe if a Sioux Indian was told he could have a million of dollars if he would count it correctly, he could not do it. P. PRESCOTT.

3. CHEROKEE.

TRANSMITTED BY WILLIAM BUTLER, ESQ., U. S. AGENT.

TE SAI STEE (NUMERALS).

1. One.....Sar quoh
2. Two.....Tar lee
3. Three.....Chaw ie
4. Four.....Ner kee
5. Five.....Hisk skee
6. Six.....Su tah lee
7. Seven.....Gar le quoh kee
8. Eight.....Choo na lah
9. Nine.....Law na lah
10. Ten.....Ar sko hee
11. Eleven.....Lar too
12. Twelve.....Tul too
13. Thirteen.....Chaw i gar too
14. Fourteen.....Nee gar too
15. Fifteen.....Skee gar too
16. Sixteen.....Dar lah too
17. Seventeen.....Gar le quah too
18. Eighteen.....Nai lar too
19. Nineteen.....So na lah too
20. Twenty.....Tah lar sko kee
21. Twenty-one.....So i chaw na
22. Twenty-two.....Tah le chaw na
23. Twenty-three.....Chaw i chaw na
24. Twenty-four.....Ner kee chaw na
25. Twenty-five.....Hisk ku chaw na
26. Twenty-six.....Su tah ku chaw na
27. Twenty-seven.....Gar le quoh ku chaw na
28. Twenty-eight.....Nai lar chaw na
29. Twenty-nine.....Lo nai lar chaw na
30. Thirty.....Chaw ar sko hee
40. Forty.....Ner gar sko hee
50. Fifty.....Hisk skar sko hee
60. Sixty.....Su dar lee sko hee
70. Seventy.....Gar lee quah sko hee
80. Eighty.....Na lah sko hee
90. Ninety.....Lo nah lah sko hee

100. One hundred.....Ar sko hee choo que
101. One hundred and one....Ar sko hee choo que sar quoh
102. One hundred and two....Ar sko hee choo que tar lee
103. One hundred and three...Ar sko hee choo que chaw ie
104. One hundred and four ...Ar sko hee choo que ner kee
105. One hundred and five....Ar sko hee choo que hisk kee
106. One hundred and six .....Ar sko hee choo que su tah lee
107. One hundred and seven..Ar sko hee choo que gar le quoh kee
108. One hundred and eight...Ar sko hee choo que choo na lah
109. One hundred and nine ...Ar sko hee choo que saw na lah
110. One hundred and ten ....Ar sko hee choo que ar sko hee
120. One hundred and twenty..Ar sko hee choo que tar lar sko hee
130. One hundred and thirty ...Ar sko hee choo que chaw ar sko hee
140. One hundred and forty....Ar sko hee choo que ner gar sko hee
150. One hundred and fifty ...Ar sko hee choo que hisk skar sko hee
160. One hundred and sixty...Ar sko hee choo que su dar lee sko hee
170. One hundred and seventy...Ar sko hee choo que gar le quoh sko he
180. One hundred and eighty...Ar sko hee choo que saw na lah sko hee
190. One hundred and ninety...Ar sko hee choo que saw na lah sko hee
200. Two hundred .....Tar le choo que
300. Three hundred.....Chaw ie choo que
400. Four hundred.....Ner kee choo que
500. Five hundred .....Hisk skee choo que
600. Six hundred.....Su dar lee choo que
700. Seven hundred.....Gar le quoh ke choo que
800. Eight hundred.....Nar lar choo que
900. Nine hundred.....Saw nai lar choo que
1,000. One thousand.....Sar quoh e yar gar yer lee
2,000. Two thousand .....Tar lee e yar gar yer lee
3,000. Three thousand .....Chaw ie e yar gar yer lee
4,000. Four thousand.....Ner ke e yar gar yer lee
5,000. Five thousand .....Hisk kee e yar gar yer lee
6,000. Six thousand.....Su dar le e yar gar yer lee
7,000. Seven thousand .....Gar le quoh ke e yar gar yer le
8,000. Eight thousand.....Choo nai lah e yar gar yer lee
9,000. Nine thousand .....Saw nai lah e yar gar yer lee
10,000. Ten thousand.....Ar sko he e yar gar yer lee
100,000. One hundred thousand ..Ar sko he choo que e yar gar yer lee
200,000. Two hundred thousand ...Tar le choo que e yar gar yer lee
300,000. Three hundred thousand...Chaw ie choo que e yar gar yer lee
400,000. Four hundred thousand....Ner kee choo que e yar gar yer lee
1,000,000. One million.....Sar quoh e you quah te ner ter
2,000,000. Two million .....Tar le e you quah te ner ter
3,000,000. Three million .....Chaw ie e you quah te ner ter

10,000,000. Ten million.....Ar sko he e yew quah te ner ter
20,000,000. Twenty million.....Tar lah sko he e yew quah te ner ter
30,000,000. Thirty million.....Chaw ie sko he e yew quah te ner ter
40,000,000. Forty million.....Ner gar sko he e yew quah te ner ter
50,000,000. Fifty million.....Hisk skar sko hee e yew quah te ner ter
60,000,000. Sixty million.....Su de le sko he e yew quah te ner ter
70,000,000. Seventy million.....Gar le quoh sko he e yew quah te ner ter
80,000,000. Eighty million.....Nai lar sko he e yew quah te ner ter.
90,000,000. Ninety million.....Saw nai le sko he e yew quah te ner ter
100,000,000. One hundred million.....Ar sko he choo que e yew quah te ner ter
200,000,000. Two hundred million.....Tar le choo que e yew quah te ner ter
300,000,000. Three hundred million, &c.Chaw ie choo que e yew quah te ner ter

4. OJIBWA OF CHEGOIMEGON.

BY WILLIAM W. WARREN.

1. One.....Ba shik
2. Two.....Neensh
3. Three.....Nis we
4. Four.....Ne win
5. Five.....Ná nun
6. Six.....Nin god wás we
7. Seven.....Ninsh wás we
8. Eight.....Shous we
9. Nine.....Shang ás we
10. Ten.....Me dás we
11. Eleven.....Me dás we áshe ba shig
12. Twelve.....Me dás we ashe neensh
13. Thirteen.....Me dás we ashe nis we
14. Fourteen.....Me dás we ashe ne win
15. Fifteen.....Me dás we ashe ná nun
16. Sixteen.....Me dás we ashe nin god wás e
17. Seventeen.....Me dás we ashe ninsh was we
18. Eighteen.....Me dás we ashe shous we
19. Nineteen.....Me dás we ashe sháng as we
20. Twenty.....Nish tun á
21. Twenty-one.....Nish tun á ashe ba shig
22. Twenty-two.....Nish tun á ashe neensh
23. Twenty-three.....Nish tun á ashe nis we
24. Twenty-four.....Nish tun á ashe ne win

25. Twenty-five.....Nish tun á ashe na nun
26. Twenty-six.....Nish tun á ashe nin god was we
27. Twenty-seven.....Nish tun á ashe ninsh was we
28. Twenty-eight.....Nish tun á ashe shous we
29. Twenty-nine.....Nish tun á ashe shang as we
30. Thirty.....Nis e me dun á
40. Forty.....Ne me dun á
50. Fifty.....Nán im e dun á
60. Sixty.....Nin god waus im e dun á
70. Seventy.....Ninsh was im e dun á
80. Eighty.....Shous im e dun á
90. Ninety.....Shang ás im e dun á
100. One hundred.....Nin god wác
101. One hundred and one...Nin god wác ashe ba shig
102. One hundred and two....Nin god wác ashe neensh
103. One hundred and three...Nin god wác ashe nis we
104. One hundred and four ...Nin god wác ashe hi win
105. One hundred and five....Nin god wác ashe na nun
106. One hundred and six.....Nin god wác ashe nin god was we
107. One hundred and seven...Nin god wác ashe ninsh was we
108. One hundred and eight...Nin god wác ashe shous we
109. One hundred and nine ...Nin god wác ashe shang us we
110. One hundred and ten.....Nin god wác ashe me dás we
120. One hundred and twenty..Nin god wác ashe nish tun á
130. One hundred and thirty...Nin god wác ashe nis e me dun á
140. One hundred and forty...Nin god wác ashe nim e dun á
150. One hundred and fifty ...Nin god wác ashe naun e me dun á
160. One hundred and sixty...Nin god wác ashe nin god was e me dun á
170. One hundred and seventy..Nin god wác ashe ninsh wás im e dun á
180. One hundred and eighty...Nin god wác ashe shous im e dun á
190. One hundred and ninety...Nin god wác ashe shang us im e dun a
200. Two hundred.....Neensh wác
300. Three hundred.....Nis wác
400. Four hundred.....Ne wác
500. Five hundred.....Naun wác
600. Six hundred.....Nin god wás wác
700. Seven hundred.....Ninsh wás wác
800. Eight hundred.....Shous wac
900. Nine hundred.....Shang us wác
1,000. One thousand.....Me dás wác
2,000. Two thousand.....Ninsh ing me das wac *or* Nish tun ac
3,000. Three thousand.....Nis sing me dás wác *or* Nis e me dun ác
4,000. Four thousand.....Ne wing me dás wac *or* Ne me dun ác
5,000. Five thousand.....Nán ing me das wac *or* Naun im e dun ác

6,000. Six thousand.....Nin god wautch ing me das wac
7,000. Seven thousand.....Ninsh wautch ing me dás wac
8,000. Eight thousand.....Shoutch ing me das wac
9,000. Nine thousand.....Shang utch ing me das wác
10,000. Ten thousand.....Me datch me dás wác
100,000. One hundred thousand...Nin god wac dá ching me das wac
1,000,000. One million.....Me das wac dá sing me das wac
2,000,000. Two million.....Ninsh ing me dás wác dá sing me dás wác
3,000,000. Three million.....Nis im e dun ác me das wác
10,000,000. Ten million.....Me dátch ing me dás wác me dás wác
20,000,000. Twenty million.....Nish tun ing me dás wác me dás wác
30,000,000. Thirty million.....Nis im id un ing me das wác me das wac
40,000,000. Forty million.....Nim id un ing me das wac me das wac
50,000,000. Fifty million.....Naun im id un ing me das wac me das wac
60,000,000. Sixty million.....Nin god wás im id un ing me das wac me das wac
70,000,000. Seventy million.....Ninsh wás im id un ing me das wac me das wac
80,000,000. Eighty million.....Shous im id un ing me das wac me das wac
90,000,000. Ninety million.....Shang us im id un ing me dás wac me das wac
100,000,000. One hundred million...Nin god wac me das wac me das wac
200,000,000. Two hundred million...Ninsh wac me das wac me das wac
300,000,000. Three hundred million, &c.Nis sing me das wac me das wac
1,000,000,000. One billion.....Me das wac me das wac as he me das wac

One million is also called Ke che med as wac, which would abbreviate a great deal in counting. There is no more limit (in thus counting) in the Ojibwa than there is in the English language.

W. Warren.

OJIBWA COUNTING.

There is another mode of counting the decimals, which is more commonly used by the Pillagers and northern Ojibwas, as follows:

1. One.....Nin god juáh
2. Two.....Ninsh wá
3. Three.....Nis wá
4. Four.....Ne wá
5. Five.....Nán wá
6. Six.....Nin god was we
7. Seven.....Nin shous we
8. Eight.....Shous we
9. Nine.....Sháng
10. Ten.....Quetch

From this point, the counting is as interpreted in the printed form.—W. W.

5. WINNEBAGO.

BY MISS ELIZABETH LOWRY.

TRANSMITTED BY J. E. FLETCHER, ESQ., U. S. AGENT.

1. One.....He zun ke ra
2. Two.....Noomp
3. Three.....Taun
4. Four.....Jope
5. Five.....Sarch
6. Six.....Ha ka wa
7. Seven.....Sha ke we
8. Eight.....Ha roo wunk
9. Nine.....He zun ke choo shkoo ne
10. Ten.....Ka ra pa ne za
11. Eleven.....Ka ra pa ne za nuka he zun ke ra shun na
12. Twelve.....Ka ra pa ne za nuka noompa shun na
13. Thirteen.....Ka ra pa ne za nuka tan e a shun na
14. Fourteen.....Ka ra pa ne za nuka jope a shun na
15. Fifteen.....Ka ra pa ne za nuka sarch a shun na
16. Sixteen.....Ka ra pa ne za nuka ha ka wa a shun na
17. Seventeen.....Ka ra pa ne za nuka sha ko we a shun na
18. Eighteen.....Ka ra pa ne za nuka ha roo wunk a shun na
19. Nineteen.....Ka ra pa ne za nuka he zun ke choo shkoon a shun na
20. Twenty.....Ka ra pa ne noomp
21. Twenty-one.....Ka ra pa ne noompa nuka he zun ke ra shun na
22. Twenty-two.....Ka ra pa ne noompa nuka noomp a shun na
23. Twenty-three.....Ka ra pa ne noompa nuka tan e a shun na
24. Twenty-four.....Ka ra pa ne noompa nuka jope a shun na
25. Twenty-five.....Ka ra pa ne noompa nuka sarch a shun na
26. Twenty-six.....Ka ra pa ne noompa nuka ha ka wa a shun na
27. Twenty-seven.....Ka ra pa ne noompa nuka sha ko we a shun na
28. Twenty-eight.....Ka ra pa ne noompa nuka ha roo wunk a shun na
29. Twenty-nine.....Ka ra pa ne noompa nuka he zun ke choo shkoon a shun na
30. Thirty.....Ka ra pa ne taun
40. Forty.....Ka ra pa ne jope
50. Fifty.....Ka ra pa ne sarch
60. Sixty.....Ka ra pa ne ha ka wa
70. Seventy.....Ka ra pa ne sha ko we
80. Eighty.....Ka ra pa ne ha roo wunk

90. Ninety.....Ka ra pa ne he zun ke choo shkoon e
100. One hundred.....Ho ke he za
101. One hundred and one....Ho ke he za nuka he zun ke ra shun na
102. One hundred and two....Ho ke he za nuka noomp a shun na
103. One hundred and three...Ho ke he za nuka tan e a shun na
104. One hundred and four ...Ho ke he za nuka jope a shun na
105. One hundred and five....Ho ke he za nuka sarch a shun na
106. One hundred and six....Ho ke he za nuka ha ka wa a shun na
107. One hundred and seven..Ho ke he za nuka sha ko we a shun na
108. One hundred and eight...Ho ke he za nuka ha roo wunk a shun na
109. One hundred and nine ...Ho ke he za nuka he zun ke choo shkoon a shun na
110. One hundred and ten....Ho ke he za nuka ka ra pa ne a shun na
120. One hundred and twenty..Ho ke he za nuka ka ra pa ne noomp a shun na
130. One hundred and thirty ...Ho ke he za nuka ka ra pa ne tan e a shun na
140. One hundred and forty....Ho ke he za nuka ka ra pa ne jope a shun na
150. One hundred and fifty ...Ho ke he za nuka ka ra pa ne sarch a shun na
160. One hundred and sixty...Ho ke he za nuka ka ra pa ne ha ka wa a shun na
170. One hundred and seventy,..Ho ke he za nuka ka ra pa ne sha ko we a shun na
180. One hundred and eighty...Ho ke he za nuka ka ra pa ne ha roo wunk a shun na
190. One hundred and ninety...Ho ke he za nuka ka ra pa ne he zun ke choo shkoon a shun na
200. Two hundred .....Ho ke he noomp
300. Three hundred.....Ho ke he taun
400. Four hundred.....Ho ke he jope
500. Five hundred .....Ho ke he sarch
600. Six hundred.....Ho ke he ha ka wa
700. Seven hundred.....Ho ke he sha ko wa
800. Eight hundred.....Ho ke he ha roo wunk
900. Nine hundred.....Ho ke he zun ke choo shoon e
1,000. One thousand.....Ho ke he hhutaza
2,000. Two thousand .....Ho ke he hhutara noomp
3,000. Three thousand .....Ho ke he hhutara taun
4,000. Four thousand.....Ho ke he hhutara jope
5,000. Five thousand .....Ho ke he hhutara sarch
6,000. Six thousand.....Ho ke he hhutara ha ka wa
7,000. Seven thousand .....Ho ke he hhutara sha ko we
8,000. Eight thousand.....Ho ke he hhutara ha roo wunk
9,000. Nine thousand .....Ho ke he hhutara he zun ke choo shkoon e
10,000. Ten thousand.....Ho ke he hhutara ka ra pa ne za
100,000. One hundred thousand ...Ho ke he hhuta ro ke he za
1,000,000. One million.....Ho ke he hhuta hhu chen za
2,000,000. Two million .....Ho ke he hhuta hhu chen a noomp
3,000,000. Three million .....Ho ke he hhuta hhu chen a taun
10,000,000. Ten million.....Ho ke he hhuta hhu chen a ka ra pa ne za

20,000,000. Twenty million.....Ho ke he hhuta hhu chen a ka ra pa ne noomp
30,000,000. Thirty million.....Ho ke he hhuta hhu chen a ka ra pa ne taun
40,000,000. Forty million.....Ho ke he hhuta hhu chen a ka ra pa ne jope
50,000,000. Fifty million.....Ho ke he hhuta hhu chen a ka ra pa ne sarch
60,000,000. Sixty million.....Ho ke he hhuta hhu chen a ka ra pa ne ha ka wa
70,000,000. Seventy million.....Ho ke he hhuta hhu chen a ka ra pa ne sha ko we
80,000,000. Eighty million.....Ho ke he hhuta hhu chen a ka ra pa ne ha roo wunk
90,000,000. Ninety million.....Ho ke he hhuta hhu chen a ka ra pa ne zun ke choo shkoon e
100,000,000. One hundred million.....Ho ke he hhuta hhu chen a ho ke he za
200,000,000. Two hundred million.....Ho ke he hhuta hhu chen a ho ke he noomp
300,000,000. Three hundred million, &c.Ho ke he hhuta hhu chen a ho ke he taun
1,000,000,000. One billion.....Ho ke he hhuta hhu chen a ho ke he ka ra pa ne za

6. CHIPPEWA (OJIBWA) OF THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI.

BY MR. FAIRBANKS.

1. One.....Ba shick
2. Two.....Nish
3. Three.....Niss wi
4. Four.....Ni win
5. Five.....Na nun
6. Six.....Ning o dwa swi
7. Seven.....Nizh was swi
8. Eight.....Nish was swi
9. Nine.....Shong gas swi
10. Ten.....Mi das swi
11. Eleven.....Mi das swi a shi ba shick *or* ba jig
12. Twelve.....Mi das swi a shi nizh
13. Thirteen.....Mi das swi a shi nis swi
14. Fourteen.....Mi das swi a shi ni win
15. Fifteen.....Mi das swi a shi na nun
16. Sixteen.....Mi das swi a shi ning o dwa swi
17. Seventeen.....Mi das swi a shi nizh wa swi
18. Eighteen.....Mi das swi a shi nish was swi
19. Nineteen.....Mi das swi a shi shong gas swi
20. Twenty.....Nizh ta na
21. Twenty-one.....Nizh ta na a shi pa shick
22. Twenty-two.....Nizh ta na a shi nizh
23. Twenty-three.....Nizh ta na a shi nis swi

24. Twenty-four.....Nizh ta na a shi ni win
25. Twenty-five.....Nizh ta na a shi na nun
26. Twenty-six.....Nizh ta na a shi ning o dwas swi
27. Twenty-seven.....Nizh ta na a shi neezh was swi
28. Twenty-eight.....Nizh ta na a shi nis was swi
29. Twenty-nine.....Nizh ta na a shi shong gas swi
30. Thirty.....Nis si me da na
40. Forty.....Ne me da na
50. Fifty.....Na ni me da na
60. Sixty.....Ning o dwas si me da na
70. Seventy.....Nizh was si me da na
80. Eighty.....Nish was si me da na
90. Ninety.....Shong gas si me da na
100. One hundred.....Ning o dwac *or* Ning od wac
101. One hundred and one....Ning od wac a shi ba jij *or* ba shick
102. One hundred and two....Ning od wac a shi nizh
103. One hundred and three...Ning od wac a shi nis swi
104. One hundred and four...Ning od wac a shi ni win
105. One hundred and five....Ning od wac a shi na nun
106. One hundred and six.....Ning od wac a shi ning o dwas swi
107. One hundred and seven...Ning od wac a shi nizh was swi
108. One hundred and eight...Ning od wac a shi nish was swi
110. One hundred and ten.....Ning od wac a shi ba shick o me da na
120. One hundred and twenty..Ning od wac a shi nizh ta na
130. One hundred and thirty...Ning od wac a shi nis si me da na .
140. One hundred and forty...Ning od wac a shi ne me da na
150. One hundred and fifty...Ning od wac a shi na ni me da na
160. One hundred and sixty...Ning od wac a shi ning od was si me da na
170. One hundred and seventy..Ning od wac a shi nizh was si me da na
180. One hundred and eighty...Ning od wac a shi nish was si me da na
190. One hundred and ninety...Ning od wac a shi shong gas si me da na
200. Two hundred.....Nizh wac
300. Three hundred.....Nis wac
400. Four hundred.....Ni wac
500. Five hundred.....Na wac
600. Six hundred.....Ning od was wac
700. Seven hundred.....Nizh was wac
800. Eight hundred.....Nish was wac
900. Nine hundred.....Shong gas wac
1,000. One thousand.....Mi das was wac
2,000. Two thousand.....Nizh ta nock
3,000. Three thousand.....Nis si me da nock
4,000. Four thousand.....Ni me da na nock
5,000. Five thousand.....Na ni me da nock

6,000. Six thousand.....Ning od was si me da nock
7,000. Seven thousand.....Neezh was si me da nock
8,000. Eight thousand.....Nish was si me da nock
9,000. Nine thousand.....Shong gas si me da nock
10,000. Ten thousand.....Ke che me das wac
100,000. One hundred thousand ...Ning od wac me das wac

7. WYANDOT.

BY WILLIAM WALKER.

TRANSMITTED BY D. D. MITCHELL, ESQ., SUPERINTENDENT OF THE INDIAN DEPARTMENT, ST. LOUIS.

1. One.....Skot
2. Two.....Tendee
3. Three.....Schenk
4. Four.....N'dauhk
5. Five.....Oo wéehsh
6. Six.....Wau zháu
7. Seven.....Tsoo tau réh
8. Eight.....Au a ta réh
9. Nine.....Eh en tróoh
10. Ten.....Auh seh
11. Eleven..... " scot e skau reh[1]
12. Twelve..... " ten dee ta skau reh
13. Thirteen..... " schenk e skau reh
14. Fourteen..... " n'dauhk e skau reh
15. Fifteen..... " oo weehsh e skau reh
16. Sixteen..... " wau zhau e skau reh
17. Seventeen..... " tsoo tau reh e skau reh
18. Eighteen..... " au a ta réh e skau reh
19. Nineteen..... " eh en trooh e skau reh
20. Twenty.....Ten dee ta wáu seh
21. Twenty-one..... " " " scot e skau reh
22. Twenty-two..... " " " ten dee ta skau reh
23. Twenty-three..... " " " schenk e skau reh
24. Twenty-four..... " " " n'dauhk e skau reh
25. Twenty-five..... " " " oo weehsh e skau reh
26. Twenty-six..... " " " wau zhau e skau reh
27. Twenty-seven..... " " " tsoo tau reh e skau reh
28. Twenty-eight..... " " " au a ta reh e skau reh

[1] Ten and one over, ten and two over, and so on to twenty.

29. Twenty-nine.....Ten dee ta wau seh eh en trooh e skau reh
30. Thirty.....Schenk e wáu seh
40. Forty.....N'dauhk e wauh seh
50. Fifty .....Oo weehsh e wauh seh
60. Sixty.....Wau zhau e wauh seh
70. Seventy.....Tsoo tau reh e wauh seh
80. Eighty.....Au a ta reh e wauh seh
90. Ninety.....Eh en trooh e wauh seh
100. One hundred.....Scot ta ma en gau a wee
101. One hundred and one.... " " " " scot e skau reh
102. One hundred and two.... " " " " ten dee ta skau reh
103. One hundred and three... " " " " schenk e skau reh
104. One hundred and four ... " " " " n'dauhk e skau reh
105. One hundred and five.... " " " " oo weehsh e skau reh
106. One hundred and six..... " " " " wau zhau e skau reh
107. One hundred and seven.. " " " " tsoo tau reh e skau reh
108. One hundred and eight... " " " " au ta reh e skau reh
109. One hundred and nine... " " " " eh en trooh e skau reh
110. One hundred and ten.... " " " " auh seh e skau reh
120. One hundred and twenty.. " " " " ten de ta wau seh
130. One hundred and thirty... " " " " schenk wau seh
140. One hundred and forty.... " " " " n'dauhk wau seh
150. One hundred and fifty ... " " " " oo weehsh wau seh
160. One hundred and sixty... " " " " wau zhau wau seh
170. One hundred and seventy... " " " " tsoo tau reh wau seh
180. One hundred and eighty... " " " " au a ta reh wau seh
190. One hundred and ninety... " " " " eh en trooh wau seh
200. Two hundred .....Ten dee ta ma en gau a wee
300. Three hundred.....Schenk " " "
400. Four hundred.....N'dauhk " " "
500. Five hundred .....Oo weehsh " " "
600. Six hundred.....Wau zhau " " "
700. Seven hundred.....Tsoo tau reh " " "
800. Eight hundred.....Au a tau reh " " "
900. Nine hundred.....Eh en trooh " " "
1,000. One thousand.....Son gwot
2,000. Two thousand .....Ta hon gwo yeh
3,000. Three thousand .....Schenk hon gwo yeh
4,000. Four thousand.....N'dauhk hon gwo yeh
5,000. Five thousand .....Oo weehsh hon gwo yeh
6,000. Six thousand.....Wau zhau hon gwo yeh
7,000. Seven thousand .....Tsoo tau reh hon gwo yeh
8,000. Eight thousand.....Au a tau reh hon gwo yeh

9,000. Nine thousand.....Eh en trooh hon gwo yeh
10,000. Ten thousand.....Au seh hon gwo yeh
100,000. One hundred thousand ...Scot ta ma en gua a wee hon gwo yeh
1,000,000. One million.....Auh seh ta ma en gau a wee hon gwo yeh
2,000,000. Two million.....Ten dee auh seh ta ma en gau a wee hon gwo yeh
3,000,000. Three million.....Schenk auh seh ta ma en gau a wee hon gwo yeh

Beyond this the Wyandots cannot go.—W. W.

8. HITCHITTEE OR CHELL-O-KEE DIALECT.

SPOKEN BY SEVERAL TRIBES OF THE GREAT MUSKOKEE RACE.

BY CAPTAIN J. C. CASEY, U. S. A., FLORIDA.

1. One.....Thlah′ hai
2. Two.....To kai
3. Three.....To chay
4. Four.....See tah
5. Five.....Chah′ kee
6. Six.....Ee pah
7. Seven.....Ko la pah
8. Eight.....Tos nap pah
9. Nine.....Os ta pah
10. Ten.....Po ko lin
11. Eleven.....Po ko lin thlah′ wai kan
12. Twelve..... " tok la wai kan
13. Thirteen..... " to che na wai kan
14. Fourteen..... " see tah wai kan
15. Fifteen..... " chah′ kee pa wai kan
16. Sixteen..... " ee pah wai kan
17. Seventeen..... " ko la pah wai kan
18. Eighteen..... " tos na pah wai kan
19. Nineteen..... " os ta pah wai kan
20. Twenty.....Po ko to ko lin
30. Thirty.....Po ko to che nin *or* to chay nin
40. Forty.....Po ko see tah kin
50. Fifty.....Po ko chah′ kee bin
60. Sixty.....Po ko lee pah kin
70. Seventy.....Po ko ko lo pah kin
80. Eighty.....Po ko tos na pah kin
90. Ninety.....Po ko los ta pah kin
100. One hundred .....Chok pee thlah′ min

200.	Two hundred.....	Chok pe	to ka lan
300.	Three hundred.....	"	to chay nin
400.	Four hundred.....	"	se tah kin
500.	Five hundred.....	"	chah kee pan
600.	Six hundred	"	ee pah kin
700.	Seven hundred.....	"	ko la pah kin
800.	Eight hundred.....	"	tos na pah kin
900.	Nine hundred.....	"	os ta pah kin
1,000.	One thousand.....	"	chok thlah min

NOTE.—*a* always as in *father*; *ai* like long *i* in *fine*; *ay* like *a* in *famous*; *ah* like long *a* in *master*; *ah* the same and guttural, the *h* being sounded like *ch* in the Scotch word *loch*.

J. C. C.

9. COMANCHE. (Vide p. 129.)

10. CUCHAN OR YUMA. (Vide p. 119.)

B. ART OF RECORDING IDEAS.

PICTOGRAPHY.

THIS mode of recording ideas is found to have been very generally practised by the American tribes, from the earliest period. From the accumulating mass of materials on that head, the following topics are here introduced.

a. INDIAN CENSUS-ROLL.

TRANSMITTED BY J. C. FLETCHER, ESQ.

(PLATE 54.)

The subjoined census of an Indian band at Mille Lac, in the territory of Minnesota, in symbolic characters, was drawn and given in to the agent by Nago-nabe, a Chippewa Indian, during the progress of the annuity payments in 1849. It represents, by pictographic characters, each family of the band, by its name and its numbers.

There is no particular key to it, but it manifests the off-hand ingenuity of the author of it, in adapting general pictographic symbols to a particular purpose. The Indians generally designate their family names by their particular totem; but in this case, as the band are nearly all of one totem, he has designated each particular family by some symbol denoting their common, or current name. Thus Fig. 2 denotes a valley, the name of the master of the wigwam: Fig. 4 denotes a man shooting at a mark: No. 5 a cat-fish: No. 8 a beaver-skin: No. 9 the sun: No. 13 an eagle; No. 14 a snake; No. 18 the earth crossed: No. 22 a buffalo; No. 34 an axe. All of which are respectively the tribal, but not the totemic names of the individuals.

Although the regular system is thus departed from, those intimately acquainted with the band and the individuals, can readily read it. No. 35 is easily recognised as the chief possessing sacerdotal authority. These are the distinctions preserved of thirty-four families, numbering 108 souls. Mr. Fletcher, the Government Agent, transmits it as denoting the aptitude of Nago-nabe, the head of the band, for this species of writing, and his close attention in regarding the interests of each family composing his village.

The marks in each division indicate the number of persons in each family.

CENSUS OF AMILLE LAC BAND OF CHIPPAWAS

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILA.

b. Magic Song.

TRANSMITTED WITH THE PRECEDING.

(Plate 55.)

Fig. 1. A Lynx. The meda sings—

Nah me ba o sa yaun
Neen a ne mah je o sa yaun neen
I walk about in the night.
I that walk along—'tis I.

Fig. 2. A human figure, denoting bad speeches from a medicine-man.

Neen none daun ke tone
Ma ne do we aun.
I hear your mouth.
You that are a spirit.

Fig. 3. A Lynx. He is represented as just having emerged from the ground. The bar across the neck denotes this. This lynx is a symbol of a first-rate Meda-man—one deeply versed in the medical mysteries.

Shi equah mo mo ke aun e
Nin bishue
I ah ne aun ĕ.
Now I come out of the ground,
I that am a lynx.

Fig. 4. The Lynx—a symbol of the Meda.

Ben ah, neen bishue
Ah nah ke me nuah bum e nak?
See! I am a lynx;
Do you like my looks?

c. Medicine Animal of the Winnebagoes.

TRANSMITTED WITH THE PRECEDING.

(Fig. 7. Plate 55.)

The idea of a medical panacea for human diseases, appears to be deeply implanted in the Indian mind. Equally deep and general is the expression, that this remedy is to be exhibited in connexion with a supernatural, magical, or necromantic power, of which the professors of the medical art are the depositories. These professors, in their supposed order, are the medas, or higher proficients of Indian occult knowledge.

The Jossekeed or seer, or what is denominated the prophet or foreteller of future

events, must be classified as a meda, for he is ever supposed by the Indians to be conversant with the highest arts. 2. The *Madä-win-inee*, or doctor, practises his arts of curing on personal experience or knowledge, relying on the material virtues of his simples.

Sorcerers, wizards, and tricksters, or Wabenos, arise from one or the other of these classes, the boundaries between whose arcana of knowledge are of course not very accurately defined.

As a general belief, animals, to the hunting of which so much of the lives of the Indians is devoted, are associated with the exhibition of magic medicines; and individuals, in all portions of the Indian country, acquire a local celebrity for their skill in this department of Indian traditionary knowledge.

The annexed Fig. 7, Plate 55, was drawn by Little Hill, a Winnebago chief of the upper Mississippi, west. He represents it as their medicine animal. He says that this animal is but seldom seen — that it is only seen by medicine-men after severe fasting. He has a piece of bone, which he asserts was taken from this animal. He considers it a potent medicine, and uses it by filing a small piece in water. He has also a small piece of native copper, which he uses in the same manner, and entertains like notions of its sovereign virtues.

d. Haökah — a Dacota God.

(Plate 55.)

To the Indian mind, many of the phenomena of nature, which are familiar to persons of even the lowest grade of information in civilized life, are invested with the attributes and functions of a god. Whatever, in fact, is mysterious, abstruse, or unknown in nature or art, is referred to the power of a deity. It is with him the short cut to solve every question beyond his depth. Superstition is exceedingly acute in observing phenomena, in the great area of the forest. Not a sound escapes his ever quick ear, and if there be any thing in the attending circumstances in which he is placed, to raise a suspicion, it is immediately set down as of superhuman influence.

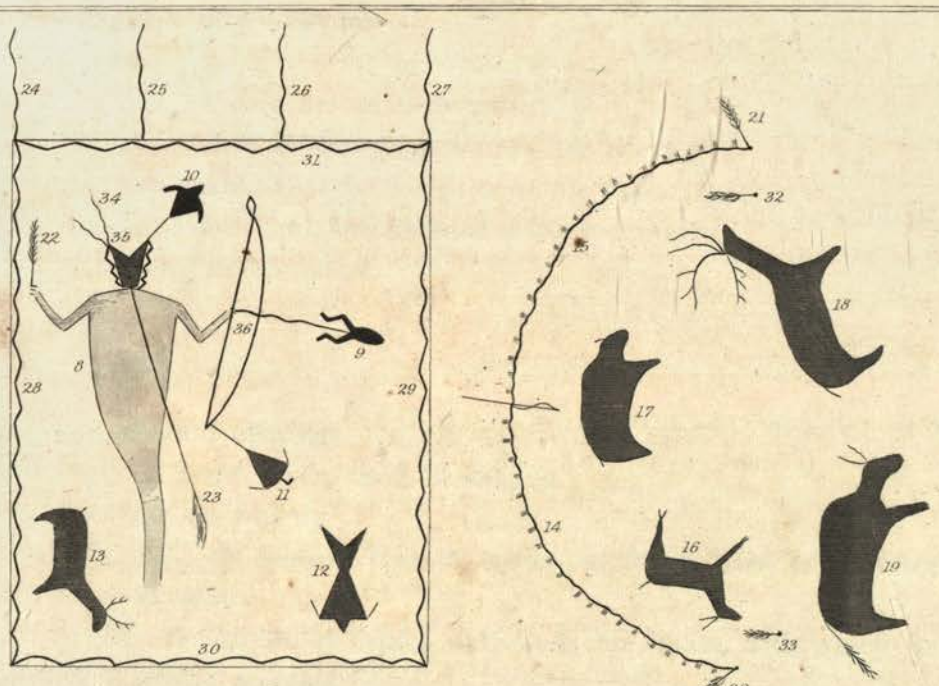
It is one of the notions of the ancient poets,[1] that the spirit of a man might inhabit a tree, injuries to which were, in such cases of transition, to be regarded as shocking cruelties. It is not conceived by the Indians, that a mere man could be thus transformed, without, at the same time, possessing the attributes of a god. The evidence of the enchantment or transformation is to be drawn from the senses.

If a tempest sweeps the forest, producing a tumult of sounds, there is no cause for wonder. It is an ordinary event. But should a tree emit from its hollow trunk or branches a sound during a calm state of the atmosphere; or what is more probable,

[1] Virgil. Tasso.

Medicine animal of the Winnebagoes

Drawn by Little Hill, a Chief of that tribe.



HAOKAH THE ANTI-NATURAL GOD;
one of the Gods of the Dacotas

Drawn by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILAD.A

should an excited mind, anxious to accumulate the number of facts upon which the superstitious reverence of the people relies in their estimate of him, *fancy* an emission of such sounds, the tree would at once be reported, and soon come to be regarded, as the residence of some local god.

Should he find in perambulating the prairies, or crossing the table-lands, elevated above the present level of the waters, or resting among the boulders and drift, still accumulated along the shores of existing lakes and rivers, a mass of drift in some imitative form, it is in either case regarded as something out of the common course, and regarded as the residence, or material form, or exuviæ of some local god. In this manner the Indian country is found to reveal many points of local allusion by the natives, where the geologist or the meteorologist would find nothing strange to remark.

The Indian mind creates, in truth, the intellectual atmosphere within which it dwells; and in our endeavors to account for its modes of action, we are not authorized by a summary philosophy, to sweep away his theories.

It is seldom, however, in their deification of geologic and organic monuments, that we behold the pictographic symbols of these gods of the imagination, such as is presented in the accompanying figurative device of Haökah. This god is presented under the form of a giant. The following is a complete key of the separate symbols, as taken from the lips of a Dacota.[1]

Fig. 8. The giant.

9. A frog that he uses for an arrow-point.

10 and 11. Birds that he has kept within his court.

12 and 13. Ornaments that he keeps over his door.

14 and 15. His court-yard, ornamented with red down.

16. A deer living in his court.

17. A bear " " "

18. An elk " " "

19. A buffalo " " "

20 and 21. Incense offerings.

22. A rattle of deers' hoofs, used in singing.

23. A long flute or whistle.

24, 25, 26, and 27, are meteors that he sends out for defence, or to protect him from invasion.

28, 29, 30, and 31. Lightning which surrounds his house, with which he kills all kinds of animals.

32. A large fungus that grows on trees.

33. Touchwood. Nos. 32 and 33, are eaten by animals that enter his court, causing immediate death.

[1] By Captain S. Eastman, U. S. A.

34. Lightnings from the giant's cap.
35. The giant's cap.
36. His bow and arrows.

e. Indian Signatures.

(Plate 56.)

The subjoined signatures are copied from an invoice of Indian goods, delivered by General William Hull to the Indian tribes at Detroit, in 1809. It embraces some of the distinguished aboriginal actors of the time. What is particularly entitled to notice is the fact, which is however in accordance with popular observation, that the totems of the signers are not generally the common names of the individuals. Thus No. 1, Kimi-ke-chawgon, or Big Nose, makes the totem of the bear; No. 4, Apeche-caw-boway, or the front-standing man, the totem of the wolf, apparently; No. 6, Skaw-o-mut, or Black Chief, a tree; No. 16, Macconce, or Little Bear, a turtle, &c. &c. The latter signs or symbols, standing in each case for the clans or generic names of the families of the individuals, and not what we should denominate their Christian or common names.

The exceptions, such as Siginoc, a grain-eating bird; and No. 7, Miezay, an insect that walks on the water, are to be regarded as men who had acquired a noted reputation under their common names, and departed from a rule by employing symbols for their popular or common names.

Such notoriety, tradition affirms, attached to the names of the chiefs No. 3 and No. 7, namely, Siginoc of Michilimackinac, and Walk-in-the-water of Detroit.

f. Mnemonic Symbols for Music.

(Plate 57.)

Examples of the capacity of the Indian medas for singing their songs and incantations by means of signs depicting the chief objects of stanzas committed to memory, have been given in detail in Plates 51 and 52, Part I. The application of this rude system of musical annotation to magical hunting songs, has also been depicted in Plate 53, Part I.; and to the leading and most ambitious subject of the Indian mind, namely, war-songs, in Plate 56, Part I.

A new phase in the philosophy of the human mind in its hunter state, is thus exhibited. Further evidence of this trait of the Indian mind is given in the accompanying symbols, Plate 57. This pictographic record, copied from a scroll of

Kimi – Ki Chawgan 1

Kitche – pas – quegegan 2

Siguuac 3

Apeche – caw – boway 4
or Grand Blanc

Maw – manche – Cawtence 5

Skaw – O – mut 6
or Black Chief

Mieray 7
or Walk in the Water

Ray – y – Aton 8

Aue – me – guinc 9

Puck – e – Nence 10

Que – baw – que – gun 11

Puck – qua – Cawboway 12

Seken – ge – win 13

Many – to – quajick 14
or Little Cedar

So – we – quet 15

Macconce 16
or Little Bear

INDIAN SIGNATURES.

birch-bark, is deposited in the miscellaneous cabinet of the New York Historical Society.

It is remarkable that the system of pictography of the North American Indians becomes universal to the cognate tribes, at the moment that its symbols are committed to record. Bark, skin, tabular pieces of wood, or smooth faces, or angles of standing rock, or boulders, may constitute the material chosen for inscription. This is a matter of pure caprice, choice, or convenience. Its interpretation is not a question of distinctive symbol language. The system is one of recording — not words, but concrete ideas, and this is done by the power of association. The picture of a bear recalls the ideas, not simply of a particular kind of quadruped, but of a strong, black, clumsy, cunning animal, with powerful claws, whose flesh is deeply coated with a tender kind of white fat; whose skin is suitable for particular purposes. These are but parts of the ideas recalled by the symbol. The animal is fond of sweet fruits and berries, loves certain precincts, and is to be hunted in a certain way. To capture him, and to foil his natural sagacity, is a prime achievement.

To ensure success in this, the Indian seeks necromantic knowledge. He draws the figure of the animal, depicting its heart, with a line leading to it from the mouth. See Figs. 4, 8, 13, 37, 47, Plate 57. By uttering a certain incantation of charmed words, he conceives himself to get a necromantic power over this heart. He believes he can control its motions and desires. He believes this firmly. He raises his song in confidence. Already he sees his victim in his power. He draws him from his lair. He leads him into his own path in the forest. He exults in an imaginary triumph.

With such views this scroll is inscribed. It is a Sioux, (Dacota.) It resembles in some respects Plate 54, 1st Part. The chief figure, No. 1, is a man named Catfish. He is represented as completely armed. He begins to recite his arts and exploits. The leading ideas of the song, dismissing charms, and some verbiage, may be concentrated thus:

1. Hear my power (alluding to voice, or drum.)
2. My swiftness and vengeance are the eagle's.
3. I hear the world over.
4. The bear must obey the medicine of my lodge.
5. My secret lodge is double; (two divining-stones.)
6. Fear then, man.
7. A snake shall enter thy vitals.
8. Can a bear escape my arrow?
9. A river — ha! — ha!
10. Can a bear fly from my magic.
11. My medicine is strong.

These boastings of secret supernatural skill and power, are curiously symbolized. The words may be greatly varied, so that they convey the chief symbol.

In No. 2, the beak of a bird is put for the head of a man, to denote vengeance. In No. 3, the capacity of hearing is symbolized by an extension from the ears. In Nos. 4 and 5, is expressed the magic power that is given over the movements of the bear by means of the medicine lodge and its arts. The ideas excited by each symbol are concrete.

2. Alphabetical Notation.

Cherokee Alphabet.

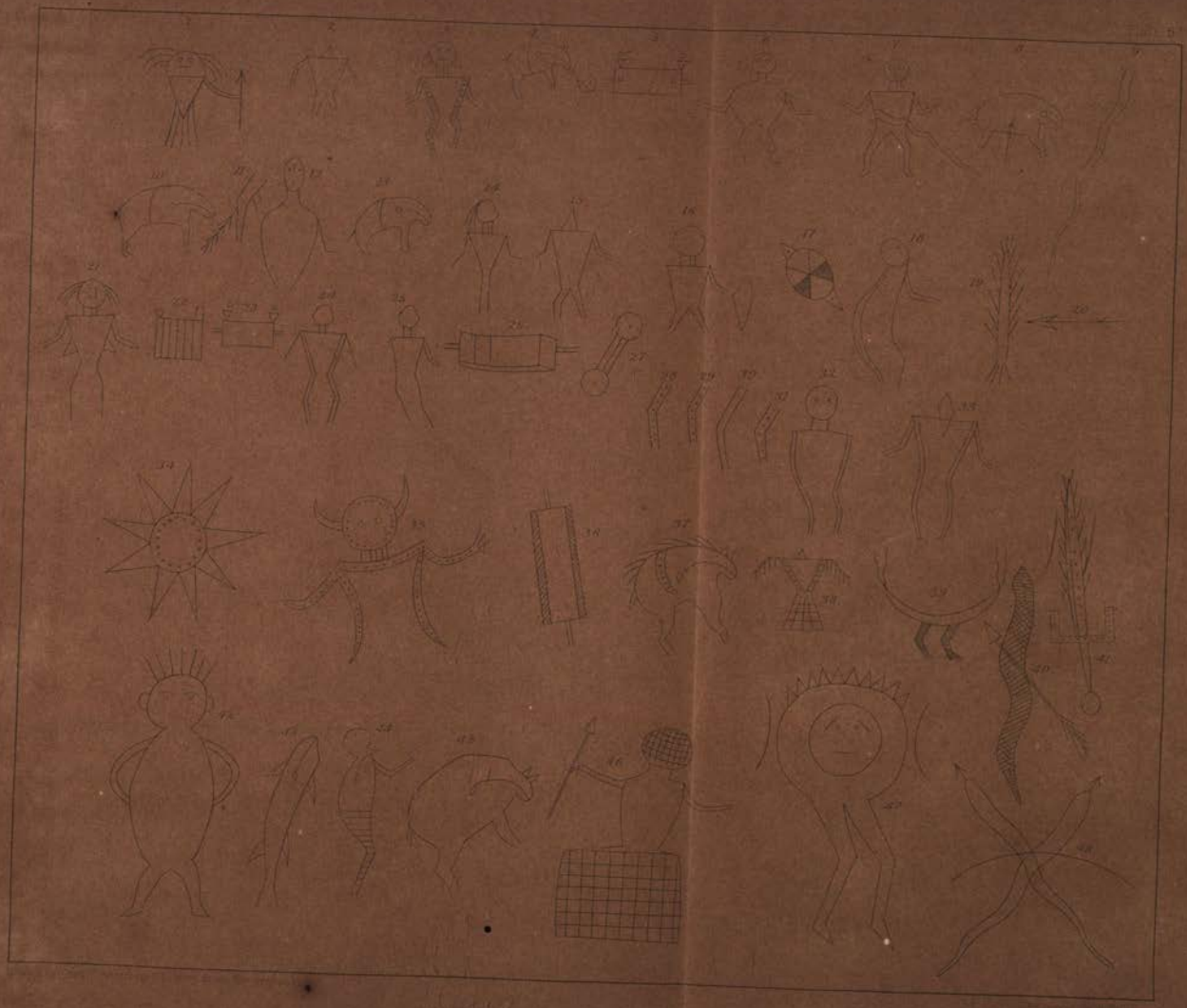
The aged and venerable missionary, Mr. Butrick, whose death has just (1851) been announced, is believed to have been the earliest teacher in the Cherokee country, being employed under the society of United Moravian Brethren. The first school established by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, was in 1817. These efforts appear, in their development, to have stimulated the vital spark of inventive thought, which led a native Cherokee to give his people an original alphabet. Sequoia, or Guess, appears to have been some time engaged in perfecting his invention. About 1824 it was definitely announced, and examined by the missionaries, who found it to be a syllabical system, and pronounced it well adapted to teach the Cherokee population. It seemed particularly suited to the adults, who immediately embraced it, and it has since been taught to all classes, conjointly with the English. Two of the characters being found homophanous, have been abolished in practice. The alphabet, in its most perfect form, is given on the subjoined plate. It will be perceived, that the Indian mind, accustomed to view and express objects in the gross or combined form, has fallen on this plan for an alphabet. Nearly all the words of the vocabulary end in a vowel. Each vowel is preceded by thirteen combinations of the consonant, making sixty-four syllables. To this scheme there are added twelve characters, to represent double consonants. No other American language, with which I am acquainted, could be written by such a simple scheme. It cannot be applied to any dialect of the Algonquin,[1] the Iroquois, the Dacota, the Appalachian, or the Shoshonee. Consequently its application is limited. It provides for the expression only of such sounds as occur in the Cherokee language. Still, its utility in that language has been highly appreciated, and it remains a striking phenomenon in the history of American philology. (Plate A.)[2]

A specimen of the application of this alphabet is added in a version of the lesson of the Prodigal Son. (Plate B.)

---

[1] Archæologia Americana, Vol. II.

[2] By reference to the subsequent pages, IX. Language, A., p. 359, it will be perceived that the number of Algonquin syllables is 255.



Cherokee Alphabet.

Da	Re	Ti	Do	Ou	iv
Sga Oka	Fge	Ygi	Ago	Jgu	Egv
Vha	Phe	Ahi	Eho	Thu	Ghv
Wla	Cle	Pli	Glo	Mlu	Alv
Sma	Ome	Hmi	Imo	Ymu	
Ona Hna Gnah	Ane	Hni	Zno	Tnu	Onv
Tqua	Wque	Pqui	Vquo	Wquu	Equv
Usa oDs	4se	Rsi	Fso	Ssu	Rsv
Lda Wta	Sde Rte	Jdi Jti	Ado	Sdu	Pdv
Adla Ltla	Lle	Cti	Hlo	Vdu	Plv
Ctsa	Vtse	Htsi	Ktso	Jtsu	Cwtsv
Gwa	Wwe	Owi	Owo	Dwu	Gwv
Wya	Bye	Jyi	Gyo	Gwyu	Byv

Sounds represented by Vowels.

a, as a in father, or short as a in rival
e, as a in hate, or short as e in met
i, as ee in pique, or short as i in pit
o, as aw in law, or short as o in not.
u, as oo in food, or short as u in pull.
v, as u in but; nasalized.

Consonant Sounds

g nearly as in English, but approaching to k. d nearly as in English but approaching to t. h.k.l.m.n.q.s.w.y. as in English. Syllables beginning with g. except G have sometimes the power of k. A.S.G. are sometimes sounded to, tu. ts. and Syllables written with ll except G sometimes vary to dl.

Sinclair's Lith. Phil.a

The Prodigal Son.

ᎠᏫᏟ ᎫᎬᏀᏀᏗ ᏅᏙᏫᏉᏗᎯ.

ᎯᎠᏃ ᏔᏩᏎᎢ; ᎩᏀ ᎠᏂᎳᏝ ᎫᏩᏦ ᎠᏂᏫᏕᏍ ᎠᏁᏢᎢ. ᏑᏂᏃ ᎡᎯ ᎯᎠ ᏔᏩᏎᏝ ᏅᏙᏫᏉ: ᎡᏙᏓ, ᎠᎴᏙᏝ ᎢᏀᏝᏫᏙᏗ ᏦᎩ ᎫᎬᏀᏗ ᏀᏫᎴᏂᎪᏂᎢ ᏫᎩᏫᏓᏏ. ᎨᏀᏃ ᏂᏚᎥ ᎫᎬᏀᏗ ᏅᏫᎢ ᏚᏍᏙᎲᏝᎢ. ᎯᏓᏫᎩᏤᏃ ᏫᏔᎡᏁ ᏅᏫᏦ ᏅᏩᏦ ᎣᏂ ᎡᎯ ᏂᏚᏂ ᏅᏩᏣᎮᏁᎢ, ᎠᏝ ᏅᏂᎩᏎᎢ, ᎢᏅ ᏫᏀᏎᎢ, ᏀᏓᏓᏃ ᏔᏁᏗᏅ ᎡᏫᎢ ᏫᏙᏫᏙᏝ ᎫᎬᏀᏗ ᏅᏫᎢ. ᏂᏚᏂᏃ ᏅᏙᏫᏉᏅ ᏀᏓᏂ ᏫᏀᏫᎢ ᏅᏀᏗ ᏅᎪᏔᏎᎢ; ᏓᏤᏃ ᏅᏝᏅᏝ ᏅᏚᏫᏫᎢ. ᏓᏤᏃ ᏅᏓᏫᏅᏫᎢ ᎯᎠ ᏔᏩᏎᎢ; ᏅᏂᏀᏔ ᎡᏙᏓ ᎫᏏᏂᏫᏗ ᏅᏀᏔ ᎠᏒᏫᏓᏴᏗ ᏅᏓᏂᏫᏤ, ᎠᏴᏃ ᎠᎪᏔᏎᏤᎢ! ᏙᏓᏚᏝᏂ, ᎡᏙᏎᏍ ᏓᏆᏏ, ᎯᎠ ᏂᏓᏂᏔᎲᏒᎢ; ᎡᏙᏓ, ᏚᏔᏔᏗ ᏂᏫᏍᏅᏫᏔᎪ ᎠᏝ ᏍᏫᏩᏚᏅᏫᎢ ᏀᏫᏩ ᎠᏩᏫᏚᏅᏫᏣ. ᏝᏃ ᏓᏤᏃ ᏯᏆ ᎠᏫᏂ ᏆᏫᏙᎲᏗ ᏍᏩ; ᏗᏅᏫᏏᏫᏔᏤ ᏂᏔᎾᏫᏗ ᏀᏫᏩᏍᏫ hᏫᎵᏍ. ᎨᏀᏃ ᏚᏝᎢ, ᏅᏙᏎᏍ ᏅᎷᏙᎢ. ᎠᎲᏃ ᎠᏏ ᎢᏅᏗᏀᏣ ᏀᎢᎲᎢ ᏅᏙᏓ ᏫᎪᏢᎢ, ᎠᏝ ᏅᏫᏙᏝᏙᎢ ᎠᏝ ᏚᏫᏗᏍᏗᏏᎢ, ᎠᏝ ᎠᏩᏝᎨ ᏅᏫᏫᏍᏗᏙᎢ. ᎠᏝ ᏅᏔᏫᏙᏗᎢ.

Ms xv. 11-14, 17-20.

Sinclair's Lith. Phil.ª

C. ORAL IMAGINATIVE LEGENDS.

1. Transformation of a Hunter Lad. An Allegory of Over-fasting.
2. Origin of Zea Maize.
3. The Wolf-Brother.
4. Sayadio.

Three of the following tales were obtained from the oral traditions of the Chippewa, during my residence between A. D. 1822 and 1832, at Sault Ste. Marie, at the foot of Lake Superior. The fourth legend is derived from the Wyandots, and the narrative will be seen to be essentially the same as that given by Brebœf, the first Catholic missionary among the Wyandots, who were living, at the period, north of the great lake-chain between the head of Lake Erie and the eastern shores of Lake Huron.

1. Transformation of a Hunter's Son into a Bird.

AN ALLEGORY OF OVER-FASTING.

An ambitious hunter had an only son, who now approached that age when it is proper to fast, in order to choose his guardian or personal spirit; and he was very ambitious that his son should show great capacity of endurance in this fast, that he might obtain a powerful spirit.

For this purpose he gave him every instruction, and when the time arrived, bid him be courageous, and acquit himself like a man.

The young lad first went into the sweating lodge, and having heated himself thoroughly, plunged into cold water. This he repeated. He then went into a separate lodge, which had been prepared for him at a short distance in the forest, and laid himself down on a new mat made of rushes, woven by his mother. To this place his father accompanied him, and told him he must fast twelve days, and that he would come to see him once a day, every morning. The young man then covered his face, and his father left him. He laid still until the next morning, when his father visited him to encourage him to persevere in his fast.

This he did, and the same visits were renewed for eight days, when his strength had failed so much that he could not rise, and the youth lay with nearly the composure and rigidity of one without life. On the ninth day, he spoke to his father as follows:

"My father, my dreams are not good. The spirit who visits me is not favorable in the way you wish. Let me break my fast now, and at another time I'll try again. I have no strength to endure any longer."

"My son," he replied, "if you give up now, all will be lost. You have persevered in your fast eight days. You have overcome the hardest trials. Only a little time now remains. Some other spirit will come to you. Strive a little longer."

The lad covered himself closer, and lay still, never moving or saying a word till the eleventh day, when he faintly repeated his request. "To-morrow," answered the old man, "I will come early in the morning, and bring you food."

Silence and obedience were all that remained. The young man made no reply. He seemed as one dead. No one would have known that life was not fled, but by watching the gentle heaving of his breast. Day and night appeared to be alike to him.

The next morning the father came with the promised repast in a little kettle. But on drawing near to the wigwam, he heard sounds from within, as if from some one talking. Stooping to look through a small opening, he was surprised to see his son painted, sitting up, and in the act of laying the paint on his shoulders, as far as his hands could reach, and muttering at the same time to himself, "My father has destroyed me. He would not listen to my requests. I shall be for ever happy, for I have been obedient to my parent, even beyond my strength. My spirit is not the one I sought, but he is just and pitiful, and has given me another shape."

At this moment the old man broke in, exclaiming, "Ningwis! Ningwis!" (my son, my son,) leave me not—leave me not." But the lad, with the nimbleness of a bird, had flown to the top of the lodge, and perched himself on the highest outer pole, having assumed the shape of a beautiful robin-red-breast. He looked down on his father, and said, "Mourn not my change. I shall be happier in my present state than I could have been as a man. I shall always be the friend of men, and keep near their dwellings. I could not gratify your pride as a warrior, but I will cheer you by my songs, and strive to produce in you the lightsomeness I feel. I am now free from cares and pains. My food is furnished by the fields and mountains, and my path is in the bright air." So saying, he flew away to the woods.

2. Mondamin, or the Origin of the Zea Maize.

A CHIPPEWA ALLEGORY.

A poor Indian was living with his wife and children in a beautiful part of the country. His children were too young to give him any assistance in hunting; and he had but ill luck himself. But he was thankful for all he received from the forest, and although he was very poor, he was very contented.

His elder son inherited the same disposition, and had ever been obedient to his parents. He had now reached the age at which it is proper to make the initial fast, which the Indian lads all do at about fourteen or fifteen. As soon as the spring arrived, his mother built him a little fasting-lodge in a retired spot, where he would not be disturbed; and when it was finished he went in and began his fast. He amused himself for a few mornings by rambling about in the vicinity, looking at the shrubs and wild-flowers, (for he had a taste for such things,) and brought great bunches of them along in his hands, which led him often to think on the goodness of the Great Spirit in providing all kinds of fruits and herbs for the use of man. This idea quite took possession of his mind, and he earnestly prayed that he might dream of something to benefit his people; for he had often seen them suffering for the want of food.

On the third day he became too weak and faint to walk about, and kept his bed. He fancied, while thus lying in a dreamy state, that he saw a handsome young man, drest in green robes, and with green plumes on his head, advancing towards him. The visitor said: "I am sent to you, my friend, by the Great Spirit, who made all things. He has observed you. He sees that you desire to procure a benefit to your people. Listen to my words, and follow my instructions." He then told the young man to rise and wrestle with him. Weak as he was, he tottered to his feet and began, but after a long trial, the handsome stranger said, "My friend, it is enough for once; I will come again." He then vanished.

On the next day the celestial visitor reappeared, and renewed the trial. The young man knew that his physical strength was even less than the day before; but as this declined, he felt that his mind became stronger and clearer. Perceiving this, the stranger in plumes again spoke to him. "To-morrow," he said, "will be your last trial. Be strong and courageous; it is the only way in which you can obtain the boon you seek." He then departed.

On the third day, as the young faster lay on his pallet weak and exhausted, the pleasing visitor returned; and as he renewed the contest, he looked more beautiful than ever. The young man grasped him, and seemed to feel new strength imparted to his body, while that of his antagonist grew weaker.

At length the stranger cried out, "It is enough—I am beaten. You will win your desire from the Great Spirit. To-morrow will be the seventh day of your fast, and the last of your trials. Your father will bring you food, which will recruit you. I shall then visit you for the last time, and I foresee that you are destined to prevail. As soon as you have thrown me down, strip off my garments, and bury me on the spot. Visit the place, and keep the earth clean and soft. Let no weeds grow there. I shall soon come to life, and reappear with all the wrappings of my garments and my waving plumes. Once a month cover my roots with fresh earth; and by following these directions your triumph will be complete." He then disappeared.

Next morning the youth's father came with food, but he asked him to set it by, for

a particular reason, till the sun went down. Meantime the sky-visitor came for his final trial, and although the young man had not partaken of his father's offer of food, he engaged in the combat with his visitor with a feeling of supernatural strength. He threw him down. He then stripped off his garments and plumes. He buried his body in the earth, carefully preparing the ground, and removing every weed; and then returned to his father's lodge. He kept every thing to himself, revealing nothing to denote his vision or trials. He partook sparingly of food, and soon recovered his perfect strength. But he never for a moment forgot the burial-place of his friend. He carefully visited it, and would not let even a wild-flower grow there. Soon he saw the tops of the green plumes coming out of the ground, at first in spiral points, then expanding into broad leaves, and rising in green stalks; and finally assuming their silken fringes and yellow tassels.

The spring and summer had now passed; when one day, towards evening, he requested his father to visit the lonely spot where he had fasted. The old man stood in amazement. The lodge was gone, and in its place stood a tall, graceful, and majestic plant, waving its taper leaves, and displaying its bright-coloured plumes and tassels. But what most attracted his admiration was its cluster of golden ears. "It is the friend of my dreams and visions," said the youth. "It is *Mon-da-min*, it is the spirit's grain," said the father. And this is the origin of the Indian corn.

3. The Wolf-Brother.

An Indian stood on the borders of a solitary forest, one morning early, during the summer season. A deep silence reigned around, and there was nothing to break the stillness and solitude of the scene but the wigwam that stood near by, in which the hand of death was about to be laid upon the master of the lodge — his father. He was now prostrated by sickness, and as the barks that covered its sides were lifted up to admit the air, the low breathings of the dying man could be heard, mingled with the suppressed moans of the poor disconsolate wife, and three children. Two of the latter, a son and daughter, were almost grown up; the other, a boy, was yet a mere child.

These were the only human beings near the couch of the lonely and fast-sinking hunter. As the breeze came in from a neighboring lake, he felt a momentary return of strength, and raising himself a little on his elbow, addressed his poor and disconsolate family.

"I leave you — *you*, who have been my partner in life, but you will not stay long behind me. You shall soon join me in the happy land of spirits. Therefore you have not long to suffer in this world. But oh! my children, you have just commenced life,

and mark me, unkindness, ingratitude, and every wickedness is in the scene before you. I left my kindred and my tribe to come to this unfrequented place; because of the evils of which I have just warned you. I have contented myself with the company of your mother and yourselves, and you will find that my motives in leaving the haunts of men, were solicitude to keep you from bad examples, which you would inevitably have followed.

"But I shall die contented, if you, my children, promise to cherish each other, and on no account to forsake your youngest brother. Of him I give you particular charge."

Exhausted by the effort, he took breath a little, and then, taking the hand of each of his elder children, continued: "My daughter, never forsake your little brother; my son, never forsake your little brother." "Never! never!" responded both; and the father sunk back on his pallet, and soon expired. His wife, agreeably to his predictions, followed him to the grave after the brief lapse of five months. In her last moments, she reminded her children of the pledges made to their departed father, and pressed its fulfilment. They readily renewed their promise.

A winter passed away. The girl, being the eldest, dictated to her brothers, and seemed to feel a tender and sisterly affection, particularly for the younger, who was sickly and delicate. The other boy soon showed symptoms of restlessness, and addressed the sister as follows:

"My sister, are we always to live as if there were no other beings in the world? Must I deprive myself of the pleasure of associating with my own kind? I shall seek the villages of men. I have determined, and you cannot prevent me." The girl replied, "My brother, I do not say no to what you desire. We are not prohibited the society of our fellow-men; but we were told to cherish each other, that we should not act separately and independently, and that neither pleasure nor pain ought to draw us from our helpless little brother. If we follow our own gratification, we shall surely forget him, whom we are alike bound to support."

The young man made no answer, but, taking his bow and arrows, left the lodge and never more returned.

Many moons had come and gone after his departure, during which the girl administered to the wants of the younger brother. At length, she found solitude irksome, and began to desire society; but, in meditating a change of life, she thought only of herself, and took measures to abandon her little brother, as her elder brother had done.

One day, after she had collected all the provisions she could in the wigwam, and provided a quantity of wood for making fire, she said to her little brother, "My brother, you must not stray from the lodge; I am going to seek our brother, and shall soon return;" then, taking her bundle, she set out in search of habitations. She soon

found them, and was so much taken up with the pleasures and amusements of society, that her little brother in the lonesome forest was entirely forgotten.

She finally accepted a proposal of marriage; and, after this, dismissed all remembrance of the helpless being she had abandoned. Her elder brother had also taken a wife, and entered so deeply into the cares and business of life, that he had no thoughts about the distant home where he had drawn his first breath, and where the object of a pledge made to a dying father, was left to his fate.

As soon as the little boy had eaten all the food collected by his sister, he went into the woods and picked berries, and dug up roots, which satisfied his hunger as long as the weather was mild. But as the winter drew on, he was obliged to quit the lodge, and wander about in very great distress. He often passed his nights in the clefts and hollows of old trees, and was glad to eat the refuse meals of the wolves. The latter soon became his only resource, and he was so fearless of these animals, that he would sit close by them while they devoured their prey; and the animals themselves seemed to pity his condition, and would always leave something. Thus he lived, as it were, on the bounty of fierce wolves, until spring came on, and began to enliven the forest. As soon as the ice melted in the big lake, and left it free, he followed his new-found friends and companions to its open shores. It happened that his elder brother was fishing in his canoe in the lake, a considerable distance from shore, when he thought he heard the cry of a child, and wondered how any could exist on so bleak a part of the coast. He listened more attentively, and heard the cry repeated. He made for the shore as quickly as possible, and when he reached the land, saw at a distance his little brother. He heard him singing in a plaintive voice these lines:

Nesia, Nesia, shieg wuh, gushuh!
Ne mien gun-iew! Ne mien gun-iew!
My brother, my brother,
I am turning into a wolf,
I am turning into a wolf.

At the termination of his song, he howled like a wolf; and the elder brother was still more astonished as he came nearer, to see his little brother half turned into a wolf. He, however, leaped forward, and strove to catch him in his arms, crying out, "My brother, my brother, come to me." But the boy eluded his grasp and fled, still singing, "I am turning into a wolf," and howling in the intervals.

The elder brother, conscience-struck, felt his affections returning with redoubled force, and therefore continued to exclaim in great anguish, "My brother, my brother, come to me." But the more eagerly he approached, the more rapidly the child fled away, and the change in his body went on until the transformation was complete. At last he said, "I am a wolf," and bounded out of sight.

The young man, and his sister when she heard it, felt the deepest remorse, and both upbraided themselves as long as they lived, for their cruelty to the little boy.

SAYADIO.

A WYANDOT LEGEND.

SAYADIO mourned for his sister, for she had died young and handsome. At length, he resolved to go to the land of souls and bring her back. His journey was long and full of adventures, but it would have proved of no advantage, if he had not met an old man just as he was on the point of giving up in despair. This old man gave him a magic calabash, with which he might dip up the spirit of his sister, should he succeed in finding her. He also gave him the young damsel's brains, which he had carefully kept; for it turned out that this old man was the keeper of that part of the spirit-land to which he was journeying.

Sayadio now went on with a light heart, but was astonished, when he reached the land of spirits, that they all fled from him. In this perplexing exigency Tarenyawago, the master of ceremonies, kindly aided him. It so happened that all the souls were at this time gathered for a dance, according to the custom of the place.

The young man soon recognized his sister floating through the dance, and rushed forward to embrace her, but she vanished like a dream of the night.

Tarenyawago furnished him with a mystical rattle of great power to bring her back. At the same time, the deep-sounding Taiwaiegun, or spirit-drum, was beat for a renewal of the choral dance, and the Indian flute poured forth its softest notes.

The effect of the music was instantaneous, and the throng of spirits became innumerable. Among the number, he again saw his sister. Quick as thought, Sayadio dipped up the entranced spirit with his calabash, and securely fastened it, in spite of all the efforts of the captivated soul to regain its liberty. He then retraced his steps back to earth, and safely reached his lodge with his precious charge.

His own and his sister's friends were immediately summoned, and the body of the maiden brought from its burial-place to be reanimated with its spirit. Every thing was ready for the ceremonies of the resurrection, when the thoughtless curiosity of one of the female friends frustrated all. She must needs peep into the calabash to see how the disembodied soul looked, upon which the imprisoned spirit flew out.

Sayadio gazed with both his eyes, but could see nothing. Her flight could not be traced in the air, and he sat with his head down in his lodge, moaning and lamenting that, through the idle curiosity of one person, all the trials and perplexities of his journey to the land of spirits had come to naught.

VII. TOPICAL HISTORY. A.

TOPICAL HISTORY.

SYNOPSIS.

1. Mandans.
2. Pontiac Manuscript: Journal of the events of the Siege of Detroit by the confederated Indians in 1763.
3. Anacoana, Queen of the Caribs.

1. MANDANS.

In a prior paper, (Vol. I., p. 257,) we noticed the depopulation caused by the ravages of the small-pox among the Indian tribes of the Valley of the Missouri in 1837, and its particular severity on the Mandans. In the excitement of the moment, this tribe was reported to have been nearly or quite exterminated. Inquiry, however, denoted that a remnant survived, who fled from their villages to their nearest neighbors and friends, the Minnetaries, with whom they resided till their population began to recover. Their existing population was estimated in our last tables, (Vol. I., p. 623,) at 300.

In February last, the attention of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, (D. D. Mitchell, Esq.,) was called to the subject. He remarked that he was on the Missouri at the period of their calamities in 1837, and was conversant with the facts. They were reduced by small-pox to about 145 souls, who fled from the scenes of their disaster to the Minnetaries. They subsequently returned to their old villages, where he estimates their present numbers at about 500.

He describes them as having some peculiarities of character. They formerly dwelt in five villages, on a small territory which does not exceed twenty miles square, and thinks there are archæological indications of their having formerly had a considerable population. Their numbers have been thinned by the Sioux, their inveterate enemies. He thinks they do not speak a language cognate with that stock; a conclusion in which he is not sustained by the researches of the late Mr. Gallatin. Vide Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of the United States.

While arrangements are on foot for obtaining a complete vocabulary of the tribe, and its claims to distinct historical notice, these details are submitted to gratify the inquiries of the philologist and antiquarian.

2. Pontiac Manuscript.

The fall of Canada effected one of the most important changes which, so far as is known, has ever occurred in the political condition and international relations of the Indian tribes.

For one hundred and fifty years, dating from the reputed colonization of Canada in 1608, to this celebrated era, consummated by the heroic enterprise of General Wolfe, and the chivalric death of Montcalm, two rival sovereign powers had been held up to the Indian tribes for their preference. To them, each of these powers had been represented by opposing sides, as embracing every element of exaltation, splendor, and munificence, that could dignify a human ruler.

Each power was depicted to their ever-wavering minds as governed by higher dictates of love and justice, in the adoption and regulation of their Indian policy, than the other; and the fitful and uncertain periods of peace that existed between the two shining crowns of England and France, were employed by the local officials of each power in strengthening the rival claims of each to the respect, preference, and fealty of the tribes.

This struggle for the supremacy in the Indian mind and policy was suddenly terminated by the lowering of the French flag on the castle of St. Louis, and the consequent cession of all New France, save Louisiana, to her old and constant rival.

Only one sovereignty was henceforth destined to sway the aboriginal councils throughout all the colonies, from the confines of Georgia, the Spanish colony of Florida, and the French possessions of Louisiana, to the Arctic Ocean.

The northern and western tribes, who had been long accustomed to march into the colonies on their bloody forays under the sanction of the French power, often led by its military officers, and always having their natural ferocity whetted by the hope of plunder and the rewards of cruelty, did not hear this intelligence with pleasure. It was received by them as the news of a defeat. They believed the war would be resumed. To them the French monarch had been depicted as the first and most glorious of human sovereigns; unbounded in wisdom, power, benevolence, and love for them. If fleets and armies were subdued when he sent them against the English, he had at will, they had been told, new fleets and armies to send.

That such a power, so long held up as the acme of human greatness and governmental authority, should have dropt for ever the truncheon of dominion—or, to assimilate the term to their phraseology—the war-club in the Canadas, was to them incredible and inconceivable.

Foremost among those bold and original men, who believed not in this report, was Pontiac, the leader of the united Algonquin and Wyandot tribes in Canada and Michigan. He saw clearly that the fall of the French in Canada would be the fall of the Indian supremacy; that Canada had been sustained, in a great measure, from an early day, by the Indian power; and that the defeat of the one would be the defeat of the other. He resisted, by every art, their crossing the Alleghany Mountains. He had eloquence as well as foresight. To the tribes, whom he addressed in their native tongue, he made the most popular and persuasive harangues. He appealed to their ancient prejudices. He told them he was under a divine influence. He related to them, on a formal occasion, the dream of a visit of a Delaware prophet to Paradise, in a manner to secure the belief of his hearers. He exhorted them to adhere to their ancient customs, arms, and arts. "Rely," said he, "on your native resources, and drive those DOGS IN RED CLOTHING into the sea." To Major Rogers, whom he met on his way as he marched a detachment destined for the English garrison at Detroit, he exclaimed in a proud tone, "I stand in the path."

He and his Indian allies had adroitly carried eleven out of the twelve military posts which the English possessed west of the Alleghanies, and in the area of the lakes. The most noted of these Indian conquests was the old fort of Michilimackinac, which was carried on the 4th June, 1763, by the masque of a ball-play; and the garrison massacred on the spot.[1] Detroit, the twelfth post, and the best garrisoned of all, alone held out; and he had reserved the conquest of this as his own work. He assembled a large body of the Indian tribes near and around it, with all their forest-arms, and at first concealed his design under the guise of friendly negotiation, and attempted to take the fort by a *coup-de-main*. Being foiled in this, through the revelations of an Indian belle, he besieged the fort with great strictness. He fired burning arrows into the roofs of the houses. He captured a brigade of boats, sent up the river from Niagara with supplies. He sent down a burning raft to destroy a public vessel.

He afterwards defeated, at Bloody Bridge, a large and well-appointed party; which, under Captain Dalzell, aid to Sir Jeffrey Amherst, sallied out at midnight to attack his camp, and drove them in with a sanguinary slaughter, in which the commander fell. The garrison, at one period, was driven to the utmost straits. Every resource was cut off. Not a soul could venture beyond the walls with impunity. They talked of a surrender. His auxiliaries committed some great atrocities during the siege, among which was the murder of Major Campbell, who went to his camp with a flag of truce: but this act was decried by Pontiac as being without his knowledge or sanction. The fort received succour that year, after a three months' siege.[2]

[1] For a vivid and truthful description of this massacre, by an eye-witness, see Henry's Travels and Adventures in the Indian Territories, A. D. 1760 to 1776. New York, 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 330. 1809.

[2] History of the late war in North America and the islands of the West Indies. By Thomas Mante, Assistant Engineer, &c., and Major of a Brigade, &c. London, 1772, 1 vol. 4to, 552 pp.

The following journal, detailing the operations of this siege, was kept in French, by an inmate of the fort, who was conversant with the daily transactions and rumours. It is translated literally from the ill-composed original, its historical value consisting entirely in its authenticity.[1]

Journal of the Siege of Fort Detroit, by the confederate Indian Nations, acting under Pontiac.

Detroit, *May 7th*, 1763.

Pontiac, head-chief of all the Ottawas, Santeurs, Poux, and all the nations of the lakes and rivers of the north; a proud, vindictive, warlike, and irritable man; under pretence of some insult which he thought he had received from Mr. Gladwin, commander of the fort; fancied that, being great chief of all the nations of the north, none but he and his nation had a right to inhabit that part of the earth: (the French, for the facility of trade, had had a post there for above sixty years, and owing to their conquest of Canada, the English had governed it about three years.)[2] This chief of a nation (whose bravery consists in treachery, and who had acquired his influence by his handsome appearance,) resolved, within himself, the entire destruction of the English and Canadian nations. To succeed in his project, which he had not yet imparted to any of his Ottawas, he engaged them in his party by a speech. Being naturally inclined to evil, they did not hesitate to obey him, but as they were not sufficiently numerous for that enterprise, the chief tried, in a council, to draw into his party the Poux (Pottowattomie—S.) nation. This nation was governed by a chief named Minivoa, a weak, irresolute man; who, recognising Pontiac for his principal chief, and knowing him to be of a ferocious disposition, joined him with all his band. The two nations were composed of about four hundred men. The number not being sufficient, Pontiac tried to bring over the Huron nation, then divided into two bands, and governed by two separate chiefs of very different dispositions; (they were nevertheless directed by Mr. Potico, a father Jesuit.) One of the chiefs of that nation, Yaka resembled Pontiac in his disposition; the other a man of great circumspection, consummate prudence, not naturally inclined to evil, and not easily persuaded, would not listen to Pontiac's deputies, and sent them back as they had come.[3] The deputies sent to that

---

[1] This MS. has been aptly quoted by Mr. Francis Parkman, in his interesting and comprehensive "History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac," just published. By placing the original amongst the materials which are designed to illustrate our general Indian History, it is made accessible to all.

[2] From this, the date, which is partly obliterated in the original, may be inferred.

[3] Without answer.

Capt S. Eastman, U. S. Army. Del.

Pl. 58

C. E. Wagstaff & J. Andrews Engr.

RUINS OF OLD FORT MACKANACK, 1763.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILADA

part of the same nation under Yaka, were heard, and the war-necklaces[1] (wampum-belts) sent by Pontiac and Minivoa, chiefs of the Ottawas and Poux, were received. They resolved upon[2] * * * * * (a customary mode among the Indians,) that a council should take place on the twenty-seventh of April, at the river Ecorces; to fix the day and hour of the attack, and to resolve upon the precautions necessary to prevent a discovery of their treason. According their usual mode of counting, the Indians decided, as I mentioned above, that the council should take place on the 15th day of the moon; i. e. Wednesday, 27th of April.

On the day fixed for the council, the Poux, conducted by Minivoa, and the Hurons by Yaka, repaired to the rendezvous on the river Ecorces, four leagues below the fort, towards the S. W. This place had been selected by Pontiac for his camp, on leaving his winter quarters, that he might not be troubled in his projects; this step produced some surprise among the French, who could not find the cause of it, and attributed it to the whimsical temper common to the Indians.

The council was held between the three following nations; the Ottawas, the Poux, (Pottowattomies,) and the wicked band of Hurons. Pontiac, as head-chief of all the nations of the north, presided. He exposed as a reason for his actions, supposed necklaces, (wampum-belts) which he said he had received from the Great Father, the King of France, to fall upon the English. He mentioned several imaginary insults which he and his people had received from the English commander and officers, as also a blow given by a sentinel to one of his Indians, who was following his cousin. The Indians listened to him as their chief, and to flatter his vanity and increase his pride, they promised to be guided by him. This cunning man, glad to see in those three nations (in all 450 men) so much submission, took advantage of their weakness to obtain a complete sway over them. To accomplish this, he related in the council the story of a Loup Indian, (Lenape) who had made a journey to heaven, and spoken to the master of life. This story he related with so much eloquence, that it made on them all the effect he expected. The story deserves a place here, it being as the principal of the blackest of crimes against the English nation, and perhaps against the French, had not God in his grace ordered it otherwise. It was thus. An Indian of the Loup tribe, anxious to know the master of life, (the name given to God by the Indians,) resolved, without mentioning his design to any one, to undertake a journey to Paradise, which he knew to be God's residence. But to succeed in his project, it was necessary to know the way to the celestial regions. Not knowing any person who, having been there, might aid him in finding the road, he commenced juggling, in the hope of drawing a good augury from his dream. The Indians, even those converted to the Christian religion, are very superstitious, and place much faith in dreams. It is very difficult to cure them of that superstition. This story is a proof of what I advance.

[1] In the text is the word collier, a necklace.

[2] Des branches de porcelaine.

The Loup Indian in his dream imagined that it sufficed to commence his journey, and that by continuing his walk he would arrive at the celestial abode. The next morning very early, he equips himself as a hunter,[1] * * * * ammunition, and a boiler to cook, * * * * to perform the journey to * * * *. The commencement of his journey was pretty favorable; he walked a long time without being discouraged; having always a firm (conviction) that he would attain his aim. Eight days had already elapsed without his meeting any one to oppose his desires. On the evening of the eighth day at sunset, he stopped as usual, on the banks of a stream at the entrance of a little prairie, a place he thought favorable for his night encampment. As he was preparing his lodging, he perceived at the other end of the prairie three very wide and well-beaten paths; he thought this somewhat singular; he however continued to prepare his retreat, that he might shelter himself from the weather; he also lighted a fire. Whilst cooking, he fancied he perceived that the darker it grew by the disappearance[2] of the sun, the more distinct were those paths. This surprised him; nay, even frightened him; he hesitated a few moments. Was it better for him to remain in his camp, or seek another at some distance? While in this incertitude he remembers his juggling, or rather his dream. He thought that his only aim in undertaking this journey had been to see the master of life. This restored him to his senses, in the belief that one of those three roads was the one leading to the place which he wished to visit. He therefore resolved upon remaining in his camp until the morrow, when he would at random take one of these three roads. His curiosity, however, scarcely allowed him time to take his meal; he left his encampment and fire, and took the widest of the paths. He followed until the middle of the day, without seeing any thing to impede his progress; but as he was resting a little to take breath, he saw suddenly a large fire coming from under ground. It excited his curiosity; he went towards it, to see what it might be; but as the fire appeared to increase as he drew nearer, he was so overcome with fear that he turned back and took the widest of the other two paths. Having followed it for the same space of time as he had the first, he perceived a similar spectacle. His fright, which had been lulled by the change of road, awoke, and he was obliged to take the third path, in which he walked a whole day without discovering any thing. All at once a mountain of marvellous whiteness burst upon his sight; this filled him with astonishment. Nevertheless, he took courage, and advanced to see what the mountain might be. Having arrived at the foot, he saw no signs of a road; he became very sad, not knowing how to continue his way. In this conjuncture he looked on all sides, and saw a female seated upon the mountain; her beauty was dazzling, and the whiteness of her garments surpassed that of snow. This woman said to him, in his own language, "You appear surprised to find no longer a path to reach your wishes. I know that you have for a long time

[1] The stars indicate places destroyed or totally obliterated in the original.

[2] Text, eloignment.

longed to see and speak to the master of life, and that you have undertaken this journey purposely to see him. The way which leads to his abode is upon this mountain. To ascend it you must undress yourself completely, and leave all your accoutrements and clothing at the foot of the mountain. No person shall injure them. You will then go and wash yourself in the river which I am showing you, and afterward ascend the mountain."

The Loup Indian obeyed punctually the woman's words; but one difficulty remained. How could he arrive at the top of the mountain, it being steep, without a path, and as smooth as glass? He questioned the woman on the way to accomplish this. She replied, that if he really wished to see the master of life, he must in mounting only use his left hand and foot. This appeared almost impossible to the Indian. Encouraged, however, by the female, he commenced ascending, and succeeded after much trouble. When at the top, he was astonished to see no person, the woman having disappeared. He found himself alone and without guide. Three unknown villages were in sight; they appeared to him constructed on a different plan from his own, much handsomer, and more regular. After a few moments' reflection, he took the way towards the handsomest *in his eyes.*[1] When about half-way from the top of the mountain, he recollected he was naked, and feared to advance; but a voice told him to proceed, and to have no apprehensions; that having washed himself, (as he had done,) he might walk in confidence. He proceeded without hesitation to a place which appeared to be the gate of the village, and stopped until it might be opened. While he was considering the beauty of the exterior of the village, the gate opened; he saw coming towards him a handsome man, dressed all in white, who took him by the hand, telling him that he was going to satisfy his wishes, by leading him to the presence of the master of life. The Indian suffered himself to be conducted, and they arrived at a place of unequalled beauty. The Indian was lost in admiration. He then saw the master of life, who took him by the hand, and gave him for a seat a hat bordered with gold. The Indian, afraid of spoiling the hat, hesitated to sit down; but, being ordered to do so, he obeyed without reply.

The Indian being seated, God said to him: "I am the master of life whom thou wishest to see, and to whom thou wishest to speak. Listen to that which I will tell thee, for thyself and for all the Indians. I am the maker of the heaven and the earth, the trees, lakes, rivers, men, and all that thou seest or hast seen on the earth * * * *. And because I love you, you must do my will, you must also avoid that which I hate. I dislike you to drink, as you do, until you lose your reason; I wish you not to fight one another. You take two wives, or run after other people's wives; you do wrong; I hate such conduct; you should have but one wife, and keep her until death. When you go to war, you juggle, you sing the medicine-song, thinking you

[1] Towards that which appeared to him the handsomest.

speak to me, you deceive yourselves; it is to the Manito that you speak; he is a wicked spirit who induces you to evil, and to whom you listen for want of knowing me. The land on which you are I have made for you, not for others. Wherefore do you suffer the whites to dwell upon your lands? Can you not do without them? I know that those whom you call the children of the Great Father, supply your wants; but were you not wicked as you are, you would not need them. You might live as you did before you knew them. Before those whom you call your brothers had arrived, did not your bow and arrow maintain you? You needed neither gun, powder, nor any other object. The flesh of animals was your food, their skins your raiment. But when I saw you inclined to evil, I removed the animals into the depths of the forest, that you might depend on your brothers for your necessaries, for your clothing. Again become good, and do my will, I will send animals for your sustenance. I do not, however, forbid suffering among you, your fathers' children; I love them, they know me, they pray to me. I supply their own wants, and give them that which they bring to you. Not so with those who are come to trouble your possessions. Drive them away, wage war against them; I love them not, they know me not, they are my enemies, they are your brother's enemies. Send them back to the land I have made for them; let them remain there.

Here is a written prayer which I give thee, learn it by heart, and teach it to the Indians and children. (The Indian observing here that he could not read, the master of life told him, that when he returned upon earth, he should give it to the chief of the village, who would read it and teach it to him, as also to all the Indians.) It must be repeated, said he, morning and evening. Do all that I have told thee, and announce it to all the Indians, as from the master of life. Let them drink but one draught or two at most, in one day. Let them have but one wife, and discontinue running after other people's wives and daughters. Let them not fight between themselves. Let them not sing the medicine-song, but pray; for in singing the medicine-song, they speak to the Evil Spirit. Drive from your lands, added the master of life, these dogs in red clothing, they are only an injury to you. When you want any thing, apply to me, as your brothers do, and I will give to both. Do not sell to your brothers that which I have placed on earth as food. In short, become good and you shall want nothing. When you meet one another, bow, and only give one another the * * * * hand of the heart. Above all, I commend thee to repeat, morning and evening, the prayer which I have given thee."

The Loup promised to do the will of the master of life, and also to recommend it strongly to the Indians; adding, that the master of life should be satisfied with them.

The man who had brought him in, then came and conducted him to the foot of the mountain, and told him to take his garments and return to his village, which was immediately done by the Indian.

His return much surprised the inhabitants of his village, who did not know what

had become of him. They asked him whence he came, but, as he had been enjoined to speak to no one, until he saw the chief of the village, he motioned to them with his hand, that he came from above. Having entered the village, he went immediately to the chief's wigwam, and delivered to him the prayer and laws entrusted to his care by the master of life.

This adventure was soon spread among the inhabitants of the village. They came to hear the word of the master of life. The report soon reached the neighboring villages. Crowds came to see the pretended traveller, and carried their news from village to village; until it reached Pontiac. This chief, believing it as we do an article of faith, fixed it to the minds of all the council, who listened to him as to an oracle. They told him that he had only to speak, for they were ready to do whatever he required of them.

Pontiac, glad of the success of his speech, told the Hurons and Poux (Pottawattomies) to return to their villages, that in four days he and the young men of his village would go to the fort, and dance the pipe-dance;[1] and during the dance, other young men would go about the fort to examine every thing;—the number of the English garrison, that of the traders, and the houses they inhabited. This design he carried into execution.

On Sunday, 1st of May, about three in the afternoon, (the French then returning from vespers,) Pontiac, with forty chosen men, appeared at the gate, but the commander, who had learnt something of the conduct of the Indians, had ordered the sentinels to prevent the entrance of any of them. This surprised Pontiac and his troop, as they expected to be admitted as usual. They sent Mr. La Butte, their interpreter, to tell the commander that they came to amuse him, and to dance the pipe-dance. By M. La Butte's desire, their request was granted, and thirty of them repaired before Mr. Campbell's house, (the second commander.) They commenced dancing and striking the post, showing forth their warlike exploits. From time to time they gave * * * * to the commander and the officers who were present. The Indians said to them, to brave them, that they had several times struck the English, and would do so again, and finishing their discourse, they asked for bread, tobacco, and beer, which were given them. They remained long enough to give their companions time to examine every thing in the fort. Neither English nor French mistrusted them, it being customary for the Indians to wander every where without any opposition. The latter, after having gone round the fort and well examined every thing, came to the dancers, who, without taking any notice, accompanied them to their village, then situated a little above the fort, on the other side of the river, about E. N. E. To this place, according to Pontiac's orders, all the Indians had repaired on the preceding Friday.

[1] Calumet.

On their return to the village, the spies related minutely to their chief all they had seen, the movements of the English, and the probable number of the garrison. After this report, Pontiac sent deputies to the Hurons and Poux, (Pottawattomies,) that they might know, through the wampum-belts, what was taking place in the fort. Mackatepelicit, second chief of the Ottawas, and another Indian of note among them, were sent to Yaka, chief of the wicked band of Hurons. Two others, also of note, were sent to Minivoa, chief of the Poux, (Pottawattomies,) who received them joyfully, and promised that he and his tribe should be ready at the first warning of their head-chief.

Pontiac, ever occupied with his project, and who nourished in his bosom a poison which was to prove fatal to the English, and perhaps to the French; sent on the following day, May the 2d, messengers to each village, Huron and Poux, with orders to examine every thing among those tribes; for he feared opposition in his designs. His messengers were ordered to tell those tribes, that on Thursday, the 5th day of May, at midday, *should be held* a great council at the Poux village, situated half a league below the fort at the south-west. That the three nations must be there. No women were to be admitted for fear of a discovery. On the day appointed, all the Ottawas, headed by Pontiac, and the Hurons by their chief Yaka, repaired to the village of the Poux, where the council was to take place. They took care to send away the women, that they might not know the result of their deliberations. To prevent interruption, Pontiac caused sentinels to be placed around the village. These precautions having been taken, the Indians sat down, forming a circle, each one being placed according to his rank, and Pontiac, as chief of the league, spoke to them as follows:

It is important, my brothers, that we should exterminate that nation which only seeks our death. You know as well as I do, that our wants are no longer supplied as they were with our brothers, the French. Those Englishmen sell us their goods twice as dear as the French did, and their merchandise is good for nothing; scarcely have we bought a blanket, or any other covering, than we must think of getting another; when we wish to go to our winter-quarters, they will not give us credit as the French did. When I go and see the English chief, and tell him of the death of our friends, instead of weeping as did the French, he laughs at me and you. If I ask him for any thing for our sick people, he refuses, and tells me that he has no need of us. You may well see that he seeks our death. Brothers, let us unite to vow their destruction, we must wait no longer, there is no obstacle, their number is small, we can manage them; all our friendly tribes are their enemies, and wage war against them, wherefore do we not? Are we not men as well as they? Have I not shown you the wampum-belts I have received from our Great Fathers, the French, to induce us to fall on them? Why do we not listen to his word? What do we fear? Do we fear that our brothers the French, who reside here, may prevent us? They are unacquainted with our designs,

and did they know them, they could not do it if they wished. You know all, as well as I do, that when the English came on our lands, to drive away our father Bellester, they took from the French their guns, and that they have no arms to defend themselves. The time is come, let us strike. If some of the French join them, make war to them, as if they were English. Recollect what the master of life said to our brother the Lenape Indian, that concerns us as much as it does that tribe. I have sent wampum-belts and messages to our brothers the Santeur (Chippewas) of Saginaw, to our brothers the Ottawas of Michilimackinac; to those of the river a la Franche, to induce them to join us. They will be here ere long. Before they come, let us strike. No time is to be lost. When we have defeated the English, we shall see what is to be done. We shall prevent their returning on our lands.

This speech, pronounced by Pontiac with much energy, had on the council all the effect he expected. They all vowed the entire destruction of the English.

They agreed, at the end of the council, that Pontiac, at the head of sixty men should go to the fort to ask the commander for a grand council; that he and his men should have arms concealed under their blankets, and that the remainder of the tribe should follow, armed with clubs, poniards, and knives, also concealed; and should also enter the fort as if they were walking, that they might not be suspected; while the others were holding a council with the commander. The Ottawa women were also to be provided with short guns and other offensive arms, hidden in their blankets, and to go in the street behind the fort, there to wait the signal, which was to be a war-cry from the great chief, when all were to fall on the English. They were to take great care not to injure the French who dwelt in the fort. The Hurons and the Poux were to form two bands, one of which was to go *to the lower part of the river* to stop all comers, and the other was to surround the fort at a distance, to kill those who were working out of it. Each tribe was to sing the war-song in their village that same day. Every measure being agreed upon, each tribe withdrew to its village, determined on executing the orders of the great chief. But, however careful they were to prevent discovery, God did not permit their designs to remain concealed, as *I am going to relate.*

An Ottawa Indian, called Mahigan, who had entered but reluctantly into the conspiracy, and who felt displeased with the steps his people were about taking, came on the Friday night without the knowledge of the other Indians, to the gate of the fort, and asked to be admitted to the presence of the commander, saying that he had something of importance to tell him. The gates having been opened, they conducted him to Mr. Campbell, second commander, who sent word to Mr. Gladwin his chief. They wished to send for the interpreter, Mr. Labutte, to which the Indian objected, saying that he (the Indian) spoke French well enough to be understood by Mr. Campbell. He unfolded to those two commanders the conspiracy of the Indians, making known their bad intentions, how they had sworn the loss of the English, how

in the course of the next day they were to fall on them. He advised them to be on their guard, he afterwards begged the commander not to mention any thing of his communication with them, either to the French or the English, fearing it would sooner or later come to the ears of the other Indians, who, on being told of it, would not fail to put him to death, enraged as they would be at their being disappointed. The commander thanked him, and wished to make him some presents. The Indian refused them, desiring the commander not to betray him. They gave him a promise to that effect, *and kept it.*

The commanders, on that report, which they saw no reason to doubt, without however imparting any thing of what they knew, ordered that at daybreak the guard should be doubled; that there should be two sentinels at each large gate; and that the two smaller ones should be stopped up, which was immediately executed. They ordered the officers to examine the arms of their soldiers, and have *them* ready to appear at the first sound of the drum. They also ordered that all should be done quietly; that the Indians, on coming into the fort, should not know that they were discovered. These orders were so well executed that the French perceived nothing new.

The day which might have proved fatal to the English, and perhaps to the French, having arrived, (it being the 7th of May and the 26th of the moon as the Indians are wont to reckon,) Pontiac, who still thought his design undiscovered, ordered in the morning his people to sing the war-song in his village, and desiring * * * * and * * * * to put down feathers upon his head, the dress used by Indians going to war. Each was to be provided with the necessary weapons, and thus equipped to come about ten in the forenoon, and ask for a council. All his people, sixty in number, prepared for the council, entered the house occupied by Mr. Campbell, second commander, where they found the *commander-in-chief,* Mr. Gladwin, with part of the officers, whom he had acquainted with the *rash* design of Pontiac. They had arms concealed in their pockets. The officers were preparing the troops to appear in the case of need. All this was done so well, that the Indians had not the least suspicion. The council took place, and meanwhile all the other Ottawas entered, and each took the place which had been previously assigned to him.

Pontiac, in the council, thinking the time had come for his people to be in the fort, and ready to commence the attack, went out to see if all were ready, and also to give the signal which was to be, as I have mentioned above, a war-cry. He perceived that some movement was attracting the attention of his people towards the square. He wished to see what it was, and perceived the soldiers under arms and exercising. This forbode no good for his design. He saw that he was discovered, and that his intention was defeated. This disconcerted him, and obliged him to re-enter the council-room, where his people were waiting for him to give the signal to commence the attack. They were much surprised on seeing him return. They *mistrusted* that being disco-

vered, and not being able to succeed on the present occasion, they must then go and defer their intention till another day. They spoke some time among themselves, and without bidding any one adieu, or uttering a word, they went to their village to take other steps not to be discovered, and try their success again.

On arriving at the village, Pontiac was agitated by different passions; anger, fury, rage, he resembled a lion which has lost its young. He assembled his young people, and inquired of them if they knew who had betrayed him. I see, said he, that the English have been warned. He ordered them to make inquiries and endeavor to discover the traitor, as his death was necessary.

Their inquiries, however, proved fruitless. He who had betrayed them had taken care to prevent their discovering him. However, about four in the afternoon, a false rumor was spread in the village, that a (Sauteuse) woman had betrayed them, and that she was in the Poux (Pottowattomie) village. Pontiac immediately ordered four of his warriors to fetch her. Those people, naturally fond of disorder, were not slow in executing the order of their chief; they crossed the river and passed into the fort, with no other things than their *band* and *knives* in their hands, exclaiming as they went along, that they were disappointed. This made the French inhabitants of the *coasts*, who were unacquainted with their designs, think they had some bad intention either towards them or the English. They arrived at the Poux village, and effectually found the woman, who was *not thinking of them*. They took her, and making her walk before them, uttered cries of joy, as if they had a victim to satisfy their cruelty. They brought her to the fort, and led her before the commander, to learn if it was not from her that he had found out their design. But all this was to no purpose. They obtained of the commander bread and beer for the woman and themselves, and took her before their chief, in the village. The question now was, in the village, to invent some new trick to mask their treason, and execute their bad designs. Pontiac, whose genius always provided him with new resources, said that he had prepared another plan, which would be more successful than the first. That on the ensuing day he would commence on it, and would go and speak to the commander, and try to persuade him that the information he had received was false, and that he would manage so well in proving what he said, that the English, falling insensibly into his snare, could not fail to be defeated.

But, fortunately, the commander and officers who had escaped the danger which threatened them, but who were secure no longer than when they were upon their guard, were not men to suffer themselves to be surprised by the flattering speeches of a *traitor*. So that all that the cunning of Pontiac might make him assert was sure to prove useless. He, nevertheless, feeling confident of success, came to the fort on Sunday, the 8th of May, about one, accompanied by Mackapecelite, Breton, and Shawawnon, chiefs of the same Ottawa tribe. They brought with them a calumet, (called among them the calumet of peace,) and asked to be admitted. The commander

gave them a hearing; and they endeavored by their speeches to deceive him, and draw him and his troops into the snares they had prepared for them. The commander, who had received a recent warning, pretended to believe them, notwithstanding what he had been told. He, however, was on his guard.

Pontiac told him, as a proof of his having no bad design, that he had brought the calumet of peace, for them all to smoke, as a sign of union and confidence; and that he intended to leave it in their hands, as a mark of his uprightness; and that so long as the commander had it, he should fear nothing from them. The commander accepted the calumet, knowing it, however, to be but a small guarantee against the bad faith of an Indian. After the commander had received it, Pontiac and his chiefs went away, highly pleased; believing they had succeeded in drawing the English into the snares prepared by his treachery; but he was deceived in his expectations.

They returned to their village, as glad as if their whole enterprise had succeeded; they told, in a few words, their young people of their negotiation, and sent deputies to the wicked band of the Hurons, to tell them of what had passed; as also that the next day was to decide the fate of the English, and that they must be ready at the first warning.

Pontiac, the better to play his part, and show that he had abandoned all thoughts of his bad designs, invited, about four in the afternoon, all the Hurons and the Poux to come and play at ball with the young people; many French from both sides of the river came to play also, and were well received by the three nations. The play lasted until seven, and being ended, every one thought of returning home. The French who lived on the other side of the river, to return home, were obliged to cross the river, and in entering their canoes, they uttered cries and saw-saw-quas, (war-whoop,) as is done commonly by the Indians who conquer in the plays.

The commander, all the time on watch, thought by those cries that the Indians were crossing the river, and coming to the fort to murder them. They ordered the gates to be shut, and the soldiers and merchants to repair to the ramparts, to defend them in case of attack. But it was only a false alarm, caused by the imprudence of the young French people, who knew no better.

Pontiac, who had no thought of their coming to the fort, was at that time occupied with the Hurons and Poux, who had remained in the village, when the game was over. He mentioned to them all the circumstances of the negotiation between the commanders and himself, (with his chiefs,) telling them that, as he had agreed with those gentlemen, he was to return on the ensuing day to smoke the calumet of peace, (or rather of treason,) and that he hoped to succeed. But he was reckoning without his host.

On the moon day, (9th of May,) the first day of Rogations, according to the custom, the curate and all the clergy made a procession out of the fort, very peaceably.

The mass was celebrated in the same manner. Every one went home, wondering what the day would bring forth, well knowing that Pontiac would make some new attempt. The well-inclined people secretly bewailed the sad fate which threatened the English, whose garrison only consisted of about one hundred and forty men, including the officers, eight in number, and about forty merchants, or men in their service. They had also boats of different sizes, placed opposite the fort, to defend it on the side of the river. This was little, if, unfortunately, the Indians had been good soldiers.

Pontiac, who concealed in his heart the murderous *knife*, which was to cut the thread of the life of the English, prepared (as he had the day before mentioned to the Hurons and Poux) to come to the fort with fifty men of his tribe. The remainder were to act in the same way as on the preceding Saturday. He came to the gates with his people, about eleven, but entrance was refused him, according to the orders of the commander. He insisted on being admitted to the presence of the commander, saying that he and his chiefs came only to smoke the calumet of peace, as had been promised by the commander. The answer was, that he was welcome to come in, but only with twelve or fifteen of his principal people, and no more. He replied, that all his people wished to smell the smoke of the calumet, and that if his people were not admitted, he would not come in. This was refused, and he was obliged to return to his village much displeased.[1] The English, however, cared but little for that.

Pontiac, enraged at the failure of this last stratagem, and that of all his projects, on entering his village, took a war-club and sang the war-song, saying, that since he could not destroy the English who were in the fort, he would kill those who were out of it. He ordered that all his people, men, women, and children, should cross the river to the same side as the fort, in order the better to harass the inhabitants, and his camp should be placed *on the river below Mr. Baptiste Meloche's*,[2] half a league above the fort. This was done exactly. He divided his people into several bands, to strike in different places. One band went twelve leagues from the fort, where dwelt an old English woman with her two boys, who cultivated about seven or eight acres of their own land, and who had many horned cattle, such as oxen and cows. These poor people came to their death very unexpectedly; they were scalped, their furniture plundered, their house burnt. One would have thought, to behold this terrible spectacle, that *fire was on the side of the Indians;* for the bodies were more than half burnt in the house. The Indians killed a part of the cattle, and drove off the remainder; some of which escaped, and were picked up by the inhabitants of the coast.

While the first band were committing those murders, the other band went to Hog Island, where dwelt one Fisher, a sergeant of the English troops. This man and

[1] The chief desired the French to stay in their dwellings. Two came in and went out again.
[2] Original.

family, composed of five or six individuals, were tilling "on halves" a farm which the English had appropriated to themselves. Those poor people, who were then thinking of nothing but their labor, became, when they least thought of it, the sad victims of the fury of the Indians, who first killed the man and scalped him. They wished to make a prisoner of the woman, because she was pretty. She would not follow them, saying, that since her husband was dead, she wished to die also. They killed her, as also the servant, and took the two little children to make slaves of them.

A Frenchman called Goslin, who was in the island hewing building-timber, and who knew nothing of what was to happen to Fisher, hearing the cries uttered by the Indians as they were landing on the island, wished to secure himself from the danger which he thought threatened him as well as the English; he was, however, stopped on the bank by the Indians, who placed him in a canoe; they told him to stay there; that he had nothing to fear; that they would not hurt him. He was incredulous, and would not stay where the Indians had placed him; his incredulity cost him dear; for as he was running into the middle of the island, the Indians, taking him for an Englishman, ran after him, and killed him; and as they were going to scalp him, they knew him to be French, took his body in their canoes, and gave it to the French, who buried it in the church-yard. About four in the afternoon, an inhabitant of the east coast, named Deonoyers, who came from the pinery twenty-five leagues above the fort, where he had been cutting building-timber, came back in company with the Sauteurs of Saginaw, who conveyed him. They learnt through him the death of two officers; one Mr. Robinson, captain of the boats, and the other Sir * * * *, a colonel in the militia.[1] Those gentlemen had been ordered by the commander to go with six soldiers and sound the channels, to find out if the water was deep enough to pass with a barge, if wanted. Those gentlemen, who, in leaving the fort, had heard nothing of the bad design of the Indians, went on quietly, believing themselves perfectly secure. As they were passing by the pinery, the French, who were working there, and who knew the bad intentions of the Indians against the English, called them to give them a warning of it. Those gentlemen went to them, but would not believe what the French said, observing that when they left the fort every thing was quiet. The French warned them again, advising them to go no further, for the Indians would attack them, and their best plan was to return to the fort. They would not listen to these warnings, and went on; they met with some Indians camped on a point close to the river. These seeing them, showed them meat and other food to induce them to come; but those gentlemen would not go to them. This vexed the Indians, who pursued and killed them all, except a young man of fifteen or sixteen, and a slave, whom they kept as slaves.

[1] They were killed on the Thursday preceding.

The two bands of Indians, (Ottawa,) who had been, according to Pontiac's orders, to the two places mentioned above, returned to the camp and related with *emphasis* all the circumstances of their cruel expeditions; among others the death of Goslin, whom they had killed by mistake, and which caused them a few moments' sorrow.

Pontiac, after having heard his young people, assembled all his warriors to consult with them about approaching the fort and attacking it without running any risk. This was not very difficult, as there were several barns and stables built about thirty yards behind the fort, the property of individuals who dwelt within. On the north-east side of the fort, about fifteen yards distance to the right side of the gate, was a large garden with the gardener's house, belonging to the interpreter, M. La Butte. All these buildings were as many intrenchments, sheltered by which the Indians might approach the fort without incurring any danger. They had looked well at all this, and intended to take advantage of it for some time to harass the garrison. Having made their arrangements, the Indians went to rest, waiting for the morrow to commence again.

While the Indians were making the preparations to trouble the fort, the commander ordered the two end gates to be closed and fastened, not to be reopened until the end of the war. However, that on the south-west end was opened twice to admit cows belonging to some inhabitants of the fort. It was not opened afterwards. The gate opposite the river was opened from time to time for the public wants, it being guarded by the barges which the Indians feared much. About six in the evening, M. La Butte, by the order of the commander, went out several times to appease the Indians, and try to extract from them their secrets. But these, and above all, Pontiac getting weary of his going and coming, told him to withdraw and not to return, as if he did they would all fall upon him. Not being able to do any thing with them, he withdrew to the fort, telling the commander that he hoped that the Indians would be more accessible on the morrow. The commander in the evening ordered the English who were in the fort, traders and soldiers, to watch by turns on the rampart, in order not to be taken by surprise at the break of day, which is an hour generally chosen for an attack by the Indians when at war. The commander gave the example, spending the night on the watch (on the battery) in company with his officers.

Tuesday, 10th of May, according to the commander's orders, the gates remained shut. The Ottawas, who thought that on their attacking the fort, the English would surrender at discretion, came about four in the morning and fired; violently running around the fort, as if they were going to storm it. This rather intimidated the English, who were not yet accustomed to the manners of the Indians, and who had not time to make any preparations for their defence. There were, however, in the fort, two six-pounders and one three-pounder, and a grenade mortar, which was placed about the gate as a useless article. The three-pounder was on the battery behind the fort, opposite the woods, and almost concealed by buildings. The other two cannons were

on the military square, and useless, there being no proper place to fix them. The larger only fired; but, however, those only protected the river-side, which the Indians took great care not to approach, keeping themselves always behind the fort, where the buildings sheltered them; or beyond the hill which overlooked the fort, and at the foot of which it was built. So that [1]*the place was rather defended by the courage and intrepidity of the besieged, than attacked by the besiegers*, who continued the violence of their firing until ten; only firing afterwards from time to time, not having much ammunition, intending to recommence the charge after having obtained more. The commander, seeing that the firing of the Indians was nearly over, ordered M. La Butte to go out and speak to them. M. Chapoton, a resident of the fort, joined M. La Butte to go to the Indian camp. Several residents of the fort, with the approbation of the commander, took this opportunity of going out to dwell with the settlers on the coasts, not to be present at the death of the English, which they thought would take place. Messrs. La Butte and Chapoton went on, and took with them M. Jacques Godfrey, who willingly joined them, as they were endeavoring to promote public tranquillity, hoping also that three persons, who were known and loved by the Indians, would with less difficulty appease them. The two gentlemen mentioned last, spoke to the Indians without letting them know that they wished to favor the English. The Indians appeared to give them a favorable hearing; this made M. La Butte think that every thing would go on well, and leaving Messrs. Chapoton and Godfroy with the Indians, he returned to the fort, and told the commander that his affairs with the Indians were in a fair way, that he had left Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton to continue to speak, and that he hoped the end of it would be in a few presents from the English. M. La Butte, trusting in his knowledge of Indian character, expected no disappointment, as the Indians concealed their designs under fair words. Mr. Campbell, the second commander, wishing for nothing but peace and harmony, desired him, in the name of the commander, Mr. Gladwin, to return to Pontiac's camp, to aid Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton to complete their work; stifling the fire of sedition, and replacing peace between both parties. M. La Butte promised to do all in his power, and returned to the camp, where he found Messrs. Chapoton and Godfroy, who had not left Pontiac, and were endeavoring to bring him over to their views. M. La Butte joined them, according to the desire of the commanders. The cunning Pontiac dissembled, and appeared to consent to all the wishes of those gentlemen, and to convince them that he wished for peace and union, he sent M. La Butte with some Indians to speak on his part to the commander. He did this to get rid of M. La Butte, whom he began to suspect. Six or seven Indians entered the fort with M. La Butte, and went to greet the commander and officers, who received them well, and shook hands with them. The Indians spoke in the name of their chief, and appeared themselves to listen to

[1] The obscurity of this sentence exists in the original.

what the commander desired M. La Butte to tell them. After a few moments' conversation, they asked for bread, and received as much as they could carry away. While the Indians were in the fort, the English exhibited a newspaper, stating that Colonel Boquet was coming with two thousand soldiers. On hearing this false statement, the Indians wished to go out and carry the news to their chief. The gate being opened, they returned by themselves to the camp, and related this news to Pontiac, who, without showing astonishment, said at once that it was false, and that the English spread the report to frighten them. He desired Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton to leave the camp for a short time, saying that he would call them again, when he had mentioned to his people what they had told him. This he did only to have leisure to think of some bad design. About five in the afternoon, he sent for Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton, as also for several other French settlers, and told them that he had appeased his young people, that they consented to make peace, but to conclude it effectually, he would be glad to speak to Mr. Campbell, second commander, in his camp, as he had known him three years, (the time he had commanded the fort,) and he and his people looked on him as on their brother. But the barbarian concealed in his bosom a dagger which was to be fatal to that worthy man.

The French, from whom he concealed his designs, believing he spoke with frankness, told him they willingly engaged to bring Mr. Campbell, if he would promise to let him return without molestation after the interview. He promised it, (promises cost him no trouble,) and the better to cover his malice, he gave them the calumet of peace, as a certain proof of his people's word and his own. The French, especially Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton, fell into the snare which Pontiac had laid for them and the English. While the Indians were preparing this new intrigue, a Frenchman called Gouin, who by chance had seen through the Indians' designs, and who, in several conversations he had had with Pontiac, had seen no favorable symptom towards the English, and who had had some presentiment of what was going to happen to Mr. Campbell; desired a Frenchman, who was passing before his house on his way to the fort, to warn Mr. Campbell of what was going on in the camp, entreating him not to leave the fort, and not to trust the word of a badly-inclined Indian.

However, the French took their way to the fort, thinking that the mere presence of Mr. Campbell would be sufficient to appease the Indians. M. Gouin, who saw them coming at a distance, and who feared that one warning was not sufficient, begged M. Morau, to whom he mentioned in a few words the matter in question, to run to the fort, and again caution the gentlemen against going out. This was done by M. Morau, who came at full speed to relate word for word to the officers M. Gouin's information. He desired, with tears in his eyes, Mr. Campbell not to leave the fort, adding, that if he went to the camp, he would never return. In the mean time Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton, with several of the French, arrived at the fort, related to the English the fair words of Pontiac, and showed there the calumet of peace which they had brought.

The calumet and fine words had all the effect on the English that Pontiac expected, and M. Gouin's two warnings were useless. Afterwards, when it was too late, the English wished they had listened to him instead of the others. Mr. Campbell, *whose temper wished* for nothing but union and concord, thought that it was in his power, by going to the camp, to appease the Indians, and that his presence for a single moment would more than suffice to restore peace between the two parties. This, joined to the importunities of Messrs. Godfroy and Chapoton, who said they would venture their life for his, decided him to go to the camp. He went out, accompanied by Mr. M'Dougal, an officer, by M. La Butte and a great number of the French inhabitants of the fort, who thought that in fact the presence of this worthy man would put an end to this *cabal*, and after his return, which was (it was said,) to take place immediately, they would be free to see to their affairs. But they were disappointed in this expectation.

Mr. Campbell arrived at the camp. The Indians, seeing him arrive, uttered the most frightful cries. It required all the authority of Pontiac to make them keep silence. Pontiac went and met Mr. Campbell, took him by the hand to conceal his felonious designs, made him sit on the same seat with himself, telling him that he was glad to see him, as he considered him as a Frenchman; that he and his people were going to speak on business. Mr. Campbell remained a full hour, without the Indians saying a word to him. Mr. Campbell drew a bad augury from this. He communicated his thoughts to the French who had brought him; they told him that according to Pontiac's promise he might leave when he pleased. He wished to do so. As he began to grow a little uneasy, he sent word to Pontiac, that as he had nothing to say, he was going away. Pontiac, who feared that such a valuable prey might escape him, and who thought that by detaining these two officers in his camp, the others would accede to his wishes, announced that after they had slept two nights with him, he would send them back to the fort. Thus those gentlemen found themselves of their own accord prisoners of the Indians. The French who had accompanied them returned more sad than when they had left, judging that it was a stratagem, by which Pontiac hoped to hold the officers of the fort in check. On their arrival at the fort, they related to the commander, Mr. Gladwin, all that had passed in the camp, and the detention of his officers. This gave him room to think that he would have done better to believe M. Gouin, in preference to all the others. The Poux (Pottawattomies) who, as I have said, had, in concert with the Ottowas, vowed the death of the English, and who had not yet appeared much around the fort, went, according to Pontiac's order, in the woods at a distance, on the shores of the lake and river, to stop all the English who might be on their way to the fort, and made two prisoners. They were two men, whom the commander of St. Joseph had sent from his fort to bring letters here, to Mr. Gladwin. They were taken and brought to Pontiac's camp, who caused his people to put them to death. About eight in the

evening, Pontiac sent messengers to the Hurons of the wicked band, and to the Poux, to let them know what had just happened in his camp, as also his having detained the two officers. He sent them word that on the next morning, very early, he and four of his chiefs would walk along the coast before the fort, to give new orders and obtain ammunition. He gave notice to Ninivoan, (Ninivois,) chief of the Poux, to place twenty of his people in an ambuscade near the fort, that no Englishman might go out without being taken.

11th May. Wednesday, the 11th day of May, Pontiac, as a good general, ordered thirty of his young people to conceal themselves near the fort, and take all the English who might go out, as also to fire from time to time on the little boat; while he and his chiefs went on the other side, to give orders for the attack of the fort. His people did as they had been desired, and came to this effect and placed themselves in the suburb, which was built northeast from the fort, at a distance of about four hundred feet; this was a good intrenchment for them. However, Pontiac, followed by four chiefs, who were Macapacelite, Breton, Shawawnon (Chavoinon) and his nephew, went through the wood behind the fort to the coast on the southwest of the fort; a little below; they entered the houses of all the settlers, especially those who traded, and desired them, in a speech, to give them powder and balls, adding that if they would not give any, they would plunder their goods and all their possessions; giving them as a *good* reason, that they had nothing more to fear on the part of the English, who were unable to injure them. They also gave them to understand that all the tribes, among whom the English had traders or garrisons, would kill them (the English.) That the Sauteux of Saginaw and Grand river were coming to join them. That when all were assembled, they would close the way, so that no more English might come and live on their lands. The traders, *forced* by their fair words and threats, were obliged, to obtain peace, to give the Indians that which they demanded; and by thus giving part of their powder and balls, they preserved their goods, houses, and families. The Poux, who, in accordance with Pontiac's orders, had been to the rendezvous, had their share; after which they separated, to return to the camp, and distribute the ammunition to the warriors, and take measures for the attack intended for the next day. During all the day the officers were very quiet in the fort, not being troubled by the Indians. This induced many inmates of the fort to ask the commander's leave to go out; this was granted, and they went to the coasts, to stay with the settlers, leaving their houses and part of their goods, hoping that this *tragical event* would only last a few days.

In the afternoon, Pontiac crossed the river with four chiefs, and went to hold a council with the Hurons, to induce the good band to join him; if they would not, he was determined to fall on them. These Indians, who had not hitherto left their cottages, and who disliked all that was going on, being thus threatened and pressed closely, and being besides so few in number, were obliged to do what the others

required. They promised that the next day after mass they would join the Poux in the enterprise, but they could not come sooner, it being a great festival, and they could not think of going to fight without hearing mass. Pontiac agreed to wait until then, and ordered the attack to be put off until the arrival of the Hurons.

12th May. Thursday, the twelfth of May, it being the festival of the ascension of our Lord, Pontiac, who regarded neither festivals nor Sundays, who thought all days alike, professing no religion, ordered in the morning all his young people to be ready by the time the Hurons came, in order to go all together to the attack; and fearing that the Hurons might not keep their word, he sent to them one of his chiefs with several young people, to tell them not to fail, as soon as their missionary had finished, to come to the Poux, as they were waiting their arrival to commence the attack. The Hurons gave their word and kept it. Although Pontiac waited for the Hurons to commence the attack of the fort, he had however desired his people to take their stations behind the barns and stables, in order that all might be ready at the first signal, and also that they might prevent the besieged from leaving the fort.

Peatan and Baby, both chiefs of the good band of Hurons, who had hitherto remained neutral, and would have wished longer to remain so, seeing themselves thus threatened, assembled their band, which consisted of about sixty men, and said to them, "Brothers, you see as well as we do the situation of affairs; our only alternative is to join our brothers the Ottawa and Poux, or to abandon our lands and flee with our wives and children, a thing not easily effected. Hardly shall we have commenced the flight when the Ottawas, Poux, and our own Hurons, will fall on us and kill our wives and children, and then oblige us to do as they do. Whereas, if we do it now, we are assured of the safety of our wives and children in our village. We know not the wishes of the master of life; perhaps it is He who inspires this war to our brothers the Ottawas. If He do not order it, He will let us know His will, and we shall at any time be able to withdraw without spilling the blood of the English. Let us do what our brothers require of us. Let us not spare ourselves." Immediately after this speech they took a war-club, and sang the war-song, and invited their people to do the same, while waiting for the mass which their wives sang, and which they heard very devoutly. The mass being over, every one went to his cabin to take the necessary arms. They crossed the river in twelve canoes, and went to the Poux, who uttered cries of joy on seeing their arrival. These cries warned Pontiac of the arrival of the Hurons, who became more obstinate in firing than all the other Indians *put together.*

Ninivoan at the head of the Poux, Takay and Peatan at the head of the Hurons, went, although without orders, and invested the fort on one side. Pontiac, heading his people, did the same on the other side; and all at the same time commenced attacking the fort and barges. They kept up a very sharp fire until seven in the evening, remaining all this time sheltered by the buildings, to avoid the fire of the fort, which could not do them much injury, as they had but one cannon fit for use.

This was but little supported by the fire of the garrison. All this firing could have but little effect on the outside. The officers perceived it in time. To remedy this, and give more effect to the gun-balls, they fastened together with wire several bolts which they made red-hot and placed in the cannon of the battery, and sent this on two barns which were full and thatched; they were burnt up in less than half an hour. This caused the Indians to remove and take shelter behind the hill, to be able to continue their firing without running any risk. The two barges, during all this, were not sparing of their trouble and powder, firing with much effect above and on both sides of the fort, opposite which they were moored. There were in this action two Indians killed and two wounded; one of them had his thigh and the other his arm broken by the same shot behind the fort. With regard to the English, they took care to conceal their dead, for fear the Indians would come to know it. Notwithstanding their precautions it was known that several were killed in the large barge, and many wounded in the barges and fort. This was seen by all the inhabitants.

About seven in the evening, the fire of the Indians having abated a little, the commander fearing lest the Indians might be favored by the night, make some attempt to storm the fort or set it on fire, ordered two things to be done; first, that tubs and barrels should be placed at the four corners of the fort, in the streets and on the ramparts, and that the French who had voluntarily remained in the fort (twenty in number) should draw water from the wells to fill these vessels—secondly, as they were few in number, and there was no probability that the expected succor might very soon arrive, and the lack of people, ammunition and provisions, would prevent their standing out. Having first ordered the French to withdraw to their houses at curfew and put out their fires, they directed the soldiers to carry from the fort to the barges the baggage of the officers, their own, and that of the traders; and that every one should be ready to start for Niagara at the first signal.

Nothing happened during the night; this made the English think that they might keep the fort longer than they had hoped. They came a little to their *senses* to sustain the attack which took place on the next day.

13th May. Almost all the Indians who inhabit these regions are like the wind, going only by puffs. If they knew they should lose some of their warriors in going to war, they would not go. This often makes them end a war almost when they commence it. Sometimes, however, it only excites them more. These Indians, as I have said, had some people killed and wounded; this induced them to juggle to find out how they could manage to lose no more warriors, and to obtain the fort, which they said must sooner or later come into their hands, considering the reinforcement which, according to their account, was coming in a short time.

The Indians, in the preceding day, had been so active that when evening came, they were overcome with fatigue. They went to rest, and slept all the night and almost the whole of the morning. The commander, who with the dawn of day

expected an attack, and who, with his officers, had watched all the night on the rampart, to give orders and prevent surprise, seeing the Indians so quiet, ordered that the intrenchments of the Indians should promptly be destroyed by fire. To effect this, Mr. Hopkins, captain of a new company and a good officer, went out at the head of forty volunteers completely armed, and set fire to the suburbs, which was soon burnt up, except two houses which the fire could not reach. They immediately returned to the fort, to give time to another officer to go on a similar expedition on another side. This was done by Mr. Hays, a lieutenant in the American troops, who sallied out with thirty men, and set fire to two barns and stables behind the fort, and immediately returned, thinking that Pontiac and his Indians, seeing these fires at a distance, might try to prevent their retreat; but, fortunately, some other thing occupied him all the morning. There were, however, a few on the watch, but so few in number, that they did not dare show themselves, or fire, for fear that if they were discovered they might be fired at. Thus both parties feared each other.

While the English officers, with part of their troops, were endeavoring to render the vicinity of the fort free and clear, all the Indians in Pontiac's camp held a council, to which the oldest French inhabitants of the coasts had been called. The Indians tried by fair words to induce these to join them, to *instruct* them in opening a trench, which the French did not wish to do; besides, the greatest part of them knew not the way, and those who did, took good care not to say any thing about it; on the contrary, they said they were unacquainted with such work. Pontiac, seeing he could make no impression upon them, and who did not, as yet wish to obtain by force what he hoped they would grant by their own free will, (I mean their labor,) attempted a new trick. He desired Mr. La Butte to tell Mr. Campbell to write to the commander what he was about dictating, in presence of all his brothers, the French. Mr. Campbell, who did not wish to displease a man whose wickedness he began to discover, obeyed. This letter mentioned that Pontiac granted the commander liberty to withdraw with all his people, taking only what they actually had about their persons, as had been the case with Mr. Bellertre; and that the remainder of their property and that of the traders should remain for him. He thought that granting their lives was doing much. He promised, that himself and his people should do them no harm, and that he would answer for the other nations; and, if the commander did not consent to their conditions, he would recommence the attack and storm the fort, and if he took him alive, he would treat him as the Indians treat their prisoners; and that he must have a speedy answer.

This letter was brought to the commander by a Frenchman. He read it, and, without caring much for an Indian speech, replied, that neither he nor his officers had any wish to *tear off their noses* to please the Indians, as by leaving the fort he ran the risk of losing his life in his own country; and, as the king had sent him to

command the fort, he would remain there until death; adding, that he cared very little for his threats and those of the other Indians.

Pontiac, who had flattered himself with the idea of intimidating the commander by this letter, and who was in hopes of plundering the merchandise of the traders, was much disappointed in receiving so dry an answer. He learnt, at the same time, the sallies made by the English and the destruction of his intrenchments. He was ready to *burst with spite.* He ordered his people to return to the fort, and recommence the attack. This they did with as much spirit as on the preceding day; but they did not come so near, having only two buildings to conceal them, they could not all stand behind them. Some were farther off, firing from behind the hillock; their balls often passed above the fort. Nevertheless, the sharpness of the fire rendered the English uneasy, fearing all the time an assault. They were as upon thorns, and hesitated, whether they should remain or escape by water. What reassured them a little, was a Frenchman, who had for a long time dwelt among the Erie Indians, and had also gone to war with them. He explained to the English the manner of Indian warfare, assuring them, on his life, that the Indians would never attempt to storm the fort. This assurance, coming from a man disinterested, acquainted with the ways of the Indians, with their manner of making war, (which he explained to the commander and officers,) rendered their minds easy. The firing of the Indians only lasted until seven in the evening, after which they only fired at long intervals. However, the commander and officers spent this night like the last, that they might not be *surprised.*

The Hurons knew nothing of what was taking place in Pontiac's camp, not having been warned to come to the council. Thinking that no attack would take place, they did not come to harass the besieged. Having heard the approach of a trader, with barges loaded with goods for themselves and the traders of the fort, as also with *refreshments* for the officers, they went and waited for him down the river. The traders, not aware of what was going to happen, seeing the Indians on the shore calling them, thought they wanted to exchange venison, as they sometimes do, and went to them. The Indians took and tied them with belts, and sent away all the French who were in the barges, without hurting them. They took the barges, with the English traders and their assistants, to their village, where, on their arrival, they slew a part of their prisoners, and adopted the others.

One Jackman, who acted as conductor of a barge, was given by the Hurons to the Poux, who accepted and kept him among them. The goods remained in the possession of the Hurons, and occupied them so much that they forgot the fort. Among the goods were liquors. The Huron women, fearing that liquor would cause their husbands to commit greater fooleries than those they had commenced, threw themselves on the barrels, burst them open, and spilt the contents, except a barrel of thirty-two quarts, which one Indian took from the women and concealed in the woods. It was divided

between them and the Poux. Very few of them however drank any, for fear it might contain poison. They had been told that the English wished to poison them.

14th May. Saturday, 14th, the Indians, who had undergone much fatigue in firing at the fort, slept, waiting for the time of recommencing hostilities, which was about ten in the morning. The commander ordered his people to improve the respite, by finishing the work which had been commenced on the preceding day. This was done by a sergeant, who went out at the head of twenty men (volunteers) and burnt two barns which had escaped fire the preceding day through the approach of the Indians. This done, the incendiaries came back, and the vicinity of the fort was free. They could then see every thing from the posts of enclosure to the top of the hillock. This was doing great injury to the Indians, who, perceiving this expedition, came to prevent it, thinking they would arrive soon enough. They were disappointed, and found nothing to shelter them from the fire except the hillock, behind which they placed themselves, and commenced the same game as on the preceding days. The English, who expected it, were not surprised to see the attack recommenced, as they were beginning to be accustomed to it. They however dreaded an assault, as in the night they had been advised by a Frenchman that the Indians were going to storm it; and the steps taken by the latter this day, more than the preceding, showed their intention to be such. The only resource of the English in such an emergency was to go into their barges, where their baggage had been ever since the first day, and then to sail for Niagara. This did not come to pass. They were assured that if the Indians did not storm the fort this day, they would never do it, as they knew well that in so doing they would lose some of their people, and this they dreaded too much.

Father Potier, a Jesuit missionary of the Hurons, who, in the quality and by the power that he had over them, had brought part of them, particularly the good band, within the bounds of tranquillity by refusing them the sacrament; and who, to finish bringing them all to order, needed aid, desired Mr. Laboise, an inhabitant of the fort, who had then been for some time at home, to cross the river, to go and entreat in his name the oldest and most sensible inhabitants, those whom he knew to be loved and respected by the Indians, to come and join him to stop the storm, which in threatening the English appeared to threaten the French. M. Laboise did as he was desired. The French, who knew and respected the Father Jesuit as a worthy ecclesiastic, and considered him as a saint upon earth, went willingly to his residence. They concerted together the means to be used to soften Pontiac, and the arguments to be used to induce him to discontinue this intestine war.

The French, after this deliberation, went, twelve in number, (the most respectable,) to Pontiac's camp, who was much surprised to see them, and asked them the cause of their visit. The deputies, seeing him so easy of access, flattered themselves with a good success, and told him they came for good affairs; whereupon, Pontiac took them to M. Baptiste Melochés' house, where they found Messrs. Campbell and M'Dougal, his

two prisoners. He called his chiefs to come and hear the good words of their brothers the French. When they had all arrived, the oldest of the French spoke in the name of all the settlers, and asked Pontiac what were his intentions in this war. He replied that his intention was to drive the English from the fort and from their lands, to make room for the French commander, who he had been told was to arrive soon.

The French told him, that since he so soon expected a French commander, he had better remain quiet on his mat, that it would be time enough to attack the fort on his arrival. In vain did they tell him that this war ruined them, and prevented their attending to their affairs, using the most touching Indian expressions to show him their distress. Pontiac persisting in the same sentiments, and moved by nothing, replied, that to be sooner free, they had better join him in driving away the English, and that afterwards they would return to their lands, waiting for the French who were coming. The French replied that this was impossible, as they had promised to be faithful to the English. Thus, nothing being gained on either side, the French were obliged to return to Father Potier, who made them an exhortation on their present calamity, desiring them to pray with fervor, that heaven might withdraw this war which injured them. This they promised, and each returned to his house, more fatigued with this useless step, than pleased with his enterprise.

15th May. Sunday, 15th May, the Indians, who had spent uselessly the three preceding days, resolved on remaining still, awaiting the reinforcement which they expected from the Saulteurs of Grand river, who, they said, would shortly arrive, hoping that with their help they would more easily achieve their foolish enterprise. The English, who had passed a very quiet night, and saw no movement on the part of the Indians in the morning, hoped that things, with regard to the Indians, would take a better aspect than it was at first anticipated. The commander, who, although somewhat uneasy, had never lost courage, ordered that during the inaction they should destroy M. La Butte's garden. This was executed by the officers at the head of forty volunteers; they destroyed the garden, of which the enclosure was made of cedar posts ten feet high. It contained a quantity of fruit-trees and the gardener's house, which the Indians had found of great service. The posts were torn up, the house burnt, and the trees cut down and thrown into the river. This was done in a very short time, and the men returned to the fort without molestation. The Indians, however, saw them, but, finding themselves that it was too late to prevent the destruction of their retreat, they remained quiet until one in the afternoon, when they fired a few shots at the little barge, but this was a mere waste of powder on their part.

The English, who hitherto had scarcely had time to breathe, seeing, that to all appearances they would not be harassed that day, caused some of their men to take repose until the evening. The others labored to render the two cannons of some use. They had until now been of no service for want of a place. The commander ordered that on each side of the large gate of the fort, which faced the highway on the south-

west side, should be made one port-hole to place the cannons, one of which was to sweep the highway, and the other to point towards the dwelling of M. Jacques St. Martin on *the same side.*

16th May. Monday, 16th May, the commander, who had learnt that the good band of Hurons had withdrawn from the *cabal,* by the mediation of Father Potier their missionary, and that, in order to have no more to do with it, they had gone into another district, resolved to give the wicked band room to repent their foolishness in sending the large barge to ravage their village with cannon, and burn it up if possible. They were also on the way to do the same with the Poux. Captain Hopkins had the command of this expedition; *Officer* Hay, ten soldiers, and one trader went on board the large barge. The wind, which had turned to the east, appeared to favor them in their expedition. They took up their anchor to go down to the right of the two villages, but had not gone one eighth of a league, when the wind turned to the south and increased. The wind was then almost in front of them, and they were obliged to tack about to arrive at their destination; this they did. Most of the inhabitants of the coasts, unacquainted with their manœuvre, were afraid, thinking the English were going to fire at them, and that the barge merely came down to ravage the coasts, and burn the houses, a thing which they could not do, having no forge on board. Some of the settlers, however, went and concealed their goods in ditches in the middle of their farms, and some in the woods. Other French inhabitants, who were acquainted with the movements of the barge, came and quieted them, showing them that their fears were groundless. An event which most tended to tranquillize them, was what happened to the barge, and which would have caused its entire destruction had any Indians been near. The wind, which went on increasing, was against the barge. The English, who wished by all means to go to the Indian villages, sailed against the wind from one coast to the other. As they wished to tack, there came a puff of wind which took the sails in every direction, and stranded the barge about twenty feet from the land, and a quarter of a league from the fort; the barge for about a quarter of an hour was nearly on its side; they were obliged, at all hazards, to go and cast anchor about sixty yards off the land, to free the barge; by dint of labor they succeeded, and returned dripping wet to the fort, very glad to have escaped the *claws* of the Indians; for certainly, in the situation in which the barge was placed, ten Indians would have *done their affairs* without their being able to defend themselves, and they would have paid dearly for their imprudence. Some Indians, it is true, saw them from a distance, and came to fall on them, but they were too late, and might have repeated the proverb, "While the dog is eating the wolf escapes." They were so vexed to have so favorable an opportunity, that they fired at the fort from two till six in the evening, without killing a fly. During that time, the French who had remained in the fort, were drawing water from the wells and carrying it into the vessels destined to receive it.

17th May. On Tuesday, May 17th, Pontiac, who in commencing this war had not taken care to collect provisions, was obliged to employ cunning to obtain some. He and four of his chiefs went to the inhabitants of the coasts to ask for provisions, which they were determined to obtain with or without their consent, threatening to kill the cattle. This they had indeed commenced doing, although many of the settlers fed even thirty of them, which did not prevent their doing damage. The settlers, who dreaded lest the Indians might turn against them, granted the demands of the chiefs, and every settler contributed in furnishing food to those Indians who dwelt on his side of the river; so that Pontiac and his people had their sustenance from the north coast. Ninivona and tribe had theirs from the southwest coast, and the Hurons from the east and south. About ten o'clock, when each nation was provided with food, the chiefs assembled in Pontiac's camp, and decided in a council among themselves, that no Frenchman residing out of the fort should go there, and that no inhabitant of it should go out. For, said they, those who reside within mention all that happens there, and those who reside outside mention all that takes place in the camp; and the effect of all that is bad. Their reasons were good enough, for in effect some of the French, under the pretext of restoring harmony between the parties, sowed dissension. They agreed to place at each end of the fort a guard of twenty from each nation. They were to prevent all intercourse, and fire on those who attempted to pass. This was said and done. Some of the French who tried to pass, very nearly, were the *dupes* of their attempt. In the course of the afternoon, a few shots were exchanged without injury.

18th May. On Wednesday, May 18th, the Indians being engaged with a design they had conceived a few days before, of sending to M. de Léon in Illinois, forgot the fort during the whole of this day. Pontiac assembled the chiefs and most respected of each nation to hold a council; he sent messengers to the oldest French to invite them to the council, where they admitted the two officers, their prisoners. All having arrived, Pontiac took a *war-wampum belt*, (?) and said, addressing himself to all, "You are acquainted with the reasons which make me act as I do; I have neglected no opportunity of showing my wishes; but, as I fear our Father may not arrive soon enough to take possession of the fort, when I have expelled or killed the English, and that the French having no commander, my brothers, the Indians, may insult them: I have determined, to obviate this difficulty, to send to Illinois messengers from our brothers, the French, and ourselves, to carry our wampum belts and our words to our Father, M. de Léon; to desire him to send us a French commander to guide us, and take the place from the English. You, my brothers, will please me by writing to your Father on the subject, joining your words to mine." He sent for a writer, in presence of his two prisoners, and desired him to write to M. de Léon the reasons of his actions, as I have mentioned them in the commencement of this writing. He joined to this a letter from the French, who earnestly beseeched M. de Leon,

considering the circumstances, to quiet the nations. All those writings being finished, Pontiac, who directed every thing, named the two Frenchmen and the two Indians whom he wished to carry the letters and words, desiring them to get ready to start the next morning; and that those of the French and Indians who wished to go might speak; that he would not prevent them, but would make the inhabitants give them all they needed for the journey.

19th May. On Monday the 19th, Pontiac, who thought that M. de Léon would, agreeably to his wishes, send a commander, hastened in the morning to provide for the wants of his messengers. He made them go on board a canoe, and told them to go and wait for him below the fort, at the mill; that he was going along the coast to get them provisions. He went from house to house, to ask of every one, according to his means, provisions and ammunition for his *couriers*, in order that they might quietly depart. The travellers, having received the necessary things, departed, about ten, for Illinois. The messengers being gone, Pontiac returned to his camp, and ordered his young people to go and amuse themselves by firing at the barges, merely to harass them, knowing very well they could not injure them. They continued this until five in the afternoon, when, weary of firing, they returned to the camp to repose, after the fatigue they had incurred so uselessly.

20th May. Friday, May the 20th, the commander, who intended to send one of the barges to Niagara, and who wished to hasten the arrival of the succor he had daily expected for a considerable time, ordered Mr. Legrand, who was appointed judge instead of Mr. St. Cosme, to desire the French who dwelt in the fort to pick up the stones which were in the streets, and carry them to the banks of the river, to serve as ballast for the barge which was to go. They changed places with the barges, and the soldiers took the stones to the smallest. This day passed without any hostility on either side.

21st May. Saturday, May 21st, at eleven A. M., the barge left its station opposite the fort, to go to the head of Lake Erie to discover if the reinforcement expected by the English was coming. The crew were ordered to remain stationary eight days, to favor the arrival of the reinforcement, and at the end of that time to proceed to Niagara. The Indians, either through laziness or contempt, neither fired at the fort nor at the barge. About five in the evening they knew in the fort of a Frenchman who had gone out of the fort, that Cekaas, great chief of the Saulteurs of Grand river had arrived, according to Pontiac's request, with one hundred and twenty men of his tribe.

22d May. Sunday, May 22d, it being Pentecost-day, a most impetuous wind and heavy rain obliged both parties to remain quiet.

23d. The weather in the morning (May 23d, Monday) somewhat resembling that of the day preceding, kept the Indians quiet. The commander, who mistrusted them, and foresaw they would not longer remain still, and who wished to use every means

of defence against any attempts which might be made, ordered that all the iron and steel which were in the warehouse should be converted into war-clubs, swords, lances, and hooks, to arm his soldiers and provide against an assault, in case the Indians should attempt to storm the fort. This was done by two French blacksmiths who were in the fort. About four in the afternoon it was reported in the fort that the Indians were going to set the fort on fire, the posts of the enclosure, and the houses inside; this was to be done with ignited arrows. This, however, they could not do, as luckily they had not the necessary things. But as a measure of precaution, and to prevent surprise, they put on the royal storehouse, and on the houses, ladders, at the foot of which were tubs full of water, to be used if wanted. The commander ordered the French inhabitants of the fort to watch during the whole night, and that three or four should collect in every house, that they might be ready at the first warning. About two in the afternoon the weather became fair. They expected then that the Indians would make some *incursion;* this however did not come to pass, and the remainder of the day elapsed as in the morning.

May 24th. Tuesday, May 24th, the Indians, who had been idle the day before, remained so this day until four, when shaking off their slothfulness, they recommenced firing at the fort, and did not stop until midnight. Their firing had no more effect than if they had remained quiet, having merely wasted powder and balls.

The commander, who foresaw that this *tragical scene* might not end very quickly, and that it might not be easy to obtain provisions from the outside, fearing also a scarcity of provisions before the return of the barge and the arrival of the convoy which he daily expected, ordered, that to obviate this, they should make a search in all the French houses, to take from them every superfluous article they might have, in order to *economise* them for the sustenance of his people. This was done by officer Hay, the commissioner of the victualling, and the judge, who went to every house collecting wheat, flour, peas, as also some maize belonging to the Indians, and of which the French had the care, and which they had neglected to take away before commencing their foolish undertaking. They also collected oil, tallow, and every article of food, making a list of all, stating every separate thing, and the names of the owners, to whom they gave bills. The Indian corn belonging to the Indians was alone confisoated. All the provisions were carried to the public storehouse, and were taken care of against the scarcity with which the English were threatened.

May 25th. Wednesday, May 25th, the Indians, who, during part of the preceding night, had fatigued themselves with using ammunition to no purpose, rested until five in the afternoon, when they recommenced as the day before. The chiefs and old men did not fire, but while the others were sleeping, walked about to examine every thing, that there might be no surprise. They were all the time mistrustful of the English.

The inhabitants of the coasts were divided by different sentiments. Some, the truly worthy people, penetrated with sentiments of humanity and religion, bewailed the

foolish enterprise of the Indians, and would willingly have given all their possessions to stop the nations, and restore peace. Others, governed by an ill-founded sentiment of antipathy, and over whom submission and respect had no power, would willingly have taken the part of the Indians, had they not been afraid of incurring general contempt. Some were undecided, not knowing what part to take. All were weary of the war and of the presence of the Indians, and had assembled several times at the houses of the oldest inhabitants to concert some plan of stopping the nations. They resolved to go to Pontiac's camp and ask him for a council, and to try to find out his views respecting the war. To effect this, fifteen of the most respected, being known and liked by the Indians, went to the camp and asked for a council. Pontiac, who had not been warned of this visit, was surprised, and began to suspect there was some hidden meaning in it which he could not find out. He however received them well, and asked what brought them, for his curiosity did not allow him to wait until they should mention it of their own accord. They all replied that they came to speak on business, and that they would be glad if all the chiefs could hear them. Pontiac, who longed to know what brought them, sent messengers to the Poux and the Hurons of the wicked band, who came in a short time. When all had arrived, the most respected of the French, taking Pontiac by his hand, said, addressing himself to all:

My brothers, you appear surprised to see us, but we only come here to renew the alliance formed between our ancestors and yours, which you now destroy in destroying us. When you commenced your attack upon the English, you gave us to understand that you would do us neither harm nor injury; it is true that you have not hurt our persons, but in killing our cattle do you not injure us? When you have killed them all, how can we plough our lands, to save them and make bread for you? Even *if killing* them you did not waste half of them, they would last you longer, and we should not lose so many. When you enter our houses, you do so with uplifted war-clubs, as if you wished to kill us while asking us for food. Did we ever refuse you food when you asked for it? You no longer speak as our brothers, but as our masters, but you treat us as slaves. How long have you known the Indians command the French? Is this the promise you gave your father Bellestre on his departure, that you would love and support the French? Avenge the insults you have received, we do not oppose this, but remember that you and we are brothers and children of your Great Father the King of France. You expect him, say you, when he comes and brings you necessaries as he used to do, and finds that you have killed us and taken all that we kept for him, what will he say to you? Do you think that he will make you presents to *cover* the evil you have done us? No! he will consider you as rebellious children, as traitors. And far from caressing you, he will wage war against you. Then shall you have two nations against you, the French and English. See then whether you wish to have two enemies, or live with us as brothers should live.

Pontiac, who had not lost one word of all this, spoke now in his turn in the name of

all the chiefs addressing the French: My brothers, it has never been our intention to do you either hurt or wrong, nor have we ever wished either to be done to you, but there are among my young people, as among yours, some who, notwithstanding all the care which may be taken, always commit some injury. Besides, it is not for mere revenge that I make war against the English. It is on your account, brothers, as well as ours. When the English, in the councils we have held with them, have insulted us, they have insulted you without your knowing it, and do I not know as well as my brothers, that the English have taken from you all means of revenge, in disarming you, and making you write on a paper which they sent into their country. This they could not make us do. Therefore do I wish to revenge you as well as ourselves, and I swear their death, as long as they remain on our lands. Besides, you do not know all the reasons I have for acting as I do. I have merely told you what regards you, you shall learn all with time. I know well, brothers, that many of you think me foolish, but the future will show what I am, and whether I am wrong.

I know also, brothers, that some of you take the part of the English, to make war against us. But I am only sorry on their account, and when our Great Father returns, I will name and point them out to him, then will they see which will be the most satisfied.

I know, my brothers, that you must be weary of the war, on account of the movements of my brothers, who are at all times going to and coming from your houses. I am sorry for it; but I do not believe, my brothers, that I am the cause of the injury which is done you, I am not. Only remember the war with the Fox Indians, and the manner I behaved towards you. It is now seventeen years since the Saulteurs and Ottawas of Michilimackinac, and all the nations of the north came with the Sac and Fox Indians to destroy you. Who defended you? Did I not? Did not my people? When Mekinak, great chief of all these nations, said in his council that he wished to carry to his village the head of your commander, eat his heart, and drink his blood, did I not take your part, by telling him in his own camp, that if he wished to kill the French, he must begin by killing me and my people? Did I not assist you in defeating them and driving them away? Could I now, my brothers, turn my arms against you? no, my brothers, I am the same French Pontiac, who, seventeen years ago, gave you his hand. I am French, and I will die a Frenchman. I repeat it, I avenge your interests in avenging mine. Let me go on; I do not ask you to join me, as I know that you cannot do so, I merely ask you provisions for myself and people. Should you, however, wish to aid me, I would not refuse your assistance, it would afford me pleasure, and you would sooner be free; because I promise you, that as soon as the English are killed or expelled, we will withdraw to our villages, according to our custom, and there await the arrival of our Great Father. These, my brothers, are my sentiments. Be easy, I shall watch and see that you receive no more injury from my people. I hope you will allow our wives to *sow wheat*, (plant corn,) on your

lands and on your clearings; we shall feel obliged to you for it. All the French replied that they were willing. The council being over, the French returned to their houses, pleased with their interview with Pontiac. In the same day, the squaws commenced to sow the wheat, (plant the corn,) and several of the settlers ploughed the land for them. Pontiac, in the afternoon, went and gave his orders throughout the coasts for the sustenance of all the Indians, and also to prevent their taking any thing by force from the French.

The commander, who, since the departure of the barge, had perceived that the Poux Indians, whose camp was to the south-west of the fort, came along the river sheltered by a rise of ground which runs parallel with it. There were in it two lime-kilns, in which the Indians hid themselves to fire upon the soldiers who were obliged to go to the river. He ordered, to prevent the Indians from harassing them on that side, that a platform should be made and placed on the bank, to guard and defend the border of the river, in order that free access might be had to it. To effect this, two carpenters and several persons acquainted with the use of the axe, commenced working at this *edifice* on the military square; and as there was in the fort no framing-timber fit for this work, the workmen took the causeway from the front of the houses, and used it for this building, which was ready to be raised about five in the evening. To carry it to its destination, it became necessary to take it out of the fort piece by piece. All the French who were in the fort, and some soldiers who were in the garrison, were ordered to do so, and all took out the wood by a port-hole on the side of the river. All the timber having been carried out, they put the work together and framed it; it was then to be raised, which could not be done easily on account of the weight. But, every one willing to be of service to the officers, they attempted to overcome this difficulty. The work being put together, they attempted to erect it, but it was in vain, for two reasons; first, there were not men enough; the second and strongest obstacle was, that the Indians, who were watching in a ditch at a distance of two hundred yards, had seen some English among the French, and who also foresaw that the building was going to be an obstacle *for* to them, made several discharges at them. This caused them to leave the work on the ground and to put off the raising until the next morning at day-break.

May 26th. Thursday, May 26th, at dawn, the French and some soldiers were ordered to raise the platform which they had been obliged to leave on account of the Indians. These being now asleep in their camp, gave time to raise it more early. This was done with all possible *vigilance*, and as they finished and were preparing to re-enter the fort, a Frenchman wished to take a walk towards the lime-kilns; he came very near being wounded by an Indian concealed in one of the kilns, who, as soon as he had fired, went and hid himself with some others who were further off in a ditch. The Frenchman, mistrusting that more of them were concealed, withdrew quickly and re-entered the fort with the others. During this time, a French inhabitant of the fort,

M. Labrosse, who, on the preceding day, with the commander's leave, had gone out on business, came back and brought news of the taking of Sandusky by the Indians, Hurons of the wicked band, who in fact had the day before passed on the other side of the river, in a canoe with a red flag on the stern. This had been noticed by several persons, who not being able to find out what it was, could only suspect that the Indians had made some new prize. This was verified by the report of that man, who said that he had seen the commander of the captured place; that the garrison had been slain, the fort burnt, and the baggage of the troops and goods of the traders plundered. The commander would believe nothing of it until he saw a letter from that officer, who was then a prisoner among the Ottawas, to whom the Hurons had brought him. This poor gentleman, on his arrival, was very ill treated by the Indians, who, on his landing, struck him with sticks, and made him sing until he arrived at their camp. He was immediately taken by a squaw who had lost her husband, and who, having pity on him, took him for her second husband, and thus he was saved.

Pontiac and the Ottawas, having learned from the Hurons that on their return the little barge was still at the mouth of the river, formed the design of taking it. They went accordingly early in the morning to the village of the Poux, to whom they communicated their project. The latter joined them joyfully as if they had already succeeded. The former had brought with them Mr. Campbell, and his interpreter, M. La Butte, hoping that the presence of that officer would cause the people to surrender into their power. They were greatly mistaken; the people of the barge would not listen to their proposals, and only replied with gun and cannon-shots. This made the Indians wait until night, thinking that they would then succeed better in the dark. But the crew of the barge, who became every day more and more acquainted with their manœuvres, thinking that during the night the Indians would make some new attempt to capture them, and knowing that their number was too small to resist a long time two hundred men, resolved to sail at large, thus to forestall the hopes of the Indians, and to save themselves and barge from the talons of the Indians. They raised their anchor during the night, and went into the lake towards Niagara, according to the orders they had received from the commander on their leaving the fort.

27th May. Friday, May 27th, the Indians, who had undergone much useless fatigue in their attempt to take the barge, having, fortunately for the crew and barge, failed, returned to the camp, with Mr. Campbell and the interpreter, and rested all the day.

28th May. Sunday, May 28th, the Indians remained inactive the whole day, as they were expecting news from the reinforcement which, according to the report of an Indian messenger who had arrived in the night, was to come during the day. This prevented their troubling the fort. But they broke the promise they had made to the French, and recommenced killing and taking away cattle. About five in the

afternoon, there were seen in the woods behind the fort a great number of Indians, who were returning from the lake, and going to the camp; they carried scalps. They uttered twenty death-cries, and then twenty cries of joy, to announce their having *struck* in some place. They were the remains of those who had taken Fort Sandusky. In the mean while there came a report into the fort, which stated that all the French who had been engaged by Indian traders to go to Michilimackinac had been killed by the Saulteurs and Ottawas who dwelt there. But this was afterwards found to be false.

The commander, seeing that the Indians were quiet, ordered Mr. Officer Hay to go out with twenty men, and destroy an intrenchment which the Indians had erected during the night, southwest of the fort, opposite the door, one hundred and twenty yards from it. The Poux and Hurons had come in the darkest part of the night, without making any noise, to M. St. Martin's enclosure, and had arranged some hewn timber (nearly twenty feet long) one piece upon another; they had made two rows of them breast-high, and had driven stakes on both sides, to keep them up; so that, being concealed behind the timber, they did not fear the shots of the cannon which were opposite. This having been seen in the morning by the sentinels, they immediately informed the commander of it. It was immediately destroyed by the twenty soldiers, who burnt the enclosure, and placed the timber against the fort; and the field remained clear, so that no one could approach the fort without being seen.

29th May. Sunday, May 29th, the weather was unsettled all the day, and this gave rest to both parties.

30th May. Monday, May 30th. — The officers had a seine, which had not been used since the commencement of the fatal scene. Several French young men asked the loan of it, saying they would bring them part of the fish which they caught. It was lent to them. Two soldiers, who knew how to manage it, were also sent. But they had no time to catch a single fish, nor even could they throw the seine into the river. The Indians, who were concealed in a ditch sixty rods from the fort, and who saw them without being seen, and who knew that the French did not use a seine for fishing, thought that the fish was to be partly for the officers, and fired several times at the barge and fishermen, who quickly went towards the shore, and re-entered the fort as they had left it. They brought back the seine, which has not been used since that time.

About nine in the morning, a soldier walking the rounds with the sentinel, in the bastion opposite the river, and talking with him, perceived, at Montreal point, on the side of the Huron village, some crafts, which appeared to be barges containing people. This soldier, who, as well as his comrades, knew that the convoy was hourly expected, and that it was to contain troops and provisions, ran quickly and mentioned the discovery to the officer on guard. The officer lost no time in acquainting the

commander with it. The latter, with his officers and soldiers, as also the traders, came upon the small bastion, to verify by themselves the report of the soldiers, and find out exactly what it might be. They saw, by means of a telescope, that it was indeed the long-expected convoy. This caused a great joy; all being in hopes that, on its arrival at the fort, it would intimidate the Indians. But this joy was short, and stifled at its birth by a number of death-cries, which were heard from the place where the barges were. This produced sadness, as they all thought that the Indians had discovered the barges, and taken them, after having killed the crew; and this proved to be the case.

The Hurons of the wicked band and the Poux, who had a few days before heard that the sergeant, who in the preceding April had gone to Niagara, was returning with provisions and troops for the fort, resolved to destroy all. To this effect, they went and concealed themselves on the lake-shore. The sergeant, who was unacquainted with what was taking place in the fort, and who did not mistrust the Indians, was sailing peaceably and fearlessly on the lake, until he came to the point, eighteen leagues from Detroit, where he encamped in the evening, according to the custom of voyagers, to cook his provisions for the next day. The Indians, who were concealed among the bushes and thick brush in the same place, suffered them to land and arrange their camp. They even left them unmolested during the night. The convoy, thinking themselves perfectly secure, merely placed a guard over the barges, for fear that the wind during the night might send them adrift; the remainder slept quietly.

The Indians, intending to fall on them, took no sleep that night, for fear that their prey might escape. At break of day, they attacked our travellers, without giving them time to awake, killed several, and made the others prisoners, except thirty-five men and an officer, who, almost naked, threw themselves into the barges, and crossed the lake at all hazards towards Sandusky, without knowing whither to go. The remainder of the barges, eighteen in number, with from twenty to thirty men, remained in the hands of the Indians, who took them and brought them to the river, to convey them to Pontiac's camp. They took them in a file, on the other side of the river. In the first were four English soldiers and three Indians, and in the same proportion in the other barges. The number was about even on both sides. Other Indians followed the barges by land, uttering death-cries, and cries of joy, from time to time. The four Englishmen who were in the first barge, finding themselves opposite the large barge which was before the fort to guard it, undertook, in spite of the Indians who were with them, to run away, without considering the risk they incurred; they hoped that the barge, seeing their danger, would favor them. It was so indeed. The English soldiers turned the barge towards the large one. The Indians, seeing the danger of losing their prisoners, fell on them to make them take another route; but the English pursued the same way, crying out to the barge, from

which there came a cannon-ball on the Indians who were on the shore, who were firing on the English in the barge; and another with grape-shot, on the back part of the bark, where the Indians were placed. These two shots had the desired effect. The ball put the Indians to flight on the shore, and the grape-shot caused those Indians in the barge to leave it and throw themselves into the water; one of the three, in leaping out of the barge, drew with him one of the soldiers, and both were drowned. The others went to the shore, and taking guns from the other Indians, fired on the run-away barge, and slightly wounded one of the soldiers in the right arm. The barge then fired two cannon-shots at the Indians, who disappeared from the shore, and the barge and three soldiers went to the shore with difficulty. They took with them several barrels of flour and five of pork.

The other Indians, who had remained behind and had seen that in spite of their friends, the first barge and soldiers had escaped, and fearing the others might escape in the same manner, took other means to reach the camp. Making the prisoners land, they bound them; and they were conducted in this state to the Ottawa village. They then took them in their canoes, which had been brought by their wives, to Pontiac's camp. On their arrival, and in pursuance with his orders, they butchered them in a most dreadful manner. The recital of it makes one shudder. As soon as the canoes had arrived opposite the camp, these barbarians caused them to land, one after another, and undressed them completely, and shot arrows into every part of their bodies. Sometimes these poor creatures wished to turn, or throw themselves on the ground, to avoid some arrows; the Indians, who were by their side, made them arise, striking them with sticks or with their fists. It was necessary to content these tigers, eager for human blood, that these poor patients should stand until they fell dead, after which those who had not shot fell on the dead bodies, and cut them in pieces, cooked them, and fed on them. On some others they exercised other cruelties, cutting them when alive with flints, and striking them with lances. They cut off their feet, and left them, bathed in their own blood, to die in suffering. Others were tied to stakes, and burnt by children, with a slow fire. No cruel invention of barbarity was left untried on those unfortunate men. To see this terrible spectacle, one would have thought that the furies were let loose on these poor people. Each one vied to make them suffer. To *crown their tyranny*, they left the dead bodies on the highway, without burying them. Others threw them into the river, which thus became the sad heir of their rage.

The squaws even assisted their husbands in feeding on the blood of these sad victims, and inflicted on them a thousand cruelties; some stabbing them with knives, as we do when we lard beef. Others cut from them that which forms man. I should never end, were I to describe minutely the cruel sacrifice and the sorrowful end of these unfortunate men. Some, however, were spared, being saved to serve as slaves

in the Indian camp. Thus they became spectators of the *tyrannical* end of their unfortunate fellow-citizens.

The Hurons, who had given up their prisoners to the Ottawas, had returned to those who took care of the barges. They took them to their village, with the sergeant whom they had kept, that they might treat him as the Ottawas had treated the others, and waited until dark to take the barges unto Pontiac, their head-chief, and to divide their prize with him and his band.

Their barges were laden with powder and bar-lead: this was a good thing for the Indians, who had nearly used all they had. They also contained flour and pork in barrels, each barge contained eight barrels of flour or pork. There were also liquors and refreshments for the officers of the fort. These liquors caused a great disorder in the Indian camp; they got intoxicated, and fought among themselves, reproaching one another. These reproaches caused, the next day, the death of two of their foolish young men.

The Indian squaws, who were acquainted with the customs of the Indians when inebriated, concealed all their offensive arms, for fear they might kill one another, and also fearing danger for their adopted prisoners, they placed them out of the sight of their husbands. The chiefs alone remained sober, and perceiving the disorder caused in their camp by liquor, they broke open the remainder of the barrels, and spilt the liquor, thus restoring harmony among them.

Pontiac, who did not lose sight of the two prisoners whom he made by his cunning, caused them to be taken to a distance, in the houses of the French settlers; that no harm might happen to them, he committed them to the charge of ten Indians of note.

May 31. Tuesday, May 31st; notwithstanding the precautions taken by Pontiac to prevent disorder among his people, some of them had filled kettles with brandy, and had gone into the woods to drink more at their ease during the night. Being tipsy, they began to quarrel with the young people, reproaching them with wanting the courage which ought to belong to a warrior. The latter, who were a little intoxicated, were so vexed, and their pride was so touched, that, to prove their courage, they imprudently came to seek their death at the foot of the fort, running as if they, (two in number,) wished to take it by storm. The sentinels placed above the northeast gate, seeing them coming at full speed, and mistrusting some bad design on their part, fired, and wounded them mortally, one received a ball through his head, it had entered by the right eye, and came out above the jaw; he had also small shots through his body. This caused him to fall on the spot. He was picked up by the soldiers of the garrison, and brought into the fort, where he was exposed to the sight of the public until he died of his wounds. He was then buried in a corner of the small bastion. The other Indian had two balls through his body, and went and died five *arpents* from the fort, where he was taken up by the other Indians, and buried near the camp. The Indians in

the camp being sick with the drink they had taken on the preceding day, rested all this day, and did not come and fire on the fort.

A Frenchman, who had remained in the fort to take care of a private house, and who did not like thus to be shut up, sought every means of going out, but did not know how to bring it about. As he knew that the commander was seeking for a trusty man to be sent to Niagara by land, to impart to the commander of that place what was taking place here, he resolved to appear to wish to serve the English in this, under pretence that he could speak a little English, hoping by this means to be able to go out. To effect this, he wished to employ the means of an English trader, to whom he mentioned all that the other French said amongst themselves. This trader having conversed with him several times, and seeing through him, knowing him for a knave, and a traitor to his country, would not present him to the commander. Lamare, (thus was the man called,) finding he could not succeed by means of this trader, resolved to employ the credit of a lady well-acquainted with the English commander. This lady, Mlle. des Rivières, proposed him to the commander, and praised his talents, saying he could speak English. The commander wished to see him, and without much examination, depending on the lady's recommendation, he was received for the message which the commander wished to send. He was provided with all that could be necessary for his journey, and his days were reckoned from that time at six livres each, to be paid on his return; and on the evening he received letters for Niagara, and was taken across the river by soldiers. This rascal, instead of taking his way for Niagara, as he had promised the officers, remained in the east coast during the whole day, divulging all that was taking place in the fort; he then went to the south coast, slandering the English, and telling all manner of nonsense about the French who were in the fort. Several persons, perceiving that he was a villain, threatened to take him and carry him to the fort, to have him punished. Fearing they would make their threats good, he went towards Illinois, and has not returned hereabouts since that time.

The commander having learnt from the same lady that the Frenchman had repeatedly offered himself, and had endeavored to gain access by means of the traders, reprimanded the trader for not having mentioned it to him. The latter excused himself on his not being acquainted with the man, and his not being willing to present him without knowing him well, trusty and faithful men being needed for similar errands. As soon as the commander had learnt the villany of the Frenchman, he praised the conduct of the trader, and blamed the indiscreet zeal of the lady, who was, if we may so speak, looked upon with contempt. This is the reward she received for her labor.

June 1st. Wednesday, June 1st, about two in the morning, two soldiers and a trader, who had been taken and adopted by the Indians, escaped from the camp and entered the fort. They learnt from them that Owasson, great chief of the Saulteurs of

Saginaw, had arrived on the preceding day with two hundred men of his band; and on his arrival at Pontiac's camp, they had decided in a council to harass the fort no more until the passages were barred, in order that the English might receive no more assistance; and to effect this, the Ottawas, Hurons, and Poux, were to start that day and go about the lake and take all the English they would find. What confirmed the report of the escaped prisoners was the sight of about three hundred men who passed through the woods behind the fort, and who went down to join the Hurons and Poux, whose camp was half a league below the fort. They wished to go all together and cruise on the lake. The chiefs of each nation remained in the camp to give orders to the young people who remained with them, and to guard the environs of the fort, for fear the English might go about the coasts, a thing that the latter did not wish to do, knowing well that it was no place for them.

The same day the judge and commissioners made their third visit in the French houses to obtain food to last until the arrival of the barge, which was shortly expected.

June 2d. Thursday, 2d of June, it being Trinity-day, a few shots were fired by the Indians who were guarding the neighborhood of the fort. But this was so trifling that the English did not return them, knowing well it would be using powder to no purpose. During the night, an English trader's assistant who was among the Ottawas, ran away quite naked, and came to the fort, bringing a letter sent by Mr. Campbell, a prisoner in the camp, to Mr. Gladwin. This letter had been found by the Hurons among the spoils of the conductors of the barges. These brought it to Pontiac, who desired Mr. Campbell to read it, and M. La Butte, his interpreter, to explain it. Mr. Campbell, to send this letter to Mr. Gladwin, assisted the prisoner in his escape. The letter was from an officer of Niagara to his friend, commander at Miami. He mentioned in it the conclusion of peace, with every circumstance. This caused in the evening a concert of instruments as a mark of joy for the good news.

June 3d. Friday, June 3d, the Indians were quiet all the day, with the exception of the guard around the fort, who behaved as usual. The judge was ordered by the commander to assemble all the French who were in the fort, that he might read the letter, which he had received on the day preceding by the prisoner. This letter had been translated into French by a trader who spoke French well. It stated that peace was concluded between England and France, and that by an agreement made between the two powers, Canada and Illinois remained in the power of the English.

June 4th. Saturday, June 4th. The Indians behaved on this day as they had done on the preceding day. About four there were heard death-cries from the Indians, who were returning from the lake by land on the other side of the river. They did not exactly know the meaning of those cries, but suspected that the Indians had made some prize on the lakes.

June 5th. Sunday, 5th of June, the Indians fired a few shots at the fort, to let the

besieged know they had not all gone to the lake, and that they had not given up their foolish enterprise. Their shots were so few that the English paid no attention to them.

About two in the afternoon, there were heard, as on the preceding day, death-cries on the other side of the river. These cries were uttered by Indians. Several persons went on the ramparts to find out what those cries meant. They saw a number of Indians on shore, some on foot, others on horseback, making saw-saw-quas and cries of joy. Other Indians were bringing two barges laden with merchandise, with traders that they had taken. They were going up the river on the other side. The crew of the barge, hoping to make them leave their prize, sent them several shots, but they were fired too high or too low. The Indians laughed at this, and continued their way to Pontiac's camp with their prizes.

June 6th. Monday, June 6th, the weather being gloomy, and even a little rainy, the Indians merely watched in the neighborhood of the fort, without firing a shot. Others went to the settlers to ask for provisions, which they gave willingly. This did not prevent the Indians doing them some damage all the time, killing sometimes their oxen, cows, hogs, destroying their wheat and coming through it, as they did not dare to walk on the highway on account of the large barge from which shots came whenever they were in sight.

June 7th. Tuesday, June 7th, the Indians, who had not fired for two or three days, becoming weary of not using gunpowder, came about ten in the morning to fire on the fort, and continued this until about seven in the evening; as they had neither barn nor any other building to conceal them, they fired from behind the hillock, and often from the wood, a distance of ten arpents from the fort; besides, this place was overlooked by the hillock, so that their shot passed above the fort. Other Indians were farther off, concealed by the enclosure of the farms, or in barns at a distance, often out of reach of the shots of the sentinels, as they were afraid of the cannons which were on the three principal sides of the fort. About seven they went away, as well satisfied as when they commenced.

June 8th. Wednesday, June 8th. The Indians came about eight in the morning; it appeared from their preparations that they intended to fire a long time, but a small rain made them change their minds, and obliged them to retire to their camp. The guard remained, according to their custom, to prevent any one going in, or coming from the fort. However, some one was always going or coming. Those being liked by the Indians were not mistrusted.

In the afternoon, the officers were told by an inhabitant of the fort, that the Indians intended to storm it the next night, as the weather was bad. The officers, who were getting acquainted with the ways of the Indians, answered that they were ready for them, thinking that the intended enterprise would end as had already been the case. But as prudence is the mother of safety, they were on their guard during the

whole night, with their soldiers, to avoid being surprised; but the night elapsed quietly. At sunset there were heard, in the direction of the Huron village, three death-cries, the meaning of which was unknown.

June 9th. Thursday, June 9th. Second Trinity-day, the Indians, who only acted by fits, were quiet all day. About three in the afternoon, the Indians uttered, on the other side of the river, thirteen death-cries; this excited the curiosity of many English and French people, who got upon the palisades of the fort to find out the meaning of those cries. They perceived a great number of Indians on foot and horseback, running and uttering cries of joy, and repeating their death-cries in firing on the large barge which was before the fort. Other Indians were on the water along the shore with three barges, and prisoners taken on the lake. As they were passing opposite the large barge, the latter sent them five cannon-shots, with ball and grape-shot. These wounded several of the Indians, without *being able* to prevent their pursuing their way. In the evening of the same day, they learnt from a Frenchman that the remainder of the band of Sekakos, chief of the Saulteurs of the river a la Tranche, arrived during the preceding night, forty-five in number. The number of the Indians, including this last band, was eight hundred and fifty in the camp and on the lake. They belonged to different nations, and were governed by different chiefs. Two hundred and fifty Ottawas, commanded by Pontiac; one hundred and fifty Poux by Minivoa; fifty Hurons by Takug; two hundred and fifty Saulteurs by Owasson; and one hundred and seventy other Saulteurs commanded by Sekos. All were under the authority of Pontiac, their great chief, and quite ready for mischief.

June 10th. Friday, June 10th. The Indians, who had remained in the camp, having heard on the preceding day from a Huron hunter just returned from the woods behind Little Sandusky lake, that the officer who had escaped with his thirty-five men was with them in Sandusky islands; Pontiac said they must be taken, to prevent their carrying the news to Niagara. He sent fifty men (these passed behind the fort,) to mention it to the three hundred who had been sent on the first day of this month. Fortunately, before their departure, the officer and party had left the islands, and taken his way to Niagara on the south side of the lake.

The Poux of St. Joseph had attacked the English and taken the fort, afterwards killed a part of the garrison, and made prisoners of the remainder. They gave the fort to the French who had settled there. They came with their prisoners, seven in number, to join the Poux at Detroit, and arrived at their village during the preceding night. Having heard that the English had two prisoners of their nation in the fort, they came about four in the afternoon, with one M. Gammelin, to treat with the commander of the fort, and exchange the commander of St. Joseph for the two Indians who were in the fort. This did not suit the commander, who wished the Poux to give them seven persons for the two Indians. They would not agree to this, and went away, putting off the conclusion of their exchange to the next day.

June 11th. Saturday, June 11th. As there still remained in the suburbs a house and workshop which the fire had not reached, on account of their being situated at a little distance from the other buildings; these places served as retreats for the Indians. An officer and twenty men were sent to burn them and clear the plain. As they returned from this expedition, the officer and his people emptied and freed the boats and barges which were ashore before the fort, and rendered them fit for service, as they might be needed in case the barge which had been sent to Niagara did not return, and the garrison were obliged to leave the fort. In such a case, these crafts and the large barge might have been used to transport them to Niagara. The Indians did not fire this day.

This day Mr. Laselle, junior, arrived from Montreal, with two canoes full of goods and liquors, which he took to Widow Gurvain's house, to conceal them from the Indians; but he was betrayed. The Poux came and asked him for some, threatening to plunder his goods, if he did not grant their demands. To get rid of them, he gave two barrels of wine. Pontiac, who learnt his arrival almost as soon as the Poux, and who heard that these had obtained liquor, fearing not to have his share, he and his chiefs crossed the river, went to Laselle, made him go with his liquor to M. Jacques Compan's, near the camp. His goods were taken safely to Mr. Labadie, uncle to Mr. Laselle. Pontiac, on making Mr. Laselle change his quarters, gave him to understand that in the vicinity of his camp he should not be troubled for drink, on the part of his people. However, to purchase quietness, he gave them five barrels, and the Indians did not trouble him.

The Poux, who on the preceding day had come to exchange prisoners, came this day about four, but to no purpose, as they could not bring the exchange to a conclusion.

June 12th. Sunday, June 12th. This day passed quietly on both sides. About ten in the forenoon, Mr. Lavallée arrived at Widow Gurvain's with canoes laden with wines and goods. He said that abundance reigned at Montreal, goods and provisions being very cheap. About three in the afternoon, the guardians of the barge brought on shore several of the bodies of those who had been massacred by the Indians on the preceding day. They were buried on the shore opposite the fort.

June 13th. Monday, June 13th. The weather being rainy, nothing was done on either side.

June 14th. Tuesday, June 14th. This day resembled the preceding, until four in the afternoon, when the Indians fired a few shots, which were not noticed by the English. On this day the Indians went to Mr. Lavallée's to obtain drink, which he refused to give. The Indians, enraged against him, plundered his liquors, goods, and even his provisions, which he had brought for his return, thinking he could purchase them at a cheaper rate in Montreal than here.

June 15th. Wednesday, June 15th. The Indians, who are generally careless of

things when they obtain them without trouble, having consumed all the provisions they had taken in the barges of the convoy they had defeated, were obliged to have recourse to the settlers until they could obtain more provisions. Besides receiving food from the settlers, they killed their cattle. About ten in the forenoon, the Poux came for the third time to exchange prisoners, and offered the commander of St. Joseph for one of the Indian prisoners who were in the fort. They were deceived in their exchange; they wanted one called Large Ears, who was much respected among them; but they received, instead of him, one No-kan-ong, who passed among them for a great rogue. But No-kan-ong was the cause of this trick: he sent word to the commander not to give the Poux the one they wanted, but to give him in place of the other; because the Poux did not care for him, and as the other enjoyed much consideration among the tribes, by keeping him, they would obtain from the Poux in exchange all the other prisoners. Although the advice came from an Indian, it was followed, and Nokanong was given in exchange, and Large Ears kept, that other prisoners might be obtained for him. The Poux went away displeased and disappointed.

June 16th. Thursday, June 16th. The Indians were very quiet all this day. It is usual, in places besieged and blockaded, to observe silence, and not on any account to ring the bells of the churches, in order that the enemy might not know the time that people go to church. The bell of the French church of the place had not been rung since the commencement of the siege. The commander, having inquired of the curate why the bell was not rung, permitted it to be rung; and it commenced its function by ringing the Angelus.

About three in the afternoon, the chiefs of the good band of Hurons, who, since Father Potier, in order to stop them, had denied the sacraments, had not annoyed the English, came and asked for an interview. They entered the fort, and asked the commander for peace, making many excuses about what they had done. The commander heard them, and gave them a flag, which they accepted as a sign of union. They then went home.

June 17th. Friday, June 17th. Nothing was done on either side, although in the council, which had taken place on the seventeenth day of the preceding month, it had been decided to suffer no communication between the inhabitants of the fort. Some, however, were favored and allowed egress and ingress when they wished to attend to their affairs. Through one of the persons, the commander learnt that the barge was in the lake, at the mouth of the river, having been seen by one Repus, while he was hunting in that neighborhood. The commander, on the departure of the barge, had told the one who had charge of it, that as soon as its approach was known to the fort several cannon-shots should be fired, that the crew might know that the English were still possessed of the fort. The signal was therefore ordered to be fired, consisting of two cannon-shots at sunset, that

the barge might know the way was clear, and the commander master of the fort and its neighborhood.

June 18th. Saturday, June 18th, a resident of the east coast opposite the fort, crossed the river about two in the morning, to give the commander positive information about the barge. Whereupon, the commander ordered that the cannon placed upon the side of the southeast gate should be fired twice, at intervals; this was done about five in the morning. On the same day, Father du Jonais, a Jesuit missionary of the Ottawas of Michilimackinac, arrived with seven Indians of that tribe, and eight Saulteurs from the same place, commanded by one Kinochamek, son of the principal chief of those tribes. They brought the news of the defeat of the English of that post by the Saulteurs, on the 2d day of this month. The Father Jesuit went and took his abode with his brother, the missionary of the Hurons.

June 19th. Sunday, June 19th, the fort was not attacked. The arrival of the son of the great chief caused a truce between the English and Indians. He pitched his tent half a league above Pontiac's camp, in a meadow one league above the fort. The Detroit Indians went to him to greet him on the part of their chiefs; they met with a cold reception, and were told that about noon he and his people would go to Pontiac and hold a council. Upon this, Pontiac ordered the Indians of every tribe to remain on their mats all the day, to listen to the words sent by the chief of the Saulteurs through his son. While the Indians were preparing for the council, there came to the village of the Hurons, about ten, two canoes containing some of the Shawanous Indians and some Loups (Lenape Indians[1]) from Belle Riviere,[2] who came to see what was going on. On their arrival they learnt that Nouchkamek was come, and also the place of his camp. They did not land, but went to him to hold a council on the present occurrences. Two or three French settlers were called to give information on all that had taken place since the first attack of the fort by the Indians, as also on all that Pontiac had done. After this they were sent home. About two P. M., Kenonchamek, followed by his people, by the Shawanous and Lenapes, came to Pontiac's camp to hold a council according to the message he had sent. On his arrival at the camp, all the chiefs assembled, and formed according to the custom a circle, observing silence. When every one was seated, Kenouchamek arose, and thus began in the name of his father, addressing his speech to Pontiac:

"While at home, brothers, we were told that you made war in a manner very different from ours. We also undertook to expel the English from our lands, and we accomplished our enterprise, but without drinking their blood. Instead of taking them as you do, we seized them while they were playing at ball, and knew nothing of our designs. Our brothers the French even knew nothing of them. The English, on our

[1] Henry R. Schoolcraft's Algic Researches.

[2] The French explorers called the Ohio La Belle Riviere.

attacking them, surrendered themselves prisoners, and were by us sent to their father at Montreal, without our injuring them. The soldiers wished to defend their chiefs: we slew them, but only during the action. No injury was done by us to the French as by you; on the contrary, we entrusted them with our prizes. But you! You have made prisoners on the lake and river; and when they were brought to your camp, you murdered them, drank their blood, and ate their flesh. Is the flesh of men fit for food? You should eat only the flesh of deer, and other animals placed on the earth by the master of life. Besides, while you were waging war against the English, you were injuring the French by killing their cattle and eating their provisions; and when they refused to supply you, you ordered your people to plunder their property. Our conduct has been very different; we did not depend on the French for our provisions. We took care when we formed the design of expelling the English, to collect provisions for ourselves, our wives and children. You should have done the same. You should not have exposed yourself as you have to the reproaches of our great father the king of France, when he comes. You expect him, say you; so do we. He will be pleased with us, but not with you."

Pontiac, at this discourse, was like a child surprised in a fault, who, having no excuse to give, knows not what to say. When Kinouchamek had finished speaking, the chief of the Chats (Shawnees) commenced thus in the name of his tribe and Lenapes:

"Brothers, we also expelled the English, because we were ordered to do so by the master of life, through our brother the Lenape. But the master of life forbade our injuring the French, which you have done. Is that done in accordance with the message and wampum-belts we have sent you. Inquire of our brothers the Lenapes about the message which they received from the master of life. It is very well to slay during the combat, but not when it is over, and you have made prisoners. You should not eat the flesh of men. You should not drink their blood. As you are French like ourselves, inquire of our brothers the French if, after they have been to war, made prisoners, and brought them home, they kill them? They do not. They keep them, and give them in exchange for their people, taken prisoners by their enemies. We see your motives for acting in this manner towards our brothers the French. You did not commence this war in the right way, and are vexed not to have the English garrison in your power, and wish our brothers the French to feel your anger. We intended to come and assist you, but we will not do it, for you will accuse us with all the wrongs done by you and your people to our brothers the French, and we do not wish for any difficulties with our Great Father."

During this council, and for some time after it, not a word was uttered by Pontiac, who was conscious of being in the wrong; so that Kenouchamek, the Chats, and Lenapes went away without being answered. They returned to their camp to take repose.

About three in the afternoon, news was brought of the defeat of the English at Misamies (Miami) and Vouilla ( ) by the Indians of those places.

About seven in the evening, they heard that a large party of * * * * * * * gone down to Turkey Island, opposite the place where the barge had anchored. The crew, seeing many people in the island, fearing lest some attempt might be made to take it, raised the anchor, and withdrew to * * * * *, to wait for a favorable wind to ascend the river without risk.

June 20th. Monday, June 20th. About ten in the morning, the Indians came and fired several shots at the fort, on the northeast side. After this, the officers perceived the Indians coming fearlessly along the highway. To stop this boldness, they made a port-hole on that side, that a cannon might fire towards the place where the suburb was, and thus stop the Indians. About four, news was brought in the fort that the fort of the Presque Isle (Peninsula) and riviere aux Bœufs (formerly built by the French and since three years in the possession of the English) had been taken by the Indians.

Marginal note. — Departure of Father du Jonais; council between him and Pontiac *for the liberty* of the English.

June 21st. Tuesday, June 21st. Daybreak, a great movement was observed on the part of the Indians, who passed back and forth behind the fort, uttering cries, as if they were going about some enterprise. This caused the English to examine them, and keep on their guard during the whole day. They tried to find out the reason of all this. They learnt it during the following night from Mr. Baby, who came about two in the morning, and told the commander that several of the inhabitants of the south coast, on the banks of the river, had mentioned to him their having seen the barge, which appeared well-laden and full of people. Of this the Indians had received the earliest and fullest information, which had caused their motions. Upon this recital of Mr. Baby, the commander again ordered that two shots should be fired towards the southwest, as a signal for the barge.

Marginal note. — *Answer to the preceding council.*

June 22d. Wednesday, June 22d. The Indians, who, as I have mentioned it above, had heard of the approach of the barge, did not come near the fort. The garrison improved this time in destroying the enclosures and cutting down the fruit-trees, and removing from the neighborhood of the fort every thing that might serve to shelter even one single Indian. In the course of the day, the capture of the Presque Isle was confirmed, as the Indians were seen returning from this expedition. They were very numerous, and brought by land their prisoners, in the number of which were the commander of that fort and a woman: these two were given to the Hurons.

About three, the commander was apprised of the cargo of the barge, and the number of people it contained. At four, the commissary and judge made their fourth visit to the houses to obtain provisions.

Marginal note. — Departure of Kenouchamek for Michilimackinac.

June 23d. Thursday, June 23d. The Indians did not come to fire at the fort, being engaged in their project of taking the barge, which was at the head of the lake. A great number of them passed behind the fort very early in the morning. They went to join those who had left two days before. They all took a station on Turkey Island, which forms a little strait, the river being very narrow at that place. The Indians in the island made an intrenchment with trunks of trees which they cut down and laid on the bank, towards the place where the barge was to pass. They also built a bank with earth and bush; so that, if they were discovered, they might have nothing to fear from the cannon-shot. Thus sheltered, they watched the passing of the barge. About six in the morning, the wind appearing favorable to go up the river, the crew of the barge wished to improve it, and raised the anchor. When opposite the island, the wind having gone down, they were obliged to cast anchor, as they knew nothing of the trap laid for them. The Indians deferred their attack until night. The crew, however, who knew well that they could not arrive at the fort without being attacked, kept a good watch, determined to sell their lives dearly. The Indians in their intrenchments, who, since the time the barge had anchored opposite them, had not stopt examining it, perceiving only twelve or fifteen men, thought they might attack it without risk. It contained, however, seventy-two men; the commander having during the day concealed sixty of them in the hold, thinking that the Indians, who were always wandering about those parts, seeing only twelve men, would attempt to capture the barge: this proved to be the case. Between eight and nine in the evening, the Indians entered their canoes, to surround the barge and take it *by storm*. A sentinel, watching on the quarter-deck, perceived them at a distance, rowing slowly, for fear of being heard. He gave notice of it to the captain of the barge, who brought, without noise, all his people on deck, and placed them around behind the gunwale with arms in their hands; the cannons were loaded in silence; they were told to await the signal, which was to be a stroke with the hammer on the * * *. They suffered the canoes to come within gun-shot. The Indians, pleased with the silence which reigned in the barge, believed it contained only twelve men; but they were soon undeceived; for, when they were within gun-shot, the signal was made, and the discharge of the cannon and musketry took place in such good order, that the Indians were glad to return to their intrenchments: they went back more quickly than they had come. They had fifteen men killed, and the same number wounded. They did not again attempt to approach the barge, but fired at it during the whole night, and wounded two of the crew. There being no wind, the next day the barge returned to the lake, to await a better wind.

June 24th. Friday, June 24th, the fort was pretty quiet the whole day. The Indians were engaged in their design of taking the barge, and forgot the fort for some time. There remained but a few loiterers, two of whom came near enough to be seen.

Twenty men and one officer were sent out to take them. The Indians seeing them, and thinking they were *sent for*, fired their guns and ran away, and the English came back without effecting any thing.

June 25th. Saturday, June 25th, the weather was unsettled, and nothing was done on either side.

June 26th. Sunday, June 26th, several soldiers who had, as was the custom, been watching on the bastion during the night, mentioned to the commander that they had seen two Indians enter a house *near* the fort at a distance of eight arpents. Whereupon, at four in the morning, the commander ordered Captain Hopkins and twenty-four men of his company to invest that house and take them prisoners. When the soldiers arrived at the house, they only found the person who had charge of it. They searched the house, thinking that the Indians might be concealed. They only found two sows with young. They took them and brought them to the fort. This prize was better than the one they hoped to seize. The same day, about ten, a Mr. * * * * *, servants who had tied their master's horses one arpent from the fort, were seen at a distance by two Indians. These came stealthily through the grass, which was very tall, cut the cords, and took away the two horses, which belonged to two officers.

June 27th. Monday, June 27th, the Indians, according to their custom, wandered around the fort during the whole day, but without firing. Mr. Gammulin, who, since Mr. Campbell and M'Dougall were prisoners in Pontiac's camp, had paid them a visit every other day, and sometimes every day, returned this day about three, and brought to the commander a letter which Pontiac had dictated, and Mr. Campbell had written. This letter required the commander and his people to leave the fort immediately, as Pontiac expected, within ten days, Kenouchamek, high chief of the Saulteurs, with eight hundred of his tribe, for whom he could not be answerable. That on their arrival they would take the fort by storm. The commander replied that he was ready for them and for *Kin*, and that he cared not for them. This answer did not please Pontiac nor his Indians, but this gave no concern to the English.

About eight in the evening they learnt indirectly that the barge had raised the anchor and was ascending the river.

June 28th. Tuesday, June 28th, the party of Indians who had gone down the river to take the barge, having fortunately failed in their enterprise, came back, and as they passed the fort, fired a salute, which hurt nobody. The Hurons arrived at their village. About four in the afternoon, news was brought that the barge had weighed anchor; this was the case. The wind having turned to the S. W., they improved the opportunity, and came as far as the river Rouge, one league below the fort. The wind then failing, they cast anchor a little below. The barge was seen from the fort. About seven, two cannon-shots were fired from the fort, but the barge did not reply. This gave room to think that the Indians had taken it in a second

attempt. This was said openly in the fort by the judge. The officers nevertheless performed a concert of instruments facing the place where it was anchored.

June 29th. Wednesday, June 29th, it being St. Peter's-day, the Indians did not fire at the fort; part of them were sleeping. Others went to the houses of the settlers to make up for their useless trouble. At * * * * in the afternoon they heard behind the fort about twenty death-cries; these came from the Indians who were returning from the capture of the fort of Presque Isle. During the whole of this day the barge kept its station, there being no wind.

June 30th. Thursday, June 30th. The Indians were quiet all this day, expecting, as they said, a reinforcement. About six in the morning they were heard uttering their death-cries and several cries of joy; but the meaning of those cries was unknown. The wind arising from the S. W., the crew of the barge weighed anchor to improve it. Passing before the Huron village, they saw the Indians with their arms crossed upon their breasts, wrapped in their blankets, at the doors of their cabins. The barge sent them a few grape-shot and balls; these wounded a few of them, and made them enter their cabins. Some of them took their guns and fired at the barge until it arrived before the fort, which it reached without accident at four P. M. The barge contained the thirty-five men and the officer who fled towards Sandusky, as I said above. This officer landed and brought letters to the commander. These letters mentioned the conclusion of peace. Canada was to belong to the English. All the expenses incurred in Canada since the commencement of the war, were to be paid by his Britannic Majesty.

July 1st. Friday, July 1st. The Indians, who continued wandering in the vicinity of the fort and settlement, having frightened the cattle, one herd came to the fort; it consisted of three oxen, three cows, and two calves, and belonged to Mr. Curllerier. Mr. St. Martin, the interpreter of the Hurons, who, since the commencement * * * * had abandoned his house, which was built at a distance of six arpents from the fort, in a southwesterly direction, because the Indians concealed themselves behind it to ca * * * * caused the English to fire on it, and he did not feel secure on the part of the English or Indians; he had gone to Father Potier's, there to remain until the end of the war; but having had, on the preceding day, a conversation with a Huron, on whom he could depend, he learnt from him that the Indians wished the French to take arms against the English, and having not wished to do so, came and asked leave to withdraw into the fort; his request was granted. He came with his mother, his mother-in-law, and all his * * * * he remained one day with Mr. La Butte, and went afterwards to Mr. Bellastres.

July 2d. Saturday, July 2d. Mr. M'Dougal, who had left the fort in company with Mr. Campbell, and who had been detained prisoner, escaped with three other English prisoners. They entered the fort about three in the morning. As they were on the point of leaving, they made their endeavors to bring Mr. Campbell with them,

but in vain. He wished much to follow them, but being very short-sighted, he feared that in attempting to escape he might fall in with another party of Indians, and come to an untimely end, and he had no wish to die before his time.

At five in the morning, an officer and twenty soldiers went out to destroy the inclosure of Mr. St. Martin's farm, and also to cut down the wheat which concealed the Indians. These latter, seeing that their hiding places were being destroyed, came in a determinate manner to attack the English, who re-entered the fort more quickly than they had left it. The Indians fired at the fort during the whole day, without causing any injury. The garrison kept good watch during the whole day, and placed four sentinels on platforms outside the fort, on the brow of the hill behind it. Since this time, four sentinels were placed on the platform day and night. The garrison and new-comers unloaded the barge, and conveyed the cargo to the storehouse.

About seven, P. M., it was reported in the fort, that the Indians had called on all the settlers, and brought to their camp all the old men and heads of families, to be present at a council they were to hold, in order to oblige the French to take arms against the English. They learnt during the night, that the Indians, when the council mentioned above was over, had sent the heads of families and old men uninjured.

* * * * vexed at the fortunate arrival of the barge, and that in spite of his precautions and those of his people, the provisions and ammunition had reached the English, resolved to cause the settlers to take up arms, and to accomplish this he invited the old men and heads of families to come to the camp on business which concerned them. When they had all arrived, Pontiac began to speak, according to custom, addressing himself to all the French and * * * * a war-belt in the middle of the council. Brothers, said he, I am growing weary of seeing the vermin on our lands: such I suppose is also the case with you. I think you wish for their expulsion as much as I do. We ought to try to remove these troublesome people. I have already told you, and I repeat that I commenced this war on your account as much as on ours, and that I knew what I was doing * * * * I know, I say, what I am about, and during the present year, however numerous they may be, they shall be expelled Canada. The master of life commands it, and we must do his bidding. Should you, who know him better than we do, try to appease his will? Hitherto I have said nothing, hoping you would offer no interruption to our designs. I have not asked you to join, because I did not know you would assist them against us. You will probably say that you are not on their side. That I know, but are you doing nothing against us when you tell them all that we do, and all that we say? * * * * now you have a choice to make; you must be French, as we are, or English like them. If you are French, accept this belt for yourselves or your young people, that they may join us. If you are English, we declare war against you. This would be a sad alternative for us, you being, as well as we, the children of our Great Father. It would grieve us to

wage war against our brothers on account of such dogs. It would give us great concern to fall on you, as we are all French. If we should do it, we should no longer be so. The interests we defend are those of our fathers, yours and our own. Give us an answer, brothers, we listen to you; look at this belt, which is intended for you or your young people.

One of the most respected among the French, who had mistrusted Pontiac's design, and had taken with him in the council the copy of the capitulation of Montreal and Detroit, arose, and thus spake in the name of all the others, holding in his hand that copy, and addressing the Indians:—My brothers, your wishes are known to us; when you declared war against the English, we foresaw that you would desire us to join with you against them. We do not for one moment hesitate in following you, but you must in the first place loosen the bonds which our father and the father of the English have placed upon our arms. These bonds prevent our taking your belt. Do you think, brothers, that we do not grieve in seeing you take our interests, without being able to assist you? Our grief is great. Do you not recollect that which we told you in our last council held on this subject? The king of France, in giving the lands to the king of England, forbade our fighting against his children, and ordered us to consider them as our brothers, and the king of England as our father. You may think that we say this through ill-will; not so. Our common father has acquainted us with his will, by sending us this his writing. He commands us to remain on our mats until his arrival, because he wishes himself to unbind us. Without considering all this, you say that if we do not take your belt, you will make war against us. Our father has forbidden our fighting, when our brothers * * * * war. Although you call us English, we shall not fight against you; but French as we are * * * * always been. We feel surprised, brothers, you have * * * * when our father left the place, what did you promise him? * * * * us our wives and children, and that you would attend to our welfare. What injury have we done you? Is it on account of * * * * Did you not promise our father that you would wait for him? Have you done so? You say you are fighting for him; wait for him as * * * * and when he comes, he will unbind us; we will join you, and all will do his will. Reply in your turn, my brothers.

Pontiac, who was impelled by a band of French volunteers, who, having no fixed place of residence, had raised the mask and cared for nothing, replied they should do as he did, and if the old men did not, the young people should.

The French then, closely pressed by Pontiac, asked for one day's delay, at the end of which they would all come and give him an answer. One of the chiefs of the volunteers, thinking himself perfectly secure if he joined Pontiac, rose from his seat, and taking up the belt, said, in addressing the Indians: Brothers, I and my young people have broken our bonds and accept your belt. We are ready to follow you. We will go and seek our young people to join us. We shall find some. We shall soon be in possession of the fort and all it contains. Such a mean speech, made by people

who were void of courage and honor, vexed all the old men who had been called to the council. After having asked one day to consider on the matter, they asked Pontiac's leave to withdraw. Having shaken hands with all the chiefs, each Frenchman went home, displeased with having been witness to such a mean action, which could not fail sooner or later to bring blame on all the French. Those who had accepted the belt remained in the camp, well aware that after the conduct of which they had been guilty, no one would receive them. This council commenced at * * * * and ended at eight; so that the day being too far gone to * * * * other Indians.

July 3d. * * * * July 3d. The Indians employed all this day in a feast * * * * to treat their new warriors. The commander, who had learned in the morning what had taken place on the preceding day, ordered the judge to demand the axes and picks of all the French who were in the fort, and to * * * * those who had arms, and those who had none * * * * of all to serve in case of need. About two in the * * * * twenty men of the garrison to take down a fence * * * * a fruit-garden. The trees were cut down, and the posts of the fence taken up and burnt with the trees, and they cleared the ground, * * * * belonged to Mr. Cæsar Bourgeois of the fort. * * * * day. The judge was ordered by the commander to assemble all the French who were in the fort before the door of the church, to read to them an account of the conclusion of peace. This being done, an instrumental concert took place, and lasted one hour.

An inhabitant of the fort, who unfortunately had a son in the number of the *cabalists*, having by his remonstrances convinced his son of his fault, and that of his friends, the son left the troop and took with him the belt which he gave to his father, that he might return it to Pontiac. The father went early in the morning to Pontiac, who had a great regard for him, and thus addressed him. You are a chief, and I have hitherto known you as a sensible man; you appear no longer so, when you believe these young people; in a short time, instead of assisting you they will betray you, and will perhaps give you up to the English. You, who command so many men, suffer yourself to be commanded by people who have no sense, and who, instead of assisting you in taking the fort, will be the first to run away * * * * you * * * * who have always despised a man who placed himself * * * * saying that he was a bad fellow; and now * * * * have you lost your wits? Why place * * * * like you, young people who have no sense * * * * and come and cry to get off from what they have promised * * * * subject with you because perhaps they will kill you * * * * are men, and that you need not lose * * * * make use of these young people. What obligations will be due to you * * * * come when he knows that you have compelled the * * * * to take arms * * * * will say to you. You have not driven away the English, the French *done* that but you have merely * * * * take no notice of you, thus, Pontiac believe me, take back your belt, sent by my son, and think well of what I have told you.

Pontiac, who, though an Indian, did not lack wit * * * * as well as his Ottawas

* * * * attentively what the Frenchman had told him, * * * * are right, my brother. I thank you for your advice; and taking the belt, they parted, one to go to the camp, and the other to return home * * * * to trouble the French no longer about taking up arms. The Saulteurs, Poux, and the wicked band of Hurons, threatened, however, several times the French with war, as I shall mention hereafter.

The Hurons of the wicked band, who were never of any service to the French or English, knowing that Pontiac, contenting himself with the volunteers, had determined not to trouble the French any more about joining him, went with the Poux and Saulteurs to endeavor to oblige the French to join with them, threatening them with war, and taking away their young people in spite of their parents. This caused a great commotion among the French, as they wished to remain neutral. But fearing lest the Indians might effect their threats, they took arms among themselves, to guard the roads for fear of a surprise. Those Indians, seeing the French on the watch, did not dare attack them, but revenged themselves on the stray cattle. Mr. Peter Béaume, whose farm is opposite the fort, across the river, fearing that the storm might fall upon him, came and asked leave to withdraw into the fort, which was granted.

* * * * Béaume, who, during the preceding night, had obtained leave to come to the fort with all his family, crossed the river at dawn * * * * furniture, luggage, and animals, and took up his quarters in a house of Mr. Dequindre's, which was then vacant. The commander * * * * the Indians with some volunteers had opened * * * * night, behind Mr. Baby's house, at a distance of * * * * arpents from the fort, in a north westerly direction; on this report the commander * * * * to fill the nocturnal work of the Indians * * * *. Mr. Hay, an officer in the royal American troops, went out * * * * ty men to go and reconnoitre * * * * the commander's orders. The party who were not * * * * the Indians were concealed, advanced speedily * * * * they had just come to the place * * * * discovered and attacked them without wounding them * * * * face animated his people by his example * * * * to the enemy, and fell on them with his people. The fire * * * * victory balanced. The commander, hearing the report of muskets upon the rampart * * * * the action, and fearing the approach of a larger number of Indians * * * * friends and consequently his party would be too * * * * hold sent immediately relief to Mr. Hay. Mr. Hopkins, at the head of forty soldiers, and some Frenchmen of the fort, went at full speed. The Indians held * * * * first because they were intrenched; but when the succor arrived, they found themselves too few. The volunteers were the first to decamp. The Indians contended some time with the English for the possession of the place. Mr. Hopkins, seeing the obstinacy of the Indians, made a circuit to take the Indians in flank, while his friends attacked them in front. This manœuvre succeeded. The Indians abandoned their retreat. The English pursued

them, and killed two of their number; one of them was scalped by an English soldier who had been a prisoner among the Indians. One soldier was slightly wounded in the head by the blow from the butt-end of a gun, which he had received from one of the Indians who was afterwards killed; as this soldier had killed him, he took all his silver ornaments to pay himself for his wound. After the Indians were put to flight, their trench was filled up, and all the neighboring fences burned. The expedition being over, the troops re-entered the fort with the French. The commander called these on the military square to thank them for having assisted his soldiers, inquired if all the French were provided with arms, and ordered some to be given to those who had none; he also ordered those which had arms that wanted repairing, to carry them to the royal stores, to have them repaired at the king's expense, and that he wished to give them the choice of going out as volunteers, when they thought proper, or to select an officer to command them in case of need. The French chose Mr. Sterling for their commander, and altogether went with an officer * * * * the judge who told him of the choice which the militia had made of him for their commander, and at the same time * * * * captain of the militia. That worthy man thanked * * * * their choice, and told them that he hoped when opportunity * * * * room to be displeased with their choice. Every one * * * * pleased and determined to do his duty * * * * under such a chief.

About four in the afternoon, an officer who had * * * * from Sandusky, and taken prisoner by the Indians * * * * ran away as fast as he could, from a French house in which his wife * * * * placed him to conceal him. They were told by him, that the Indian who had been killed and scalped was a chief of the Saulteurs and nephew of * * * * chief of the Saulteurs of Saginaw, and that this Owassa (?) having learnt that his nephew was slain, went * * * * whom he abused and asked him for Mr. Campbell. You like those bad people so well, said he, that you take care of them: I will have him now, give him to me. Pontiac suffered Owassa to take Mr. Campbell to his camp, where he was stripped by his young people, and then killed with war-clubs. When he was killed, they threw him into the river, and the body floated as far * * * * where the French had brought him when he left the fort, before Mr. Cuillerie's house, where he was buried.

About six in the evening, powder and balls were given, by Mr. Sterling, to the French militia.

July 5th. Tuesday, July 5th. The Indians did not trouble the fort; they went to the settlers, and took all the axes and picks which they could *catch*, and carried them to some blacksmiths, to have them mended. These refused to work for them, saying their forger was in the fort. On this day, the chief of the volunteers who had joined the Indians undertook to engage in his party the children of the settlers, to aid him in taking or burning one of the barges. To effect this, he went to those houses where he knew there were young people, to induce them to join him; but he could

not succeed; and resolved on escaping to Illinois, as some of the settlers threatened to give him up to the commander, who would not have spared him, but rewarded him according to his deserts.

July 6th. Wednesday, July 6th. The Indians, who for some days had formed the design of * * * * * * the large barge, which annoyed them on the highway and prevented their approaching the fort in that direction, * * * * * * how to bring it about, they went to several of the French to find out the way they could manage it. The settlers told them they did not know, when the Indians went away.

* * * * July. The Indians did not trouble the fort. * * * * * gave them some occupation in their camp, in the following manner: * * * * * in the morning, a light southwest breeze sprung up; this appeared * * * * * the English in the design they had formed to go and pay a visit * * * * * * * his camp with the large barge. As they were getting ready to start, the wind went down, and anchor was cast, to wait for a favorable breeze, which was not long. * * * eleven o'clock, it having increased, they weighed anchor for a second time, and went up the river, opposite Pontiac's camp, where they stopped, and saluted it with balls and grenades, without sparing * * * * * neither he nor his people expected such a visit, left the shore and their goods, which were damaged by the balls and bombs. This diversion lasted from noon * * * * *. The barge had cast anchor until four, when she returned to her station. During all this, not one Indian was wounded.

While one part of the English were thus destroying Pontiac's camp, the Poux came, with Mr. Gammulin, to sue for peace. It was granted them, on condition that they should remain neutral and return all the prisoners. They promised, but did not keep their word.

On this day, the two bands of Hurons held a council about coming to the fort and making peace with the commander. Marginal note partly destroyed — * * * * * * Indians, having seen that * * * * * * * * in the camp, before Mr. * * * * their prisoners escaping * * * * Mr. Marsac's.

July 8th. Friday, July 8th. The commander, who intended to send the barge back to Niagara, ordered that, in order to procure ballast, they should demolish an old building, which had formerly been raised as a powder-house, to obtain the stones. This was done, during the forenoon, by the French and the English soldiers.

About two P. M., the Hurons came to parley with the commander, as they had agreed in the council on the preceding day. The commander caused them to be admitted, and a council was held on the military square, * * * * * * to make peace with the English. The English replied, that if they were willing to return all the prisoners and merchandise, and remain quiet on their mats, that all should * * * * * and what had passed forgotten. They replied, that they would return to their village and speak with their other brothers, and make them agree to the conditions. They went away fully resolved to do that which was required of them, and promising to

return the next day. About five, the Poux came, with Mr. Gammelin, to promise the restitution of the English prisoners who were in the village, on condition of obtaining their friends who were in the fort.

About six, the Ottawas concealed themselves behind Mr. Beaubien's house, and fired for * * * * at the large barge, which returned their fire, but without injuring them. On this day, Mr. Maisonville arrived with * * * * * brandy, lead, salt, and packages, and reached * * * * with much trouble.

July 9th. Saturday, July 9th. The Ottawas and Saulteurs formed the design of burning the barge, while at anchor, if possible. To effect this, * * * * * to make a small fire-boat to send adrift on the river, * * * * * barge, when finished. They were two days about this, during which time they did not trouble the fort. About four, the Hurons came, as they had promised on the preceding day, and brought with them seven prisoners. The commander of the Presque Isle, a woman, and child, were in the number. They gave them to the commander, and asked for peace. He replied, that they must return all the goods they had taken from the merchants, even to the last needle, and that afterwards peace would be granted. They went away, promising to return all the merchandise they had in their village.

About seven, the commander was told that the Indians were about setting fire to the fort with arrows, and had joined together small fire-boats to burn the two barges during the night. They indeed spared no trouble to execute their design of burning the barges, but could not succeed.

July 10th. Sunday, July 10th, the Indians, who had spent two days in making their preparations to burn the barges, sent their work about two in the morning. Their work consisted of two boats fastened together with white wood-bark, and filled with dry split wood with * * * * the whole of which was ignited. The boats drifted on the shore about one arpent from the barges, without causing these the slightest injury. Thus the labor of the Indians became useless, and their time was lost. The Indians seeing this, commenced another fire-boat, and did not trouble the fort this day.

At nine in the evening the commander was told by some Frenchman that surely the Indians intended setting the * * * * on fire favored by darkness, a thing which perhaps * * * * very often these newsmongers were * * * * to be well received, often supposed * * * * and framed some falsehood, which they came and mentioned to the officers. These often, instead of thanking them, laughed at them. However, as truth will sometimes be found in a number of falsehoods, the commander ordered immediately * * * * Frenchmen and four soldiers to go and bivouac at a short distance from the fort at each corner. These were told to fire if they perceived any thing, and to withdraw under the fort after having fired.

July 11th. Monday, July 11th, the Indians who were busy about an undertaking nearly similar to the other, did not trouble the fort during the whole of this day.

About ten in the morning the Hurons came and performed their promise, bringing back all the goods which had been taken from the merchants on the lake and river, and peace was made between them and the English.

About six, a Frenchman who dwelt out of the fort came and told the commander that the second fire-boat was ready, and that they intended to send it during the night. This information was correct.

July 12th. Tuesday, July 12th, at one in the morning, the Indians sent off their fire-boat, with *as much* success as the first time. Two cannon-shots were fired from the fort; these dispersed the Indians, who were seated on the highway towards the S. W. They had come on the bank of the river to admire the effect of their works. Two shots were sent from the barge on the fire-boat; these broke it, and thus destroyed the labor of the Indians.

About ten, the Poux came, according to their promise, and brought three English prisoners that * * * * might be granted them. They asked for their man. The commander replied that when they had returned all the prisoners that were in their village, their man would be given them, and all should be concluded. They promised to come in the afternoon. About three, the barge which had come from Niagara took its departure, with orders to bring provisions and soldiers. About the same time the Poux returned according to their promise, and brought with them seven prisoners, and asked the commander for their comrade. As he was going to be given up to them, one Jacquemane (Jackman) a prisoner formerly given to the Poux as a present, and just returned by them, said to the commander in English, that the Poux had still * * * * their village. This made the commander change his mind and retain his prisoner, telling the Poux to bring back * * * * and they should have what they wanted. They looked at each other, and formed the design at all hazards to kill the commander and the officers who accompanied him. An occurrence prevented this. An Ottawa having entered the fort with them, was recognized by Mr. M'Dougal, arrested, and put into prison under a safe guard. This frightened the Poux, who, though displeased in not obtaining what they wanted, withdrew, determined in taking revenge the *preceding* (ensuing) night, [nuit précédente, original]

July 13th. Wednesday, July 13th, the Indians having perceived that sentinels were placed out of the fort, to detect them in their nightly visits around the fort, resolved on taking revenge for the refusal they had incurred on the preceding day. To effect this, they came during the night to discover them; they fired on them, and wounded severely a French sentinel who was stationed on the south-west side. The day was tolerably quiet with regard to the fort. On this same day at noon the Hurons asked for a secret council. A lady wished to be admitted, but on the desire of the Indians she was requested to leave.

July 14th. The Frenchman who had been wounded on the Wednesday morning, died about the same hour as he had been wounded. He was interred * * * * that

those out of the fort might not know that a person had been killed. Notwithstanding the precaution taken to conceal his death, the French and Indians found it out.

July 15th. Friday, 15th. Nothing occurred deserving attention.

July 16th. Saturday, July 16th. A slave, belonging to Mr. Beaubien, came * * * sent by his master, to claim and demand * * * * * which, having been frightened by the Indians, had taken refuge * * * * *. The slave was arrested and confined, it being said that he had been seen firing with the Indians on the English and barges.

July 17th. Sunday, July 17th. Several persons, who knew the slave to be a worthy man, and who had known him since the commencement of the war, came to the mass in the fort, and undertook to justify him, and obtain his release. But this favor * * * * * other witnesses * * * * * in the evening, Mr. Gammelin came to the fort with two men * * * * * Indians intended to attack the French settlers, and asked for arms and ammunition. These were granted. They were advised to be on their guard, and to desire the settlers to be on theirs; and that, at the first shot fired on the coasts, troops would be sent to assist the settlers. The commander ordered all the French in the fort to stay up during the whole night, that they might assist the settlers. But, fortunately, they spent a quiet night, as the worst of it was their watching.

July 18th. Monday, July 18th. The gates of the fort, until this day, had been kept shut, for the greater security of the fort, and through fear of a surprise on the part of the Indians. This was inconvenient for the officers, who had to cause them to be opened when wanted, as also to those who wished to go out, and who, fearing a refusal, or disliking to trouble them, did not like to ask for their being opened. The commander, having been made aware of these difficulties, ordered, to put a stop to them, that the gate facing the river should be opened for the public wants, from nine in the morning until six in the evening; and that two sentinels should be placed on each side: these were ordered to suffer no Frenchman to carry any thing out of the fort, but to suffer all who came to the gate to enter, — excepting, however, the Indians. These latter, it is true, did not dare come nearer than fifteen arpents, and this with many precautions.

During this day, the Indians did not approach the fort. At * * * they came, and told the commander that the Indians (Ottawas) had commenced a work which appeared to merit attention, and about which they were very busy: this was to be composed of dry wood, placed on the barge, and burn it. But much time was necessarily to pass before it could execute what it was intended to do.

About nine in the evening, the Saulteurs came, and fired on the barge, which returned their fire. After these discharges, the Indians *sang abuse* to the crew, among whom was an Englishman, who had been a prisoner with the Ottawas and was

tolerably conversant with the Saulteur language. He gave the Indians an answer in their own way.

July 19th. Tuesday, July 19th. About two P. M. there came, behind Mr. Beaubien's * * * fifteen arpents from the fort, about twelve Indians, who commenced firing on the fort. They were seen, and two cannon-shots and bombs sent them; one of them fell on an apple-tree, on which six Indians were perched. This quickly put them to flight. They left the field, and went to the camp. There they remained the whole of the day.

July 20th. Wednesday, July 20th. The commander heard again of the work of the Indians. He was told again that the Indians intended to bar the river, in order to burn the barge, which had remained * * * * and prevented their approaching the fort. But this work was but commenced, and it would take eight days more to complete it, although they had been working at it four days. They did not intend to fire at the fort until it was completed. The commander, hearing this, and wishing to improve his leisure by sheltering his barge from the fire with which it was threatened, ordered that two of the boats should be provided with a double bulwark of oak, each one inch thick; and that the side-planks should be made one foot and a half higher, and lined, as well as the bottom; so that the men, standing in their boats, might have nothing to fear from the fire of the Indians. He caused to be placed, in the front of each of these boats, a cannon, on a movable frame, which might fire on three sides. This was tried, in the middle of the river before the fort, and answered all expectations.

July 21st. Thursday, July 21st. The Indians, occupied with their projects, worked at their fire-boats as assiduously as if they had been well-paid. They took no rest; hardly did they allow themselves time to take a meal.

The two boats being prepared, the commander finding, from the information he had received of the progress of the Indians' work, that he had some time to spare for new precautions, he ordered four boarding-grapples to be made, two for each boat; one of these grapples to be of iron, and about fifteen feet long, and this and the other were to be fastened to a cable ten fathoms long. The boats, rigged in this manner, were to go and meet the fire-boats. They were to throw one of their grappling-irons upon it; the other grapple or half-anchor was to be thrown into the water. By this manœuvre they were to stop the fire-boats, and save the barge from the danger with which it had been so long threatened, and also render the work of the Indians useless. During this time, the barge was to weigh anchor, and go nearer the fort; and the cable and irons were to prevent the fire-boat from approaching it. * * * * evening, there was a report that the Hurons of the wicked band had resolved to attack the settlers of the S. W. coast during the night. This caused them to be on the watch; but, fortunately, the report was found to be without foundation.

July 22d. Friday, July 22d. This day was quiet on both sides. A report was

spread by an Abenaqui Indian who they said had recently arrived from Montreal. This stated that a French fleet was coming to Canada to retake it. This report *died in its birth*, there being nothing to confirm it. Although it proved false, it animated Pontiac, his band, and the Saulteurs, who had * * * * foolish undertaking * * * * fire-boat, the making of which * * * * wish to finish it.

About * * * * a man in the employ of Mr. Beaume wishing to cross the river on his master's business. As he had reached the middle, the Indians made several discharges at him. These made him return with more speed than he had gone.

About ten in the evening, as the sentinels were on the watch, two random shots were fired.

July 23d. Saturday, 23d. Nothing happened this day. About two in the afternoon, the inhabitants of the fort heard, in the direction of the Huron village several discharges of musketry, as a salute on the arrival of some persons. The English thought it was something concerning them, but they found a short time after that it was on the account of the arrival of Andre, a Huron of Lorette, who had arrived with * * * * Lenape chief of Belle river, and that * * * * Detroit in * * * *

July 24th. Sunday, July 24th. The Indians, who were more anxious * * * * barge worked faithfully to accomplish their design. * ** * * was finished. The commander, who wished to interrupt their work; ordered a reconnoitring party to go on the river in the boats described above. This was done. About ten, three officers at the head of sixty men well armed, went into the boats and a barge, and went up the river to find out the place where the Indians were at work. The Indians, seeing these boats in the distance, thought them a prey coming within their grasp. They left their work, and went, twenty in number, with their arms, in two canoes, to come and meet the three boats. The crew suffered them to come within gun-shot. The Indians, unacquainted with the construction of these boats, advanced making cries of joy, thinking the boats were in their power. They were soon undeceived; for the commander of the boats, seeing they were near enough to give effect to all the shots, ordered his people to fire immediately with the muskets and cannons. The Indians, who did not expect this salute, went away quickly and fired from the shore on the boats, and slightly wounded one man on the head; a ball pierced his hat, and took away a tuft of his hair.

The boats and barge returned to the fort about noon, not having been able to discover the retreat of the Indians, or the place of their work. The Indians escorted them on the shore as far as Mr. Chauvin's, thirty arpents from the fort. The barge having sent them some cannon-shots, they went away unharmed; the ball, however, entered the house, which it damaged much, and wounded dangerously two Indians, one in the arm and the other in the thigh; the latter died a few days afterwards.

About one P. M., the Ottawa and Saulteur chiefs went to the Huron village according

to the request of the Erie[1] and Lenape chiefs, who early in the morning had summoned them to the council.

About three, the two boats and barge, with the same crew, were sent by the commander to the same place as on the morning, to attempt the discovery of the place in which the Indians were at work; they did not succeed. The Indians fired at them from the shore, and escorted them as they had done in the morning. The boats and barge fired at them, but without effect, as the Indians were concealed behind the fences. The boats and barge returned to the fort about six.

About ten in the evening the Ottawas fired a few random shots at the fort.

July 25th. Monday, July 25th. The Ottawas, engaged with the council which was to take place on the preceding day, but which was deferred until this day, forgot the fort, to go according to the request of the Erie[1] and Lenape chiefs to the Huron village. Two inhabitants of the fort who some time ago had to go to the north coast on business, but had been detained by Pontiac, returned this day and said that the celebrated fire-boat had been entirely given up by means of two Frenchmen who * * * * the Indians that the two boats which they had seen * * * * to * * * * the fire-boat burning the barge, and that they contained * * * * with anchor to fasten it in the middle of the river, and that thus their work was useless, and could never succeed. This disconcerted them so much that they abandoned entirely their foolish enterprise.

About ten, news was brought in the fort of the return of Messrs. Jacques Godfroy and Mesnilchêne, who had been sent to Illinois. This news was confirmed the next day.

July 26th. Tuesday, July 26th. It being St. Ann's day, they learnt early in the morning that the messengers sent by Pontiac, head-chief of all the nations of the north, to Mr. De Léon, commander of Illinois, had returned the preceding evening. On this report, there circulated among the French of the fort several reports, which contained no truth, and were immediately contradicted. The principal of these stated that the Illinois tribes strongly recommended to the Detroit tribes that no injury should be done to the French on the coasts, or those of the fort, unless they took the part of the English.

A great council took place on this day among the Hurons, the Eries[1], and Lenapes, the Ottawas and Poux, at the end of the council. Pontiac, in his quality of chief of all the nations of the north, ornamented with the war-belt, and holding the tomahawk, sang the war-song against the English, inviting all the chiefs in the council to imitate him, telling them that he had been commanded by the master of life to make continual war on the English, and not to spare them, that the place must be free on the arrival of his Great Father in the autumn. All the other chiefs followed his example, and sang war-songs with their Indians. At the end of the council, according to the report of several French settlers who were present, the Erie[1] chief said: Brothers, we must

[1] [Chats. — S.]

remember that the French are our brothers, and be careful not to injure them, unless they take the part of the English; for if we did, our father would be angry with us.

July 27th. Wednesday, July 27th. This day was employed by the Indians in singing the war-song. Each tribe sang it in their village with their chief. They tried to concert new measures to take the fort, but all this was to no purpose. About two P. M., Andre, Huron of Lorette, who had been suspected by the English with having meddled in these *revolutions*, and even of having been the first mover of them, came to the fort to justify himself and prove his innocence. About six they came and told the English that the Indians intended to set fire to the two platforms which were on the hillock behind the fort, and on each of which were daily placed four sentinels * * * *. Nothing was done by the Indians this day. They ordered the inhabitants not to visit the fort, and sent word to the inmates of the fort not to visit the coasts, under pretext of not wishing the design they had made of taking the fort by storm, to be discovered.

July 29th. * * * *, July 29th. During the night the fog had been so dense that it was impossible to see * * * * paces ahead; at day-break it decreased a little * * * * about five in the morning they saw unexpectedly on the river, to the right of the river Rouge, a large number of barges. This caused a little alarm in the fort, as they thought this was an Indian party coming to join the Indians in this place. The English did not know that these barges came to assist them, although they expected assistance. To find out what they were, they fired a shot towards the S. W.; the barges returned the salute, being provided with four small cannon in front, and two six-pound mortars. Upon this the commander, followed by Mr. Hopkins, two officers, and ten soldiers, entered one of the boats I have mentioned, and went to reconnoitre the barges. They were twenty-two in number, and contained two hundred and eighty regulars and six gunners. At the head of these was an aid-de-camp of General Amers, (Amherst.) The barges passing before the Huron and Poux villages, were saluted by several discharges of musketry on the part of those two tribes. Fifteen were severely wounded in the body; two of these died. Others were wounded slightly in the arms and hands. These barges had been guided from Niagara to the fort by Mr. Laselle, a merchant of Montreal, who traded in these two posts.

As there were no barracks to lodge these soldiers, they were quartered on the inhabitants until otherwise provided for, according to the size of the dwellings. This was done punctually. These soldiers, on passing Sandusky, had frightened some Indians who had encamped in the vicinity of the village. Seeing so many people, they were afraid, and left their cabins, which were plundered and burnt by the English, who tore up their corn. When these soldiers had arrived, it was reported in the fort that four hundred English soldiers were coming from the north. This, however, was not the case.

July 30th. Saturday, July 30th. The commander ordered that several canoes, which were aground near the shore, should be repaired, to be used if needed. In the evening, according to custom, all the soldiers repaired on the military square to be inspected. All the old and new officers were there. It was resolved that on the following night a sally should be made by about three hundred men, headed by the aid-de-camp, commander of the newly-arrived troops.

This detachment was to go to Pontiac's camp, and * * * * Indians, and oblige them to make peace * * * * ammunition was distributed, and the soldiers were ordered to be ready at the first call for the sally, which was to take place the next night.

This same day, at two, the Hurons, who had heard that a sally was to be made, made a feint to abandon their village, and burnt at Montreal point, in sight of the fort, old canoes and useless articles, and embarked their squaws and children, and even dogs, and went down as if they had been going to their winter-quarters. Several Frenchmen believed it, and even came and mentioned it to the English, who thought so too, without, however, wishing to venture to go to the village, mistrusting some trick on the part of the Indians. This was the case: the Hurons, having gone down the river out of sight of the houses, had landed in the woods, concealing their wives, children and goods; they had come through the woods opposite the village, expecting the English would come to their village, as they had been told. This did not take place. The Hurons, however, remained two days in their ambuscade. They then returned to their village.

July 31st. Sunday, July 31st. About two in the morning, according to the order issued by the aid-de-camp, every one named for the detachment was ready. They were lightly clothed, having only their vest, ammunition, and arms, on leaving the fort. They took their way towards Pontiac's camp, which was then one league from the fort, on the north, at a place named Pointe-a-Cardinal. The English, unfortunately, had confided their design to some French in the fort, who had mentioned it in confidence to some of the settlers. Through these confidences, the Indians found it out, and kept on their guard, and not to be taken unawares. They concealed their wives and children out of the camp, where they only left their old men, as they knew the hour appointed for the departure of the English. They came to meet them, in two bands. One of these came, two hundred and fifty men in number, through the woods along the clearings, and concealed themselves on Mr. Chauvin's farm, twenty arpents from the fort. The other band, comprising one hundred and sixty men, came and placed themselves on Mr. Baptiste Meloche's farm, where they had formerly encamped, and made entrenchments which were ball-proof. They there awaited the English. These, not knowing that the Indians were aware of their design, were advancing speedily and without any order. The Indians, much favored by the moon, perceiving them in the distance, and observing the route which they took, went, sixty in number, into Mr. Francois Meloche's garden, behind the posts opposite the bridge.

When the Indians saw that the head of the detachment had passed a little the middle of the bridge, they fired. This surprised the English, who, without making any manœuvre * * * * * * *

The rest of the manuscript is missing. It has been, manifestly, torn off for waste-paper, by some one who did not know its importance.

The disastrous result of this sortie is given in the following letter, copied from the GATES PAPERS, which are found in the library of the New York Historical Society, from which it has been kindly furnished:

DETROIT, *August 8th*, 1763.

SIR: Enclosed you have a letter, which was forwarded of that date, under cover to your friend Capt. Dalzell, who received it on Lake Erie, on his way here, where he arrived on the 29th July. We were agreeably surprised at his appearance, as he had under his command twenty-four battoes, with a detachment of one captain and eight subalterns of the Fifty-fifth regiment; one captain and thirty-nine men of the Eightieth, and Major Rogers and his brother and twenty men of the Yorkers. They were lucky enough not to be discovered 'till they got within a mile of the fort, when they were attacked by a few Indians, on both sides of the river, without any hurt, but wounding seventeen men. But, alas, our joy, on this occasion, only lasted 'till the night of the 31st, when Capt. Dalzell prevailed upon Major Gladwin to attack the enemy, although entirely contrary to the Major's opinion, as well as that of two Frenchmen, (the only two in this place whose intelligence might be depended upon, and who well knew the disposition of the enemy, and the difficulty of surprising them in their camp, and who told him the disaffected French would apprise the Indians of any attempt against them.) Notwithstanding thereof, he still insisted that no time was to be lost, and that they might be surprised in their camp at break of day, and entirely put to rout. In consequence of that, and other natural arguments he made use of in his earnest solicitation, Major Gladwin agreed to give him the command; and at three o'clock in the morning, marched, with two hundred and fifty men, to surprise Pontiac, the Indian chief, and his tribes, consisting of four hundred men, in their camp.

We imagined our plan was concocted with the greatest secresy, yet it seems the enemy were advised thereof by the French, as four hundred of them had fortified themselves in a pass within two miles of the fort, and being on our march by platoons, about twenty yards from the enemy they fired a full discharge, by which our commandant was wounded. This created some confusion in the route, it being then dark; however, we soon recovered from our disorder, and marching on a little, the enemy gave way, but it was so dark they could not be seen: soon after, they whooped on our left, when we understood they wanted to attack our rear at the same time, their chiefs talking loud in the route, animating their young men to courage, in order to bring us on, that they might, by that means, have the more time to get in our rear;

where they knew many strong stoccaded orchards and picqueted fences were, which would enable them to cut off our retreat from the fort; but daylight approaching, and discovering their designs, it was thought advisable to retire, and that being done in good order for half a mile, to a place where the enemy had got round our left, where they were in possession of breastworks made up of a farmer's fire-wood, and garden fences very close and strong, besides a cellar dug for a new house, from which they attacked us very smartly, brought on an engagement which lasted for an hour, at least, where Captain Dalzell exposed himself very much, and the enemy, soon distinguishing him by his extraordinary bravery, killed him. Captain Grey, who succeeded him, rushed forward and drove them off from some of their strongholds, and was immediately dangerously wounded. The troops then engaged, took possession of a house, and firing at the remaining enemy a long time, under the command of Major Rogers, who had sent word by Lieutenant Bean, of the Queen's company, to Captain Grant, of the eightieth regiment, who was then in possession of a very strong orchard within eighty or a hundred yards of him, that he could not retire until the row galleys came to cover his retreat. At the same time, Lieutenant McDougal of our battalion, who acted as adjutant for the party, acquainted Captain Grant that the command then devolved on him; whereupon he sent an officer and thirty men to reinforce Major Rogers, and drive a party of Indians which annoyed Major Rogers' and Captain Grant's post; and that being done, and some Indians killed, Captain Grant put an officer and thirty men into the orchard where he was posted, and officers, or sergeants and corporals, with small parties, in all the enclosures from them to the fort, and sent to acquaint Major Rogers to come off, that all the places of strength from him to the fort were secured, and his retreat safe, as Captain Grant had sent an officer and twenty men to take possession of a barn on a rising ground, which effectually prevented the enemy from advancing farther. Soon after, Lieutenant Brown had returned with a row galley from the fort, where he had been sent by Captain Dalzell with the killed and wounded men, and also to renew a gun, the one he had having bursted. The row galley now arrived, and was instantly ordered to cover Major Rogers' retreat. Every thing being done to secure that, soon after Lieutenant Abbot of the artillery likewise returned from the fort with another row galley, which had carried Captain Grey and Lieutenant Brown, with some wounded men, to the fort, was also ordered to cover Major Rogers' retreat, which gave him an opportunity of joining the party already mentioned, about eighty or one hundred yards distant from him, and so on successfully, until the whole were collected in their march, and came to the fort at 8 o'clock, in very good order.

Our loss is Captain Dalzell killed; and his not being observed when he fell, his body was left in the hands of the savages, which I was heartily sorry for. Lieutenants Brown and Luke were wounded, and thirteen men killed and twenty-eight wounded, of the Fifty-fifth regiment. One man of the Sixtieth regiment killed, and six wounded. Two

men of the light infantry killed, and three wounded; with two of the Queen's company killed, and one wounded. The enemy's loss cannot be ascertained, as they always conceal that from every body. It is believed to be seven killed and a dozen wounded; and if the inhabitants knew any thing else to the disadvantage of the savages, they are too much interested to reveal it.

I herewith send you Captain Campbell's account. He wrote me, when prisoner, to take his papers which are now in my hands, and shall forward them to you as soon as I hear from you. The subject contained in this and the enclosed letter is as disagreeable to write or repeat as it can possibly be for you to read. I beg leave to participate with you in your present distress, and believe me to be, with greatest sincerity, Sir,

Your most obedient and faithful servant,

JAMES McDONALD.

DOCTOR CAMPBELL.[1]

The result of this sortie affords another evidence of that disregard of due precaution and respect to Indian customs and vigilance which led General Braddock, five years earlier, in the plenitude of the pride of European discipline, to hurl a brave and well appointed army into the unknown defiles of an Indian ambuscade, where mere advantages of position render numbers and discipline useless. Dalzell re-enacted this folly on a smaller scene. The actual loss of the sallying party under him is shown to have been less than popular tradition at Detroit depicts it to have been, but its effects were most disastrous to the beleaguered fort; nor was that fortress finally extricated, and restored to the full liberty of action, without the fear of Pontiac and his myrmidons, till the next year, 1764.

The fate of this bold original chief is striking. Having failed in Michigan, he transferred the scene of his operations to Illinois, where a similar course of conduct and policy marked his movements. He excited the natives to resist the surrender of the French posts, under the treaty, to the British authority. We are indebted to Mr. Nicollet[2] for collecting and preserving the traditions of the old and most respected inhabitants of St. Louis on this subject. He says:—

"In the meanwhile, the second year after the signature of the treaty of peace had elapsed, and the British had not yet been able to take possession of Illinois. This was owing to the opposition made by several Indian tribes, who, as alluded to above, had refused to abide by the treaty, and were waging a most cruel war against the British. These tribes had formed a confederacy under the command of Pontiac, a bold warrior, who had already become celebrated for his prowess and his devoted attachment to France during the whole of the war, which the latter had carried on

[1] New York Hist. Soc., Gates Papers. [2] Report on the Hydrographical Basin of the Mississippi Valley.

against Great Britain, in America. The confederated Indian army was composed of Hurons, Miamis, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Missourians, &c. &c. The name of Pontiac was the terror of the whole region of the lakes, and, by his bands, he effectually interrupted the British intercourse with the rest of the nations that had remained friendly to the government. The taking of Fort Michilimackinac, the attempt at Detroit, and the attack upon the schooner Gladwin on Lake Michigan,[1] are memorable events, evincing a spirit of cunning and daring highly characteristic of the genius of the Red man.

"In the winter of 1764–5, Pontiac, whilst engaged in his acts of depredation, learned that an armed British force was about to start from New Orleans, to take possession of the left bank of the Mississippi. He immediately proceeded to the neighborhood of Fort Chartres, accompanied by four hundred warriors, to oppose this occupation of the country; and finding there some Illinois Indians who had placed themselves under the protection of the French garrison, he proposed to them to join him. But these people, disheartened by recent calamities, and, as it were, foredoomed to a final extinction, were unwilling to assume a hostile attitude towards their new rulers, from whom interest, if not generosity, would lead them to expect the same protection which they were then receiving. To this refusal Pontiac replied, with characteristic energy, 'Hesitate not, or I destroy you with the same rapidity that fire destroys the grass of the prairie. Listen, and recollect that these are Pontiac's words.' Having then despatched scouts upon the Mississippi and the Ohio, he hastened with some of his warriors to Fort Chartres, where he addressed Mr. St. Ange de Bellerive in the following terms. 'Father, we have long wished to see thee, to shake hands with thee, and, whilst smoking the calumet of peace, to recall the battles in which we fought together against the misguided Indians and the English dogs. I love the French, and I have come here with my warriors to avenge their wrongs,' &c. &c. Mr. de St. Ange was a Canadian officer of great bravery and too much honor to be seduced by this language. Besides, he knew too well the Indian character to lose sight of the fact that the love of plunder was probably at bottom a stronger inducement for Pontiac than his love for the French. This visit, which was terminated by an exchange of civilities, might nevertheless have brought difficulties upon the small garrison at Fort Chartres. But news arrived that the Indians of Lower Louisiana had attacked the British expedition some miles below Natchez, and repulsed it.

"Pontiac became then less active in guarding the rivers; and, as he believed that the occupation of the country had been retarded again, he and his party were about to retire altogether. During the time, however, that the news took to arrive, the British had succeeded in getting up another expedition on the Ohio; and Captain

[1] [Not so. Detroit river. — S.]

Sterling, at the head of a company of Scots, arrived unexpectedly in the summer of 1766, taking possession of the fort before the Indians had time to offer any resistance. At this news Pontiac raved,[1] swearing that before he left the country he would retake the fort, and bear away Captain Sterling's scalp. But the intervention of Mr. St. Ange and Mr. Laclede put an end to these savage threats. Pontiac returned to the north, made peace with the British, from whom he received a pension, and seemed to have buried all animosity against them. But, by his restless spirit, he soon aroused new suspicions; and, we are informed by Captain Jonathan Carver, that Pontiac, having gone in the year 1767 to hold a council in the Illinois country, an Indian, who was either commissioned by one of the English governors, or instigated by the love he bore the English nation, attended him as a spy; and being convinced from the speech of Pontiac made in the council, that he still retained his former prejudice against those for whom he now professed friendship, he plunged his knife into his heart as soon as he had done speaking, and laid him dead on the spot.

"Captain Carver travelled through the northern region, but was never south of the Prairie-du-Chien; so that his information is probably incorrect. The celebrity of Pontiac, as well as the distinguished part he took in the Indian wars of the West, will justify me, therefore, for introducing here a somewhat different statement of the manner of his death, as I have it from two of the most respectable living authorities of the day — Colonel Pierre Chouteau, of St. Louis, and Colonel Pierre Menard, of Kaskaskia. It is as follows: Pontiac's last residence was in St. Louis. One day he came to Mr. de St. Ange, and told him, that he was going to pay a visit to the Kaskaskia Indians. Mr. de St. Ange endeavored to dissuade him from it, reminding him of the little friendship that existed between him and the British. Pontiac's answer was, "Captain, I am a man: I know how to fight. I have always fought openly. They will not murder me; and if any one attacks me as a brave man, I am his match." He went off; was feasted; got drunk; and retired into the wood, to sing his medicine-songs. In the mean while, an English merchant, named Williamson, bribed a Kaskaskia Indian with a barrel of rum, and the promise of a greater reward, if he could succeed in killing Pontiac. He was struck with a pakamagon, (war-club,) and his skull fractured, which caused his death. This murder, which roused the vengeance of all the Indian tribes friendly to Pontiac, brought about the successive wars, and almost total extermination of the Illinois nation.

"Pontiac was a remarkably well-looking man; nice in his person, and full of taste in his dress, and in the arrangement of his exterior ornaments. His complexion is said to have approached that of the whites. His origin is still uncertain: for some have supposed him to belong to the tribe of Ottowas; others, to the Miamis, &c.; but Colonel P. Chouteau, senior, who knew him well, is of opinion that he was a Nipissing."[2]

[1] Parkman.

[2] [He was an Otto-Chippewa. — S.]

3. ANACOANA.

BY REV. HAMILTON W. PIERSON.

The accompanying song was presented to me by William S. Simonise, Esq., of Port au Prince, a native of Charleston, South Carolina, but for many years a resident of Hayti, and one of her first lawyers. In my travels upon the island, I have met with nothing else that professed to be a relic of the language or music of its aboriginal inhabitants. As to the authenticity of this song, I have neither the knowledge of music, nor other means of investigation, that would enable me to give an intelligent opinion upon the subject; I therefore submit it as it came to me.

No one familiar with Irving's "Life of Columbus" can fail to be interested in any thing that claims to be the product of the mind of the gifted and beautiful Anacoana. No portions of that inimitable work exceed in interest the passages that detail her character and virtues, her kindnesses to the whites, and her unhappy fate. I cannot forbear presenting a few of these passages in this connexion, though the author's work must be consulted to obtain her full history.

"While Columbus was in Spain, his brother, Don Bartholomew, administered the affairs of the island, as adelantado. Upon the discovery of important gold-mines, on the south side of the island, he established a fortress upon the bank of the river Oyema, which was first called Isabella, but afterwards St. Domingo, and was the origin of the city which still bears that name." . . . "No sooner was the fortress completed than he left in it a garrison of twenty men, and with the rest of his forces set out on an expedition to visit the dominions of Behechio, one of the principal chieftains of the island. This cacique, as has already been mentioned, reigned over Xaragua, a province comprising almost the whole coast at the west end of the island, including Cape Tibuen, and extending along the south side as far as Point Aguida or the small island of Beata. It was one of the most populous and fertile districts, with a delightful climate; and its inhabitants were softer and more graceful in their manners than the rest of the islanders.

"With this cacique resided Anacoana, widow of the late formidable Caonabo. She was sister to Beheshio, and had taken refuge with her brother, after the capture of her husband. She was one of the most beautiful females of the island; her name in the Indian language signified 'The Golden Flower.' She possessed a genius superior to the generality of her race, and was said to excel in composing those little legendary ballads, or areytos, which the natives chanted as they performed their national dances. All the Spanish writers agree in describing her as possessing a natural dignity and grace, hardly to be credited in her ignorant and savage condition. Notwithstanding

the ruin with which her husband had been overwhelmed by the hostility of the white men, she appears to have entertained no vindictive feelings towards them. She knew that he had provoked their vengeance by his own voluntary warfare. She regarded the Spaniards with admiration, as almost superhuman beings; and her intelligent mind perceived the futility and impolicy of any attempts to resist their superiority in arts and arms. Having great influence over her brother Beheshio, she counselled him to take warning by the fate of her husband, and to conciliate the friendship of the Spaniards; and it is supposed that a knowledge of the friendly sentiments and powerful influence of this princess, in a great measure prompted the Adelantado to his present expedition."

"The Spaniards had heard many accounts of the soft and delightful regions of Xaraqua, in one part of which some of the Indian traditions placed their Elysian-fields. They had heard much also of the beauty and urbanity of the inhabitants; the mode of their reception was calculated to confirm their favorable prepossessions. As they approached the place, thirty females of the cacique's household came forth to meet them, singing their areytos, or traditionary ballads, and dancing, and waving palm-branches. The married females wore aprons of embroidered cotton, reaching half-way to the knee; the young women were entirely naked, with merely a fillet round the forehead, their hair falling upon their shoulders. They were beautifully proportioned, their skin smooth, and their complexions of a clear and agreeable brown. According to old Peter Martyr, the Spaniards, when they beheld them issuing forth from their green woods, almost imagined they beheld the fabled dryads, or native nymphs and fairies of the fountains, sung by the ancient poets. When they came before Don Bartholomew, they knelt, and gracefully presented him the green branches."

"After these came the female cacique Anacoana, reclining in a kind of light litter, borne by six Indians. Like the other females, she had no other covering than an apron of various-colored cotton. She wore round her head a fragrant garland of red and white flowers, and wreaths of the same round her neck and arms. She received the Adelantado and his followers with that natural grace and courtesy for which she was celebrated, manifesting no hostility towards them for the fate her husband had received at their hands; on the contrary, she seemed from the first to conceive for them great admiration and sincere friendship.

"For two days they remained with the hospitable Beheshio, entertained with various games and festivities, &c."

At a subsequent period in the history of the island, Avando was sent by Ferdinand to administer its affairs. It is a dark page that history records during his reign. The disasters of the beautiful province of Xaragua, the seat of hospitality, the refuge of the suffering Spaniards; and the fate of the female cacique Anacoana, once the pride of the island, and the generous friend of the white man.

Beheshio, the ancient cacique of this province, being dead, Anacoana his sister had succeeded to the government. The marked partiality which she had once manifested for the Spaniards had been greatly weakened by the general misery they had produced in her country, and by the brutal profligacy exhibited in her immediate dominions by the followers of Roldan.[1]

The Indians of this province were universally represented as a more intelligent, polite, and generous, spirited race than any others of the island. They were the more prone to feel and resent the overbearing and insulting treatment to which they were subjected. Quarrels sometimes took place between the caciques and their oppressors. These were immediately reported to the governor as dangerous mutinies, and magnified into a rebellious resistance to the authority of the government. Complaints of this kind were continually pouring in upon Avando, until he was persuaded that there was a deep-laid conspiracy among the Indians of this province to rise upon the Spaniards. Avando immediately set out for Xaragua, at the head of three hundred foot-soldiers, armed with swords, arquebusses, and cross-bows, and seventy horsemen with cuirasses, bucklers, and lances. He pretended that he was going on a mere visit of friendship to Anacoana, and to make arrangements about the payment of tribute.

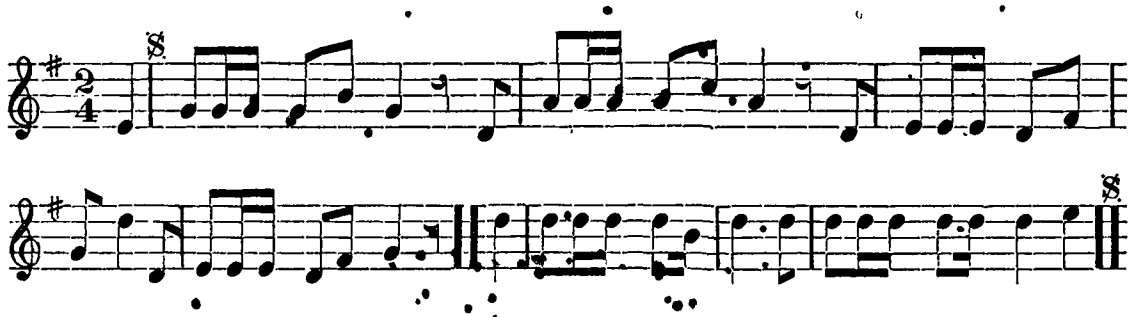
Anacoana, in her innocency, unconscious of his designs, gave him the same formal and cordial reception that she had given the Adelantado. When all her people were assembled, and in the midst of their national songs, dances, and games, a concerted signal was given by Avando; a trumpet was sounded, and at once the house in which Anacoana and all the principal caciques were assembled was surrounded by soldiery, and no one was permitted to escape. They entered, and seizing upon the caciques, bound them to the posts that supported the roof. Anacoana was led forth a prisoner. The unhappy caciques were then put to horrible tortures, until some of them, in the extremity of anguish, were made to accuse the queen and themselves of the plot with which they were charged. When this cruel mockery of judicial forms had been executed, instead of preserving them for after examination, fire was set to the house, and all the caciques perished miserably in the flames.

While these barbarities were practised upon the chieftains, a horrible massacre took place among the populace. No mercy was shown to any sex or age. It was a savage and indiscriminate butchery. Humanity turns with horror from such atrocities, and would fain discredit them; but they are circumstantially and minutely recorded by the venerable Bishop Las Casas, who was resident in the island at the time, and conversant with the principal actors in this tragedy. As to the princess Anacoana, she was carried in chains to San Domingo. The mockery of a trial was given her, in which she was found guilty, on the confessions which had been wrung by torture from

[1] Washington Irving's Columbus.

her subjects, and the testimony of their butchers; and she was ignominiously hanged in the presence of the people whom she had so long and so signally befriended.

"Such," says Irving, in concluding the account from which these extracts are taken, "is the tragical story of the delightful region of Xaragua and its amiable and hospitable people. A place which the Europeans, by their own account, found a perfect paradise, but which, by their vile passions, they filled with horror and desolation."

Nothing is more prominently preserved by popular tradition than the name, beauties, and misfortunes of Anacoana, the Carib Queen. The following chant, in her praise, is given on the authority of the gentleman named by Mr. Peirson in the introduction of these remarks. The repetitious character of the music is an aboriginal trait, though it rises to a strain superior to that of the United States tribes.

Aya bomba ya bombai (Bis)
Lamassam Ana-coana (Bis)
Van van tavana dogai (Bis)
Aya bomba ya bombai (Bis)
Lamassam Ana-coana (Bis)

VIII. PHYSICAL TYPE OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS. A.

PHYSICAL TYPE OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS.

BY DR. SAMUEL GEORGE MORTON.

SYNOPSIS.

I. Physical Characteristics:
- *a.* Osteological Character.
- *b.* Facial Angle.
- *c.* Stature.
- *d.* Fossil Remains of the American Race.
- *e.* Complexion.
- *f.* Hair.
- *g.* Eyes.
- *h.* Artificial Modifications of the Skull:
  1. The Natchez.
  2. The Choctaws.
  3. The Waxaws.
  4. The Muskogees or Creeks.
  5. The Catawbas.
  6. Attacapas.
  7. Nootka-Columbians.
  8. Peruvians.
- *i.* Volume of the Brain:
  1. Mexicans.
  2. The Barbarous Tribes.

II. Admeasurements of Crania of the Principal Groups of Indians of the United States. By Mr. J. S. Phillips.

a. Iroquois.
b. Algonquin.
c. Appalachian.
d. Dacota.
e. Shoshonee.
f. Oregonian.

I. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS.

It is an adage among travellers in America, that he who has seen one tribe of Indians has seen all; so closely do the individuals of this race resemble each other, notwithstanding their immense geographical distribution, and those differences of climate, which embrace the extremes of heat and cold. The Fuegian, in his dreary climate and barren soil, has the same general cast of lineaments, though in an exaggerated degree, as the Indians of the tropical plains; and these also resemble the tribes inhabiting the region west of the Rocky Mountains, those of the great Valley of the Mississippi, and those again which skirt the Eskimaux on the north. All possess, though in various degrees, the long, lank, black hair, the heavy brow, the dull and sleepy eye, the full and compressed lips, and the salient but dilated nose.

These traits, moreover, are equally common in savage and in civilized life; they are seen equally in those hordes which inhabit the margins of rivers and feed mainly on fish, and in the forest-tribes that subsist by the chase.

a. Osteological Characters.

A similar conformity of organization is not less obvious in the cranial structure of these people. The Indian skull is of a decidedly rounded form. The occipital portion is flattened in the upward direction; and the transverse diameter, as measured between the parietal bones, is remarkably wide, and often exceeds the longitudinal line. The forehead is low and receding, and rarely arched as in the other races; a feature that is regarded by Humboldt, Lund, and other naturalists, as characteristic of the American race, and serving to distinguish it even from the Mongolian. The cheek-bones are high, but not much expanded; the whole

maxillary region is salient and ponderous, with teeth of a corresponding size and singularly free from decay. The orbits are large and squared, the nasal orifice wide, and the bones that protect it arched and expanded. The lower is massive, and wide between the condyles; but, notwithstanding the prominent position of the face, the teeth are for the most part vertical.

I have had opportunities for comparing upwards of four hundred crania of tribes inhabiting almost every region of North and South America, and have found the preceding characteristics, in greater or less degree, to pervade them all. This remark is equally applicable to the ancient and modern nations of our continent; for the oldest skulls from the Peruvian cemeteries, the tombs of Mexico and the mounds of this country, are of the same general type as the most savage existing tribes.

This law of organization has some exceptions; for we find a more elongated form among the Missouri tribes, and especially among the Mandans, Minetaries, Rickarees, Assinaboins, Otoes, Crows, Blackfeet, and some proximate tribes, and also among the different sections of the Lenape nation west of the Mississippi. The same exception appears to obtain among the Iroquois and Cherokees, and shows itself in a greater fulness of the occipital region, and a less inter-parietal diameter. Yet even among these tribes, and all others I have been able to compare, the typical rounded form, although not in preponderance, is by no means unfrequent.

b. Facial Angle.

In my *Crania Americana*[1] I have examined this subject in detail, both with respect to the savage and the civilized nations, and have ascertained that the mean of one hundred and thirty-eight skulls is within a fraction of seventy-five degrees. This measurement is confirmed by all my subsequent experiments; and having performed these with my own hands, I submit the above result in the belief that it will stand the test of all future observation.

Since the European angle presents an average of 80°, it will be seen that the American falls five degrees below it; and I have reason to suppose that the latter measurement does not exceed that of the Negro race of Africa; although on this point I am not yet prepared to speak with precision. The modification of the facial angle resulting from artificial distortions of the skull, will be noticed in another place.

c. Stature.

When submitted to the test of anatomical examination, the reputed giant and dwarf races of America prove to be the mere inventions of ignorance or imposition. Some

[1] Page 250.

of the tribes of Patagonia embrace a remarkable number of tall men, and perhaps their average stature exceeds that of any other of the affiliated nations. But the observations of the naturalists who have been associated with the modern Exploring Expeditions, have proved that much that is recorded of these people by the early voyagers is fanciful and inaccurate; and that neither among the dead or the living races of this continent, is there any evidence of a tribe or community of giants. The error has arisen from hasty inferences on the part of unpractised observers.

Whole tribes which possess a comparatively low stature, exist in South America. Among these are the Powrys and Coroados of Brazil, and the Chaymas of the upper Orinoco. I know of no analogous examples in North America; yet Bartram asserts that at the time of his sojourn among the Creeks, the women of that nation were seldom above five feet high, although the men were tall, and of athletic proportions. He adds that the same remarks would in a degree apply to the Choctaws and Chickasaws, the confederates of the Creeks. A similar disparity in the stature of the men and women has also been observed in many of the Missouri tribes.

So much has been asserted with respect to the supposed pygmies of the Valley of the Mississippi, that I gladly take this occasion to correct some prevailing misconceptions on that subject.

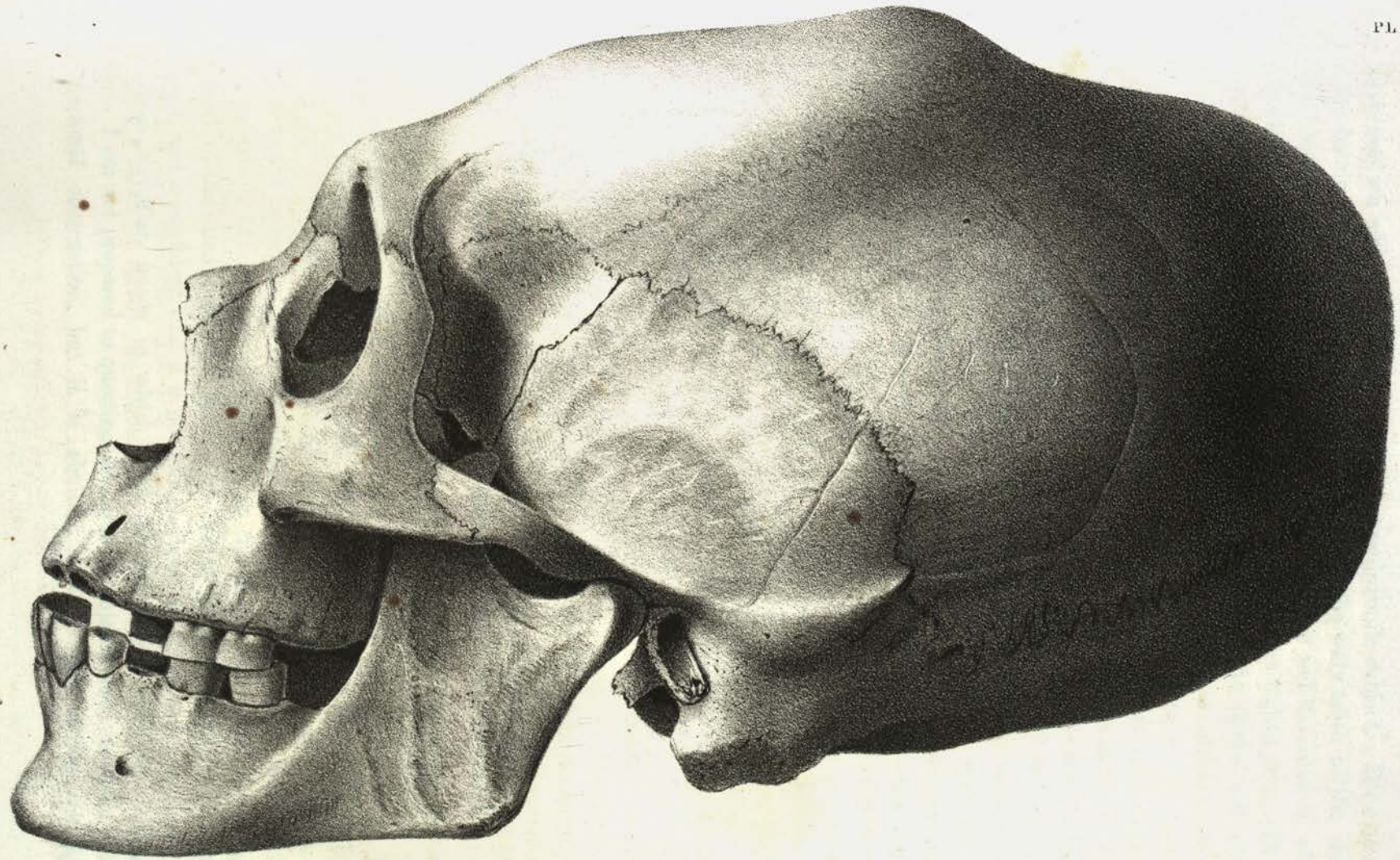
It had long been asserted that these remains pertained to real dwarfs, whose stature never exceeded four feet, and was often much within that measure. Fortunately I succeeded in obtaining the greater part of one of them, which was obtained by Dr. M'Call from a "Pygmy Cemetery," near the Cumberland Mountain, in White county, Tennessee. These relics were kindly sent me by Dr. M'Call at the instance of the late Dr. Troost, of Nashville.

The former gentleman, in a letter addressed to me, makes the following remarks from a personal observation of the facts connected with the disinterment of these remains:

"The coffins are from eighteen to twenty-four inches in length, by eighteen inches deep, and fifteen wide. They are made of six pieces of undressed sandstone or limestone, in which the bodies are placed with their shoulders and heads elevated against the eastern end, and the knees raised towards the face, so as to put the corpse in a reclined or sitting posture. The right arm rested on an earthen pot of about two pints in capacity, without legs, but with lateral projections for being lifted. With these pots, in some graves are found basins and trays of pipe-clay and comminuted shells mixed, and no one of these repositories is without cooking-utensils.

"In one of the graves was found a complete skull, and an *os femoris*, but most of the other bones were broken in removing them. This is said to be the largest skeleton ever found in any of these burying-grounds. It has the cranium very flat and broad, with very projecting front-teeth, and appears to have pertained to an individual not over twelve or fourteen years old."[1]

[1] See Jour. Acad. Nat. Sciences of Philadelphia, Vol. VIII.



CHENOOK
side view

Sinclair Del.

The bones sent me with this letter indicate a very juvenile subject. For example, many of the deciduous or first teeth yet remain, while the only teeth of the second teeth which have appeared above the jaw, are the first molars and the incisors, which, as every anatomist knows, make their first appearance about the eighth year. Of the other permanent teeth, some have no portion complete but the crown, and are yet contained within the maxillary bones. The presence of the new incisors, isolated from the cuspidati which have not appeared, obviously gave rise to Dr. M'Call's remark respecting the "very projecting front-teeth," but which, however, are perfectly natural in position and proportion. The cranial bones are thin, and readily separable at the sutures; nor does the "flat and broad" configuration of the cranium differ from what is usual in the aboriginal American race. The long bones have their extremities separated by epipleyses; and every fact connected with these remains is strictly characteristic of early childhood, or about the eighth year of life. Even the recumbent or sitting posture, as we shall hereafter see, has been observed in the aboriginal cemeteries from Cape Horn to Canada; and the utensils found with them are the same in form and composition with those taken from the graves of the Indians everywhere.

These facts are to me an additional and convincing proof of what I have never doubted, viz.: that the asserted Pygmies of the western country were mere children, who, for reasons not precisely known, but which appear also to influence some communities of even our own race, were buried apart from the adult people of their tribe.

d. Fossil Remains of the American Race.

It is also necessary to advert to the discoveries of Dr. Lund among the bone-caves of Minas Gerdas, in Brazil. This distinguished traveller has found the remains of man in these caverns, associated with those of extinct genera and species of animals; and the attendant circumstances lead to the reasonable conclusion, that they were contemporaneous inhabitants of the region in which they are found. Yet even here the form of the skull differs in nothing from the acknowledged type, unless it be in the still greater depression of the forehead, and a peculiarity of form in the teeth. With respect to the latter, Dr. Lund describes the incisors as having an oval surface, of which the axis is antero-posterior, in place of the sharp and chisel-like edge of ordinary teeth of the same class. He assures us that he found it equally in the young and the aged, and is confident that it is not the result of attrition, as is manifestly the case in those Egyptian heads in which Prof. Blumenbach noticed an analagous peculiarity. I am not prepared to question an opinion which I have not been able to test by personal observation, but it is obvious, that if such differences exist,

independently of art or accident, they are at least specific, and consequently of the highest interest in Ethnology.[1]

The head of the celebrated *Guadaloupe Skeleton* forms no exception to the type of the race. The skeleton itself, which is in a semi-fossil state, is preserved in the British Museum, but wants the cranium; which, however, is supposed to be recovered in the one found by M. L'Hérminier in Guadaloupe, and brought by him to Charleston, South Carolina. Dr. Moultrie, who has described this very interesting relic, makes the following observations:—"Compared with the cranium of a Peruvian presented to Prof. Holbrook by Dr. Morton, in the Museum of the State of South Carolina, the craniological similarity manifested between them is too striking to permit us to question their national idenity. There is in both the same coronal elevation, occipital compression, and lateral protuberance accompanied with frontal depression, which mark the American variety in general."[2]

e. Complexion.

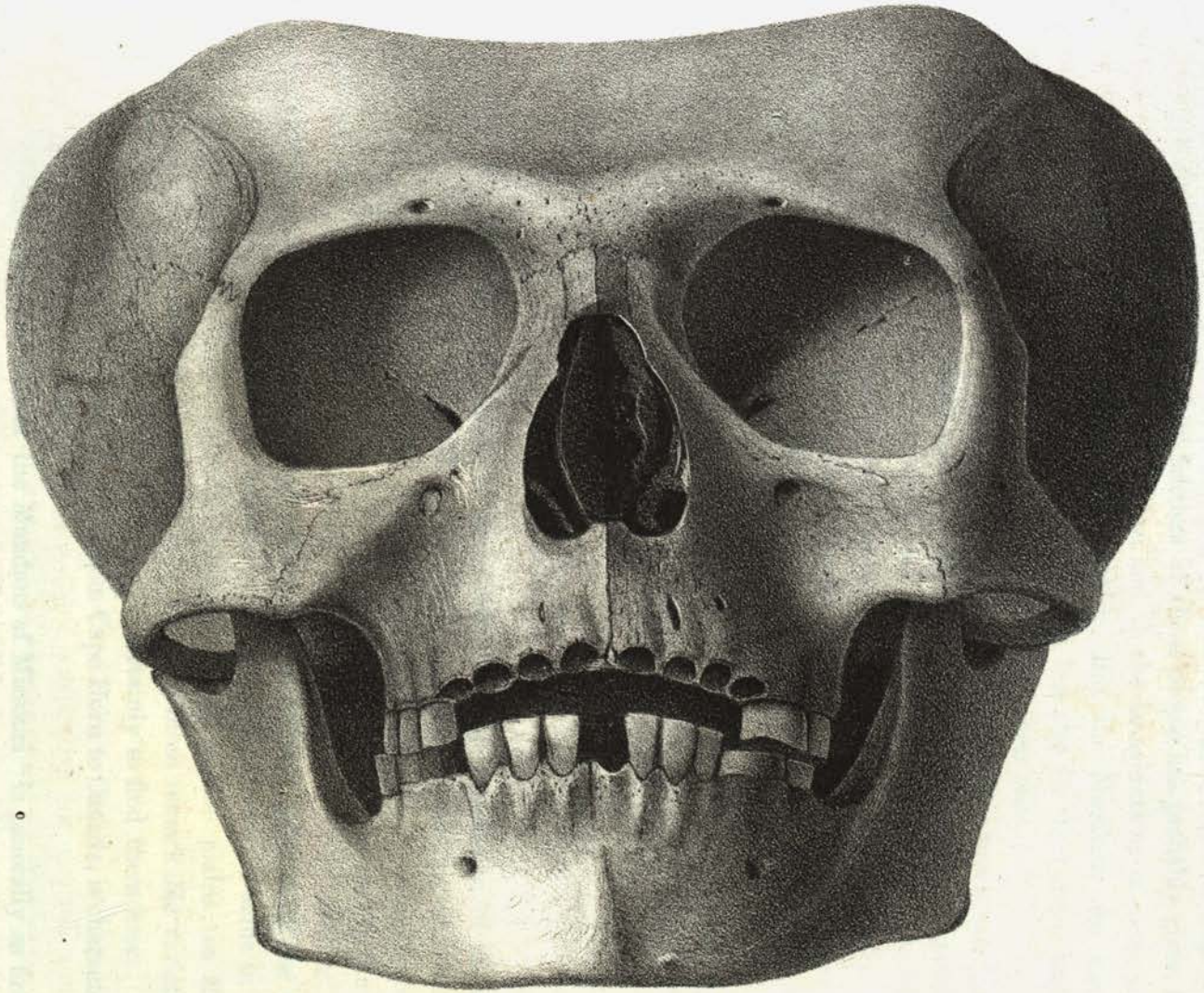
The American aborigines have been aptly called the *Brown Race;* for, notwithstanding some variations, the vast multitude conforms to this color, and all other tints are but exceptions to a rule. Yet these exceptions are very remarkable, and appear to be wholly independent of atmospheric influences. Among the darkest tribes are the Charruas, who are represented as almost black; and yet they inhabit the southern shores of the Rio de la Plata, in the fiftieth degree of south latitude. An analogous phenomenon is seen in some California tribes, which are as dark as the Charruas, without the operation of any known local agencies to account for this exceptional colour; for these people range between the thirty-second and the fortieth degrees of north latitude. Among the numberless tribes which are geographically intermediate between the Charruas and Californians, we find some equally paradoxical appearances; for Humboldt has remarked that the Indians of the burning plains of the Equinoxial region are not darker than those inhabiting the mountains of the temperate zone. The Batocudys of Brazil, and the Borroas of Chili, are examples of a comparatively fair tint; and we are told that among the islanders of St. Catharine's, on the coast of California, young persons have a fine mixture of red and white in their complexions, thus presenting a singular contrast to the tribes of the adjacent main land.

When Bartram the naturalist travelled among the Cherokees, a hundred years ago,

---

[1] See a communication from Dr. Lund, in the Memoirs of the Society of Northern Antiquaries for 1844; and also Lieutenant J. G. Strain's letter to me, in the proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia for 1844.

[2] Silliman's Amer. Jour. of Science, XXXII, p. 364.



CHENOOK

Front view

Sinclair Lith

he described the men as having a lighter and more olive complexion than the contiguous Muskogee tribes; and he adds that some of their young girls were nearly as fair and blooming as European women. Might there not then be, as there certainly has been since, some exotic mixture to account for this phenomenon?

Yet the complexion of the Mandans who inhabit the upper Missouri region is yet more enigmatical. The proverbial fairness of these people has probably given rise to the fable of the Welsh Indians of America, and, in the imaginations of some writers, they are the remains of Prince Madoe's army. But the Mandans are not only remarkable for their comparatively fair complexions, but also for the various tints that gradually merge into the characteristic cinnamon hue of their race.

"There are many of these people," says Catlin, "whose complexions appear as light as half-breeds; and among women, particularly, there are many whose skins are almost white, with the most pleasing symmetry and perfection of features, with hazel, with grey, and with blue eyes." Lewis and Clark, and all subsequent travellers, agree on this point, though not to the extent to which Mr. Catlin's observations have gone; and in this remarkable example, also, the phenomenon has been conjectured to be the result of remote though unrecorded associations with Europeans.

The people of Nootka are also comparatively fair when deprived of their accumulated filth; and one of the lightest complexioned Indians I have ever seen was a Chenouk boy from Oregon, who was not darker than an Italian peasant.

f. Hair.

Among the interesting discoveries of Mr. Browne, in the application of the microscope to this tissue, is the invariably cylindrical form of the hair in all American natives, from the most ancient to the most recent tribes. It thus presents a contrast to the hair in the Caucasian group of races, in which it is oval, and also to the negro nations, in which it is eccentrically elliptical.[1] The texture is equally uniform, being proverbially long, lank, and coarse; nor are these characteristics altered by the vastly diversified climates inhabited by the people of this race. They are the same in Terra del Fuego and under the equator, in the mountains and on the plains; so that if climate or temperature had any influence in producing those remarkable varieties of the hair so familiar among other races, we ought certainly to find them here. Such, however, is not the case; for no native tribe, from Cape Horn to Canada, is characterized by either woolly or frizzled locks.

Mr. Catlin states that the hair of the Mandans of Missouri "is generally as fine and soft as silk;" and he speaks of seeing among them individuals with hazel, grey, and

[1] See a communication on this subject by Peter A. Browne, Esq., in the proceedings of the Acad. of Nat. Sciences of Philadelphia, for January and February, 1851.

blue eyes. Yet the same traveller adds the extraordinary fact, that there are among them "many of both sexes, and of every age, from infancy to manhood and old age, with hair of a bright silvery grey, and, in some instances, almost perfectly white.

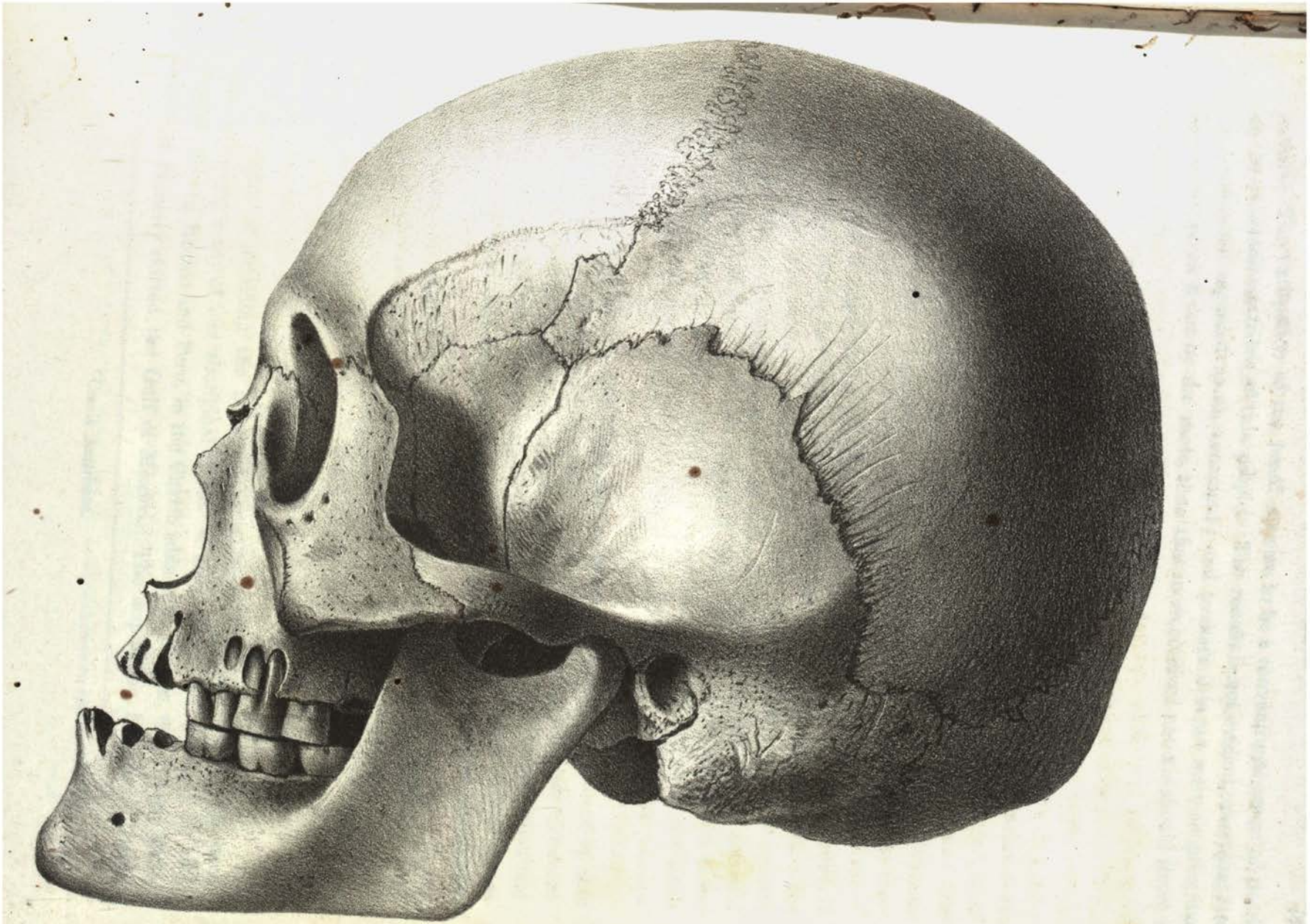
"This singular and eccentric appearance is much oftener seen among the women than among the men; for many of the latter who have it seem ashamed of it, and artfully conceal it by filling their hair with glue and black and red earth. The women, on the other hand, seem proud of it, and display it often in an almost incredible profusion, which spreads itself over their shoulders, and falls as low as the knee. I have ascertained, on a careful inquiry, that about one in ten or twelve of the whole tribe are what the French call *cheveux gris*, or grey hairs; and that this strange and unaccountable phenomenon is not the result of disease or habit, but that it is unquestionably an hereditary character, which runs in families, and indicates no inequality in disposition or intellect; and by passing this hair through my hands, as I often have, I have found it uniformly to be as coarse and harsh as a horse's mane."[1]

We must be permitted to differ with this intelligent traveller on the physiological proposition, for nothing but a morbid state of the hair could permit it to present the two extremes above noticed; from the softness of silk, for example, to the coarseness of horse-hair. The grey color, at least in the early periods of life, is probably connected with some condition of albinism; and that also is certainly a preternatural condition, which is wholly unlike the uniform texture of the hair in every other division of this widely distributed race. Perhaps, therefore, all the peculiarities of the Mandans may be explained on the supposition that an albino variety has largely intermixed with the normal members of the tribe; thus giving rise, as in many other instances in the animal economy, to strange developments from the blending of incongruous elements.

Other exceptions are seen among the Athapascans or Chepewyans, who inhabit the slope of the Rocky Mountains yet further north. Mackenzie describes their hair as of a dark brown color, inclining to black; but in proof that this peculiarity is not due to climate, we may cite the Knistenaux, or copper-colored tribe contiguous to the Athapascans on the south, and whose hair has the characteristic blackness of the race; and again, to the north of them all, are the Eskimaux, in whom it is uniformly as sable as coal itself.

The aboriginal Americans might be relatively styled a beardless race. A small tuft on the point of the chin is all that is usually observed among them; and this being assiduously eradicated by most of the tribes, has given rise to a once prevalent opinion that they are literally destitute of beard. Exceptions to this rule are occasionally met with; as among the Chopunnish Indians west of the Rocky Mountains, and among the Chippewyans and Slave and Dog-ribbed tribes of the northern part of the continent. This remark is also true of the Californians, and also of some yet more southern

[1] Catlin.



CHENOOK

Sinclair's Lith

nations. The extirpation of the beard appears to be a conventional usage of nearly all the multitudinous tribes of this people. The reason is not evident, excepting that the beard is not regarded as an ornament; and perhaps it is not more singular that they should pluck it out by the roots, than that more civilized nations should shave it off every day.

g. The Eyes.

The Indian has a low, bushy brow, beneath which a dull, sleepy, half-closed eye seems to mark the ferocious passions that are dormant within. The acute angles of the eyes seldom present the obliquity so common in the Malays and Mongolians. The color of the eye is almost uniformly a tint between black and grey; but even in young persons it seldom has the brightness, or expresses the vivacity, so common in the more civilized races.

This sameness of organization amongst such multitudinous tribes seems to prove, in the geographical sense, the origin of one to have been equally the origin of all. The various demi-civilized nations are to this day represented by their lineal descendants, who inhabit the same ancestral seats, yet differ in no physical respect from the wild and uncultivated Indians. And with respect to the royal personages, and others of the privileged class, there is ample evidence to prove that they belonged to the same indigenous stock, and possessed no distinctive traits, excepting of a social or political character.

The observations of Molina and Humboldt are sometimes quoted in disproof of this pervading uniformity of physical character. Molina remarks that the difference between the inhabitants of Chili and a Peruvian is as great as between an Italian and a German; to which Humboldt adds, that "the American race embraces natives whose features differ as essentially from one another as those of the Circassians, Moors, and Persians. But let us not forget that all these people belong to the same group of races, with which they are readily identified, notwithstanding certain marked differences of feature and complexion; and the American nations present a precisely parallel example.

h. Artificial Modifications of the Skull.

The practice of moulding the head into a variety of fanciful forms, was once prevalent among many of our aboriginal tribes. I have elsewhere[1] enlarged on this singular usage in Mexico and Peru, in the Charib islands, in Oregon, and among some tribes that formerly skirted the Gulf of Mexico. The acquisition, however, of some

[1] Crania Americana.

additional materials, has induced me to recur to a custom which is yet extensively practised within the limits of the United States. Within these limits, it is now restricted to a few cognate tribes on the coast of the Pacific, but was formerly in use on both sides of the lower Mississippi, as the following enumeration will show.

1. THE NATCHEZ. — These extraordinary people, who were finally exterminated by the French, A. D. 1730, had flattened the heads of their children from immemorial time. De Soto and his companions were witnesses of this remarkable fact during their invasion of Florida; and the historian of that expedition describes the deformity as consisting of an upward elongation of the cranium, until it terminated in a point or edge;[1] and Du Pratz, writing nearly two centuries later, gives a more circumstantial account of the process.[2]

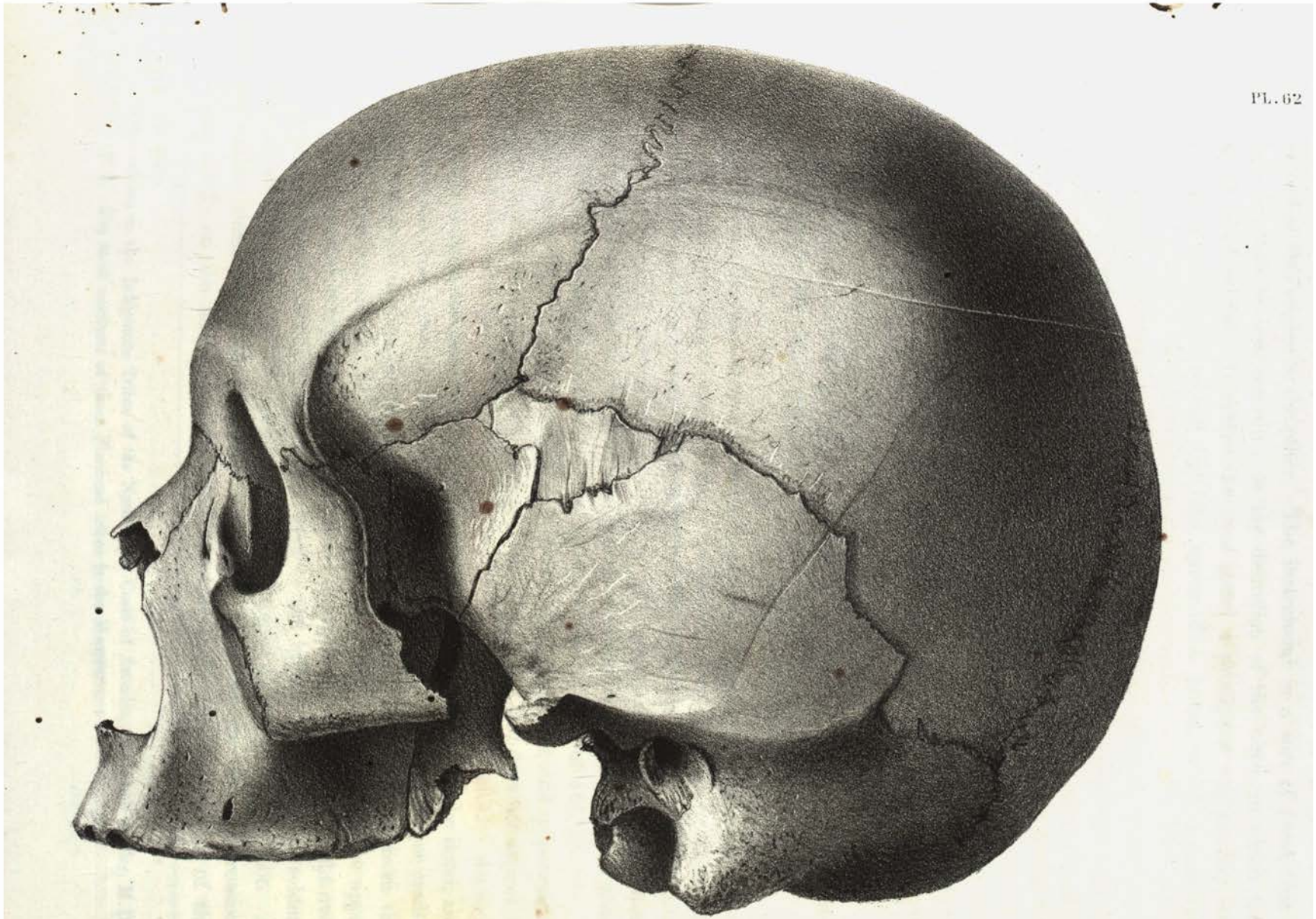
Yet who, in our day, would have credited these statements, if they were sustained by no corroborative evidence? Yet the burial-places of this singular people afford the indubitable evidence of a usage which was equally prevalent in Mexico and Peru; for, in those countries, some tribes moulded the heads of their children in a precisely similar manner.

2. THE CHOCTAWS. — These Indians were of a totally different stock from the Natchez, and often at war with them; yet the two nations adopted the same conventional form of the head. Adair briefly describes the mode of accomplishing this fancied ornament; but Bartram is more explicit in his description. "The Choctaws are called by the traders *Flats*, or *Flat-heads*, all the males having the fore and hind parts of their skulls flattened or compressed, which is effected in the following manner: As soon as the child is born, the nurse provides a cradle or wooden case, where the head reposes, being fashioned like a brick-mould. In this part of the machine the little boy is fixed, a bag of sand being laid on his forehead, which, by continual gentle compressure, gives the forehead somewhat the form of a brick from the temples upwards, and by these means they have high and lofty foreheads, sloping off backwards.[3]

It is a curious fact that among these people the flattening process was a distinction reserved for the male sex; which we shall hereafter see was also the case among the old Aymara tribes of Upper Peru.

3. THE WAXSAWS. — This nation, which has long been extinct, had a similar custom. Lawson[4] thus describes it. "They use a roll, which is placed on the babe's

[1] Garcilaso de la Vega, Hist. de la Florida, Lib. IV. Chap. 13.
[2] Hist. of Louisiana, p. 323. [3] Travels, p. 517.
[4] Hist. of Carolina, p. 33, and *Crania Americana*, p. 162.



WINNEBAGO.

Smithson. Inst.

forehead, it being laid with its back on a flat board, and swaddled down hard thereon, from one end of this engine to the other. The instrument is a sort of press, that is let out and in, more or less, according to the discretion of the nurse, in which they make the child's head flat. It makes the eyes stand a prodigious way asunder, and the hair hangs over the forehead like the eaves of a house, which seems very frightful."

4. THE MUSKOGEES, OR CREEKS.—These people were originally connected with the Choctaws into a single great nation; and some of the Creek tribes on the Gulf of Mexico are known to have flattened the heads of their children,[1] although I can find no notice of the fact in any history of these tribes.

5. THE CATAWBA tribe once occupied the banks of the Santee river, some distance above its mouth. They, also, are said to have practised the custom of which we are speaking.

6. THE ATTACAPAS, Indians living on the western shore of the Mississippi, are placed by some writers in the same category.

7. THE NOOTKA-COLUMBIANS are so designated by Dr. Scouler, of Dublin, because of the affinity of their languages, customs, and physical characters. They comprehend the tribes of Quadra and Vancouver's Island, and the adjacent inlets down to the Columbia river and the northern part of New California. The practice of flattening the head is universal among these people, who thus possess the country between Salmon river, in latitude 53° 30′ north, to the Umpqua river, in the latitude of 46°.[2]

"These tribes have a great similarity in their habits, language, and appearance; and their method of flattening the head is extremely simple, and does not appear to be attended with any disagreeable consequences to the health of the child. As soon as the infant is born, the head is frequently and gently compressed with the hand, and this is continued for three or four days. The child is then placed in a box or cradle, which is rendered comfortable by spreading moss, or a kind of tow made from the bark of the cypress, over it. The occiput of the child rests on a board at the upper part of the box, and is supported by tow or moss; another board is then brought over the forehead, and tied firmly down on the head of the infant. The child is seldom taken from the cradle, and the compression is continued till it is able to walk. A child about three years old presents a most hideous appearance: the compression, acting chiefly on the forehead and occiput, reverses the natural proportion of the

[1] See Plate.

[2] Observations on the Indigenous Tribes of the North-West Coast of America. By John Scouler, M.D., F.L.S. P. 9. The most northern of these Flat-head tribes is the HAUTZUK.

head, and causes it to assume the form of a wedge. The eyeballs project very much, and the individual ever after has the eyes directed upwards."[1]

Among these tribes, we may enumerate the Nootkans, Chenouks, Clatsaps, Killemooks, Clickitats, Kalapooyahs, and many others.[2]

The apparatus, described by Dr. Scouler, for the purpose of producing this distortion, differs nothing (though some little in form) from the cradle brought me from Oregon by my friend the late Dr. Townsend, and figured in the Crania Americana.[3]

8. PERUVIANS. — I have remarked that if we had no other evidence of this strange custom than the relation of travellers, we might be disposed to deny it altogether, and attribute the resulting deformities "not to art, but to some original and congenital peculiarity." Such has been the opinion of Pentland, Tiedemann, Tchudi, and Knox, respecting the Peruvian skulls of this class; and, at the time of publishing my *Crania Americana*,[4] I adopted the same views. The acquisition, however, of a very extended series of crania from the Peruvian tombs caused me to change my opinion on this point.

I at first found it difficult to conceive that the original rounded skull of the Indian could be changed into this fantastic form; and was led to suppose that the latter was an artificial elongation of a head remarkable for its natural length and narrowness. I even supposed that the long-headed Peruvians were a more ancient people than the Inca tribes, and distinguished from them by their cranial configuration. In this opinion I was mistaken. Abundant means of observation and comparison have since convinced me, that all these variously-formed heads were originally of the same rounded-shape, which is characteristic of the Aboriginal race from Cape Horn to Canada, and that art alone has caused the diversities among them.

The simple forms were easily accomplished; but the very elongated, narrow, and symmetrical variety required more ingenuity. A fine series of the heads, recently sent me by my friends Mr. W. A. Foster and Dr. Oakford, now in Peru, has enabled me to decide this question conclusively.

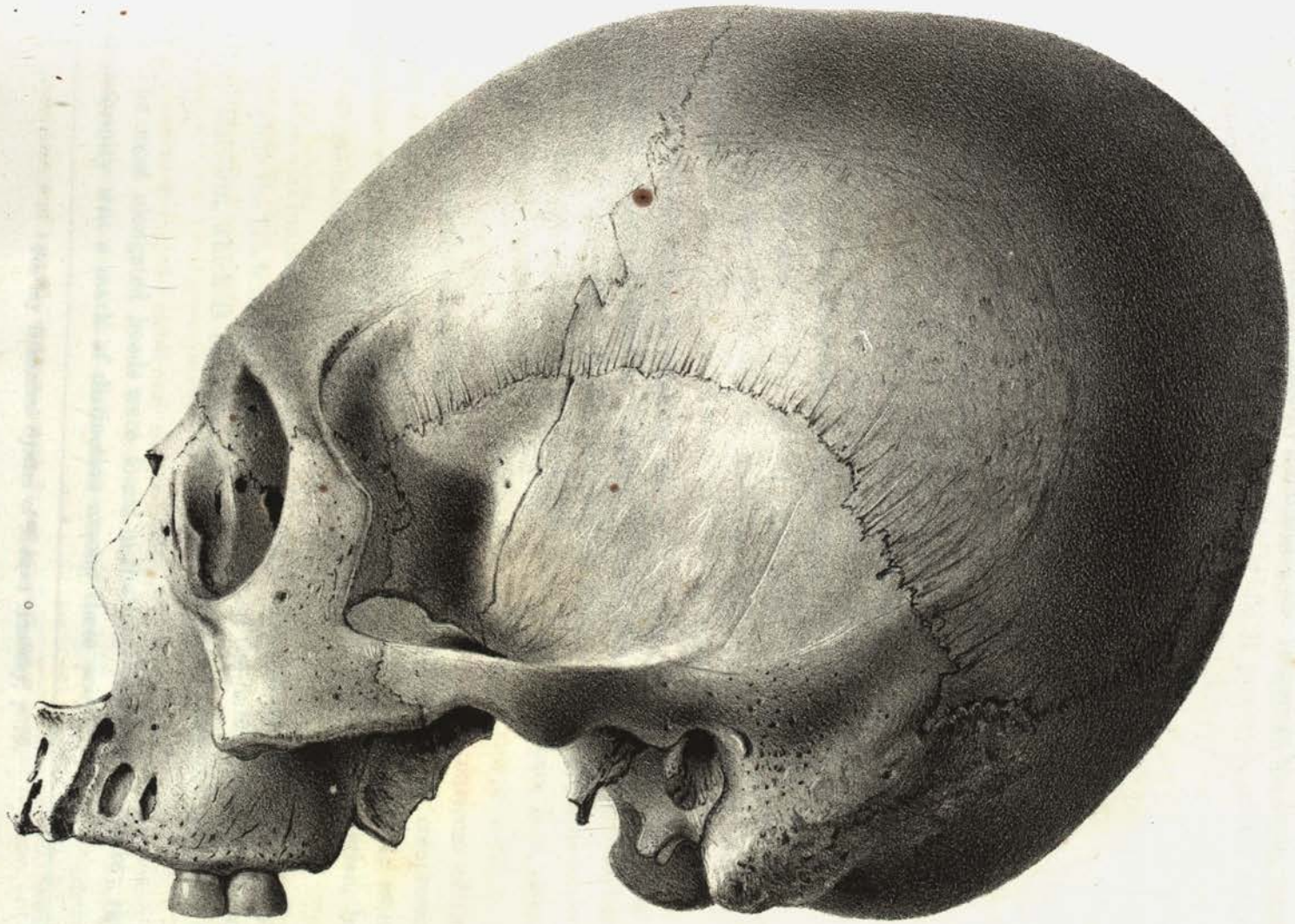
It is evident that the forehead was pressed downwards and backwards by a compress, (probably a folded cloth,) — or sometimes by two compresses, one on each side of the frontal suture; a fact that explains the cause of the ridge which usually replaces that suture from the root of the nose to the coronal tract. To keep these compresses in place, a bandage was carried over them, from the base of the occiput over the forehead; and then, in order to confine the lateral portions of the skull, the same bandage was continued by another turn over the top of the head, immediately behind the coronal suture, probably with an intervening compress; and the bandaging was repeated upon these parts until they were immovably confined in their desired position.

---

[1] Idem in Zoolog. Journal, Vol. IV. p. 306.

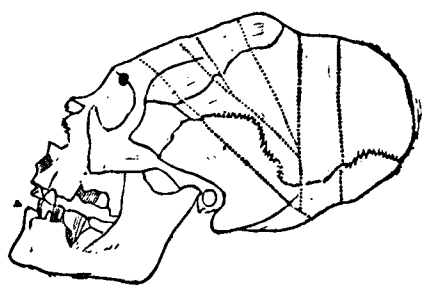
[2] Skulls of all these tribes, excepting the Nootkans, are figured in the Crania Americana.

[3] P. 204. [4] P. 98.



FROM
COLUMBIA RIVER.

Every one who is acquainted with the pliable condition of the cranial bones at birth, will readily conceive how effectually this apparatus would mould the head in the elongated or cylindrical form; for, while it prevents the forehead from rising, and the sides of the head from expanding, it allows the occipital region an entire freedom of growth; and thus, without sensibly diminishing the volume of the brain, merely forces it into a new though unnatural direction, while it preserves, at the same time, a remarkable symmetry of the whole structure. The annexed outline of one of these skulls, will further illustrate my meaning; merely premising that the course of the bandages (represented by dotted lines) is distinctly marked on the skull itself by a corresponding depression of the bony structure, excepting on the forehead, where the action of a firm compress has left a plane surface.[1]



My matured opinion on this subject is most fully corroborated by the personal researches of M. Aleide D'Orbigny. This distinguished traveller and naturalist visited the table-land of the Andes, once inhabited by the ancient Peruvians, and from his researches I derive the following conclusive facts.

1. The descendants of the ancient Peruvians yet inhabit the land of their ancestors, and bear the name of Aymaras, which was probably their primitive designation.

2. The modern Aymaras resemble the surrounding Quichua or Peruvian nations in color, figure, features, expression, shape of the head, (which they have ceased to mould into artificial forms,) and, in fact, in every thing that relates to physical conformation and social customs. Their languages differ, but even here there is a resemblance which proves a common origin.

3. On examining the tombs of the ancient Aymaras, in the environs of the lake Titicaca, M. D'Orbigny remarked that those which contained the compressed and elongated skulls, contained also a greater number that were not flattened; whence he infers that the deformity was not natural, or characteristic of the nation, but the result of mechanical compression.

4. It was also remarked that those skulls which were flattened were uniformly those of men, while the heads of the women always retained the natural shape,—the squared or spheroidal form, which is characteristic of the American race, and especially of the Peruvians.

5. The most elongated heads were found in the largest and finest tombs; showing that deformity was a mark of distinction among these people.

---

[1] See my Illustrated System of Human Anatomy, p. 76.

6. The researches of M. D'Orbigny confirm the statements made at distant intervals of time by Pedro de Cieza, Garcilaso de la Vega, and Mr. Pentland, and prove conclusively, what I have never doubted, that these people were the architects of their own tombs and temples; and not, as some suppose, intruders who had usurped the civilization, and appropriated the ingenuity, of an antecedent and more intellectual race.[1]

"The ancient skulls of Titicaca," observes Dr. Scouler, "do not exhibit a greater amount of deformity than the artificially flattened skulls of the Nootkans and Chenouks;" and to this fact we may add the personal observations of Cieza and Garcilaso de la Vega, and the abundant collateral testimony of Torquemada, Aguirre, and various later historians.[2] It will hereafter be shown that the aborigines of North and South America moulded the heads of their children, for the most part, in the same unnatural and diverse forms, of which four are particularly conspicuous.

1. The conical head.
2. The symmetrically-elongated form.
3. The irregularly compressed and expanded form.
4. The quadrangular form.

Strange as these forms are, and contrary to all our preconceived ideas, they are not more so than two physiological truths that have been satisfactorily established in connexion with them; viz., that the process by which they are produced neither diminishes the natural volume of the brain, nor appreciably affects the moral or mental character of the individual.

i. Volume of the Brain.

On former occasions, when treating of the American aborigines, I have divided them into two great families, the *Toltecan nations* and the *barbarous tribes*. The latter designation is sufficiently expressive. The former one includes the demi-civilized nations of Peru, Bogota, and Mexico. This classification is manifestly arbitrary; but every attempt to separate these families into natural and subordinate groups has hitherto been signally defective.[3] Much time and investigation will be requisite for this purpose; for which an admissible basis has been already furnished by the researches of M. D'Orbigny in South, and Mr. Gallatin in North America.

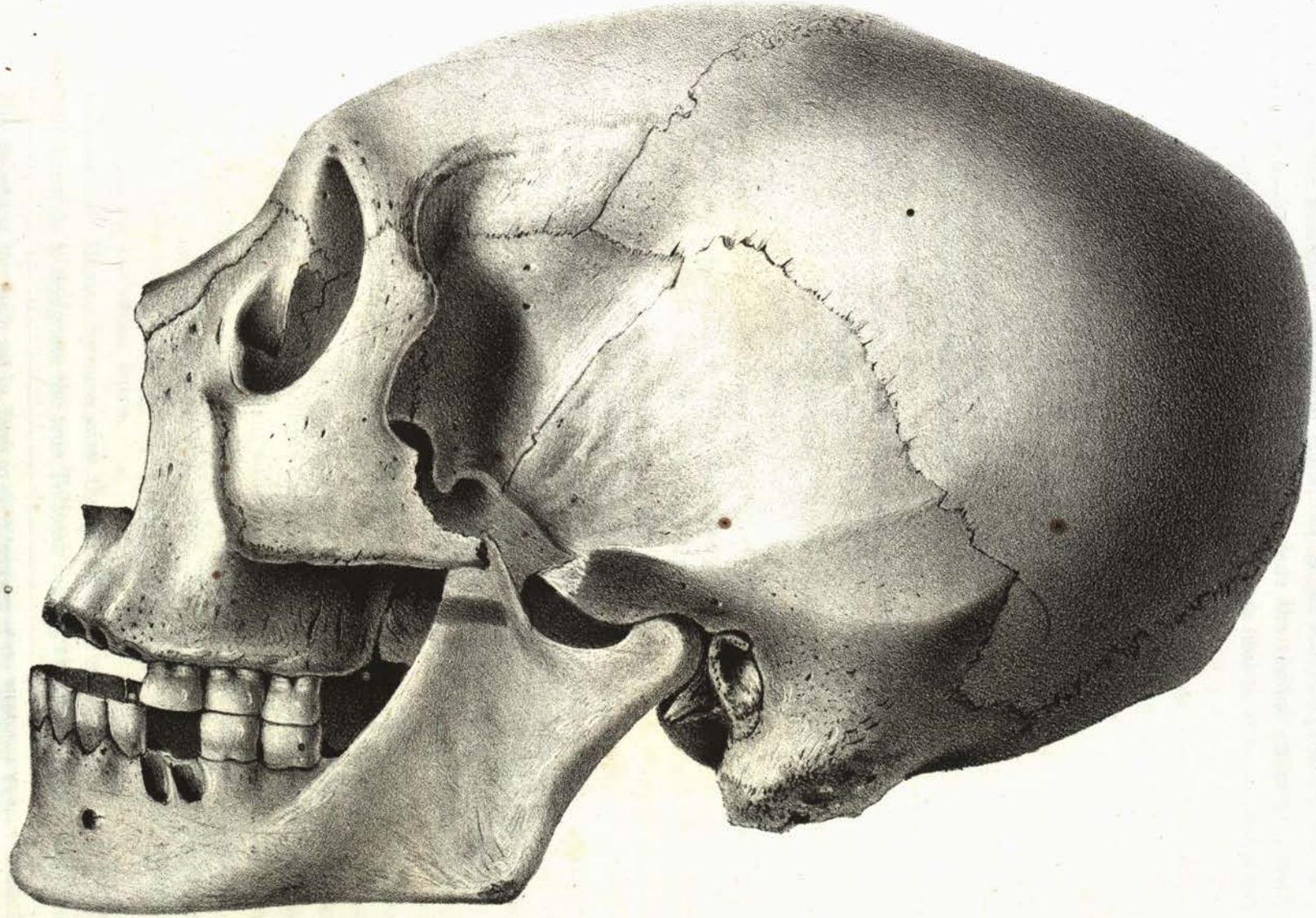
My collection embraces 410 skulls, derived from sixty-four different nations and tribes of Indians, in which the two great divisions are represented in nearly equal

---

[1] L'Homme Americain, Tome I, p. 306. I corrected my error before I had the pleasure of seeing M. D'Orbigny's very interesting work. Amer. Jour. of Science, vol. xxxviii, No. 2. Jour. Acad. Nat. Sciences of Philadelphia, vol. viii; and again in my Distinctive Characteristics of the Aboriginal Race of America, p. 6.

[2] Vide Crania Americana, p. 116, et seq.

[3] [And must ever continue to be, until the test of generic groups of language be applied. — S.]



FROM

COLUMBIA RIVER

proportions, as the following details will show. It is necessary to premise, however, of this number of crania, 338 is the number measured; the residue either pertaining to individuals under the prescribed age, or being so much broken as to be unavailing for this purpose.

The Toltecan family. Of 213 skulls of Mexicans and Peruvians, 201 belong to the latter people, and have been presented to me by Dr. Ruschenberger, Dr. Oakford, and Mr. William A. Foster. The latter gentleman visited, on my behalf, the cemeteries of Pisco, Pachacamac, and Arica, which have been but little used since the Spanish conquest, and contain the remains of the aboriginal inhabitants of various epochs of time.

Herrera informs us that Pachacamac was sacred to priests, nobles, and other persons of distinction; and there is ample evidence that Arica and Pisco, though free to all classes, were among the most favored cemeteries of Peru. It is of some importance to the present inquiry, that nearly one-half of this series of Peruvian crania was obtained at Pachacamac; whence the inference that they belonged to the most intellectual and cultivated portion of the Peruvian nation; for in Peru learning of every kind was an exclusive privilege of the ruling caste.

When we consider the institutions of the old Peruvians, their comparatively advanced civilization, their tombs and temples, mountain roads and monolithic gateways, together with their knowledge of certain ornamental arts, it is surprising to find that they possessed a brain no larger than the Hottentot and New Hollander, and far below that of the barbarous hordes of their own race. For on measuring 155 crania, nearly all derived from the sepulchres just mentioned, they give but 75 cubic inches for the average bulk of the brain. Of the whole number, one only attains the capacity of 101 cubic inches, and the minimum sinks to 58; the smallest in the whole series of 641 measured crania. It is important further to remark, that the sexes are nearly equally represented; viz., 80 men and 75 women.

1. The Mexicans.—It is customary to regard Mexico as the primitive hive of the Toltecan race, and consequently the centre of the indigenous civilization of this continent. And such appears to be the fact, provided Central America is included in Mexico. From these regions were probably derived the arts and institutions of Bogota and Peru, as well as those of the ancient valley of the Mississippi;[1] but whether the latter preceded or followed in the order of development is yet an unsettled question. But a strikingly cognate relation, mental, moral, and physical, appears to have characterized all these nations, which are in turn blended by imperceptible degrees with the surrounding barbarous tribes.

The occupation of Mexico by successive though affiliated races, renders it difficult and almost impossible to designate the true Toltecan crania, excepting in the instance

[1] See the work of Mr. Squier and Dr. Davis on the Monuments of the Mississippi Valley.

of six skulls most obligingly sent me by Don Gomez de la Cortina, of the city of Mexico, and a seventh for which I am indebted to Baron Von Gerolt. Of fifteen others my information is less precise; yet the circumstances under which they were obtained seem to warrant their being classed in the Toltecan series.

The largest of these crania measures 92 cubic inches; the smallest 67; and the mean of them all is 79, or five cubic inches above the Peruvian average. The proportion of male and female skulls is 12 to 10.

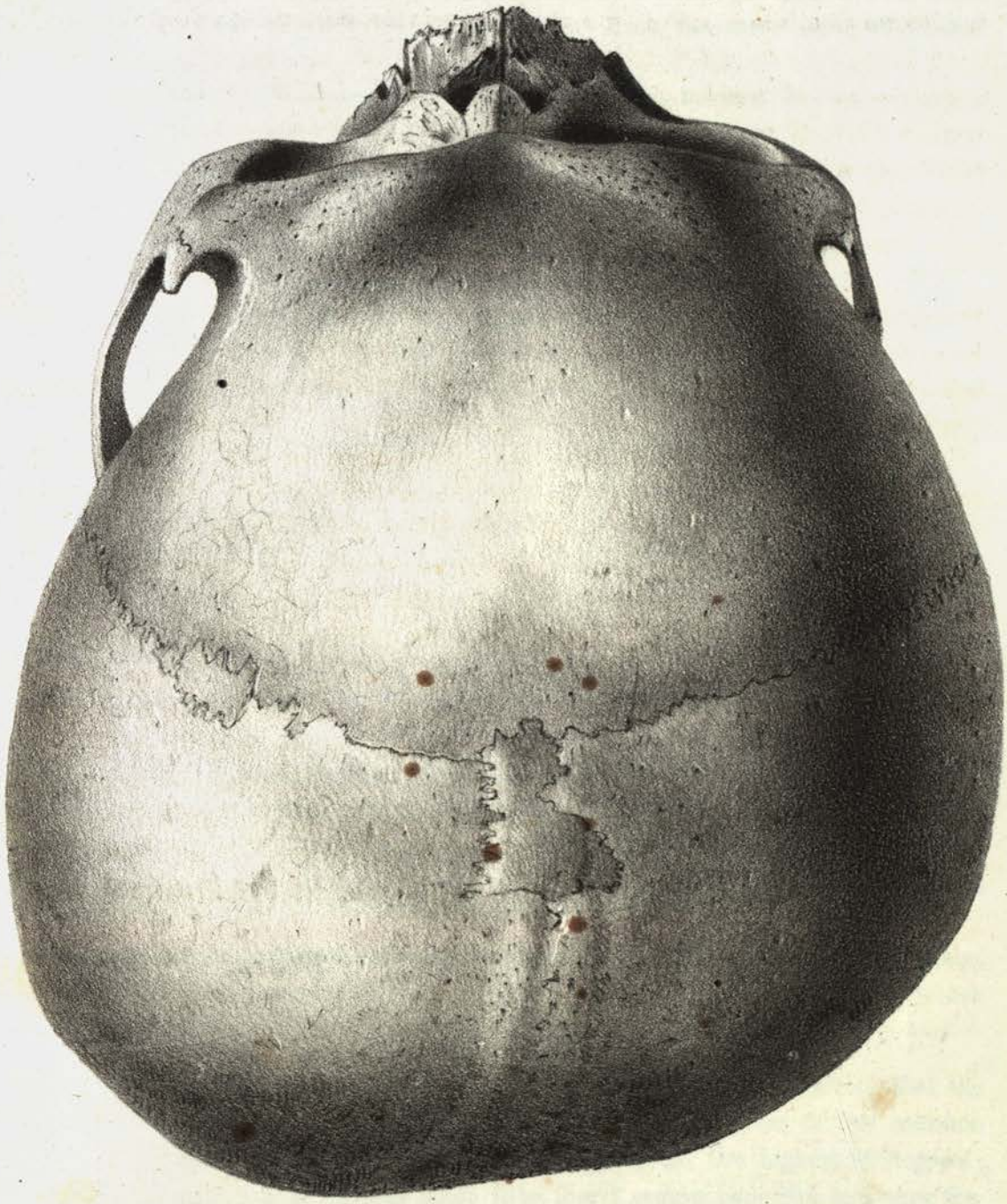
2. The Barbarous Tribes.—The demi-civilized communities, as we have just remarked, were hemmed in by savage tribes. Garcilaso de la Vega, in former times, and D'Orbigny and Von Tchudi in our own day, have given a vivid picture of the ferocious hordes that skirt the Peruvians on the East. Thus also Mexico continues to suffer from the incursions of the Apaches and Comanches—people who personify the remorseless demon of cruelty.

The skulls in my possession of this series have been collected over the vast region extending from Canada to Auracania, and from ocean to ocean; and I include among them all the skulls from the tumuli of the Valley of the Mississippi and other parts of North America. These remains correspond so entirely with those of the Nomadic Indians that I have not been able to separate them with any practical purpose in an inquiry like the present. The aborigines of the present day continue to bury their dead in the old mounds; and when we consider the long period of time that must have elapsed since the real mound-builders took their departure or became extinct, we can hardly expect to find and much less to identify their remains. It is sufficient to add that every skull I have yet seen from the mounds, caves, and graves of this country, conforms in all its essential characters to the typical form of the American race.

Of 211 crania derived from the various sources enumerated in this section, 161 have been measured, with the following results; the largest cranium gives 104 cubic inches, the smallest 70; and the mean of them all is 84. There is a disparity, however, in the male and female heads, for the former are 96 in number, the latter only 65.

We have here the surprising fact that the brain of the Indian in his savage state is far larger than that of the old demi-civilized Peruvian, or of the ancient Mexican tribes. How are we to explain this remarkable disparity between civilization and barbarism? The largest Peruvian brain measures 101 cubic inches; an untamed Shawnee rises to 104; and the average difference between the Peruvian and the savage is nine cubic inches in favor of the latter. Something may be attributed to a primitive difference of stock; but more, perhaps, to the contrasted activity of the brain in the two races.

We know that the government of the Incas was of the kind called paternal, and their subjects, in the moral and intellectual sense, were children, who seem neither to



FROM

COLUMBIA RIVER.

Sinclair's Lith.

have thought nor acted except at the dictation of a master. Theirs was an absolute obedience that knew no limit. Like the Bengalees, they made good soldiers in their native wars, not from any principle of valour, but from the mere sense of passive obedience to their superiors.

But the condition of the savage is wholly different. His life is a sleepless vigilance, a perpetual stratagem; and his brain, always in a state of activity, should be larger than that of the docile Peruvian, even though it ceased to grow after adult age. The indomitable barbarians who yet inhabit the base of the Andes on the eastern margin of Peru, may yet prove to have a much larger brain than their feebler neighbors, whose remains we have examined from the graves of Pachacamac, Pisco, and Arica.

If, in conclusion of this part of our subject, we consider the collective races of America, civilized and savage, we shall find, as shown in the TABLE, that the average volume of the brain, as measured in the whole series of 338 crania, is only 79 cubic inches.

II. ADMEASUREMENTS OF CRANIA OF THE PRINCIPAL GROUPS OF INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY J. S. PHILLIPS.

THE completion of the preceding paper having been prevented by the untimely death of its lamented author, at the instance of Mr. Schoolcraft, the following table has been compiled from the measurements registered in Dr. Morton's manuscript catalogue of his collection, together with those of the crania brought by the United States Exploring Expedition, and some others in the Morton collection, now first measured to complete this table, which contains the results of the measurement of the facial angle and internal capacity of every accessible Indian cranium known to the author.

This table has been arranged in Races, grouped according to affiliation of language, as pointed out by Mr. S., and the resulting averages present a number of facts which appear to be well worthy of notice.

FACIAL ANGLE.—This measurement varies so little in this extensive series, that the greater number would be found to range within a very few degrees of the common average, 76½ degrees; the lowest in the series being 70, and the highest 86 degrees; there not being in the whole number more than 6 or 7 crania over 80°, and very few below 73°. The average angle of the different great groups is strikingly similar, scarcely any of them varying from the common average more than 1½ degrees; from all which it may be assumed that the average facial angle of the barbarous tribes of North America is 76½ degrees. (The crania artificially moulded are not included in this average.)

INTERNAL CAPACITY. — While the facial angle in the different groups varies so little from the common average, we find the measure of the internal capacity differing very materially from the mean.

Hitherto our aborigines have been only divided into the barbarous and semi-barbarous, or into some similar classification of no more value in ethnology. This is perhaps the first attempt to group them, on a large scale, into families according to language; and the result of the measurement of the volume of the brain is strikingly in accordance with the ascertained character of the different groups thus constituted.

a. IROQUOIS.

The number of crania of this interesting group that could be obtained for measurement was but ten; yet in this small number most of the important tribes are represented. The average internal capacity of the cranium in this group is about 8½ inches higher than in the lowest types, and 4½ inches higher than the average; being 88½ cubic inches. This result is strikingly in keeping with the fact, that they were so completely the master-spirits of the land, that at the time of the first settlement of this country by the white race, they were so rapidly subduing the other tribes and nations around them, that if their career of conquest had not been cut short by the Anglo-Saxon predominance, they bid fair to have conquered all within their reach.

b. c. ALGONQUIN AND APPALACHIAN.

These two groups give the same average internal capacity, viz. 83¾ inches, exactly the mean, while the range of measurements does not vary very much in the two groups, extending from about 70 to 100 cubic inches.

The average internal capacity of the cranium of these two races, approaching so nearly the common average, agrees well with their character, they both presenting a fair medium specimen of the barbarous tribes of North America.

d. DACOTA.

The tribes grouped together under this name average 1¼ cubic inches higher than the two last, viz. 85 inches; and these appear to possess more force of character and more of the untameable violence which forms the most characteristic feature in our barbarous tribes.[1]

---

[1] Plate 62 is an accurate drawing of the head of a Winnebago, one of the tribes affiliated to Dacotas by language.

FLATHEAD

side view

e. Shoshonees.

The Shoshonees exhibit the same volume of brain with the Oregonians, and though not affiliated by language, are of a grade not much, if any, superior to them.

f. Oregonians.

The lowest measurements of the internal capacity occur among the tribes west of the Rocky Mountains, the average being only 80¼ cubic inches, and the artificially compressed crania 80 inches; and this small difference may be owing to the small number of heads that have been measured not giving a fair average.

These people are known to be the lowest type of all the North American tribes, and the volume of the brain, about 4 inches less than the average, and 8 inches less than the Iroquois, is strictly in accordance with their degraded character.

Plates 61 and 68 furnish fair specimens of the unaltered crania of the Oregonian group. The similarity of outline between Plate 61, a Chenook, and Plate 62, a Winnebago, is very striking.

It is also remarkable that no effect of consequence should be produced on the volume of brain by a pressure capable of so greatly distorting its bony case.[1]

The average volume of the brain in the barbarous tribes is shown to be from 83½ to 84 cubic inches, while that in the Mexicans is but 79, and in the Peruvians only 75; thus exhibiting the apparent anomaly of barbarous and uncivilizable tribes possessing larger brains than races capable of considerable progress in civilization.

This discrepancy deserves more investigation than time permits at present; but the following views of the subject may make it appear less anomalous.

The prevailing features in the character of the North American savage are, stoicism, a severe cruelty, excessive watchfulness, and that coarse brutality which results from the entire preponderance of the animal propensities. These so outweigh the intellectual portion of the character, that it is completely subordinate, making the Indian what we see him, a most unintellectual and uncivilizable man.

The intellectual lobe of the brain of these people, if not borne down by such overpowering animal propensities and passions, would doubtless have been capable of much greater efforts than any we are acquainted with, and have enabled these barbarous tribes to make some progress in civilization. This appears to be the cerebral difference between the Mexicans and Peruvians on the one hand, and the barbarous tribes of North America on the other.

---

[1] This extraordinary distortion is admirably illustrated in Plates 59, 60, 63, 64, 65, 66, and 67.

	Facial Angle.	Internal Capacity.
Plates 59 and 60, front and side views of same head,	70½	95
" 63, from Columbia River,	75	80
" 64 " "	76	85
" 65 " "	77	77
" 66 and 67, front and side views of same head,	73	71

The intellectual lobe of the brain in the two former is at least as large as in the latter, the difference in volume being chiefly confined to the occipital and basal portions of the encephalon; so that the intellectual and moral qualities of the Mexicans and Peruvians (at least as large if not larger than those of the other group) are left more free to act, being not so subordinate to the propensities and violent passions.

This view of the subject is in accordance with the history of these two divisions, Barbarous and Civilizable.

When the former were assailed by the European settlers they fought desperately, but rather with the cunning and ferocity of the lower animals than with the system and courage of men; they could not be subjugated, and were either exterminated, or continued to retire into the forest, when they could no longer maintain their ground. Had their intellect been in proportion to their other qualities, they would have been most formidable enemies.

With the Mexicans and Peruvians, the case has been the very reverse. The original inhabitants of Mexico were entirely subjugated by the Aztecs, who appear to have been a small tribe in comparison with the Mexicans; and then they were all conquered and completely enslaved by a mere handful of Spaniards; although the Mexicans had the advantage over the barbarous tribes of concerted action, some discipline, and preparation, in which the latter were greatly deficient.

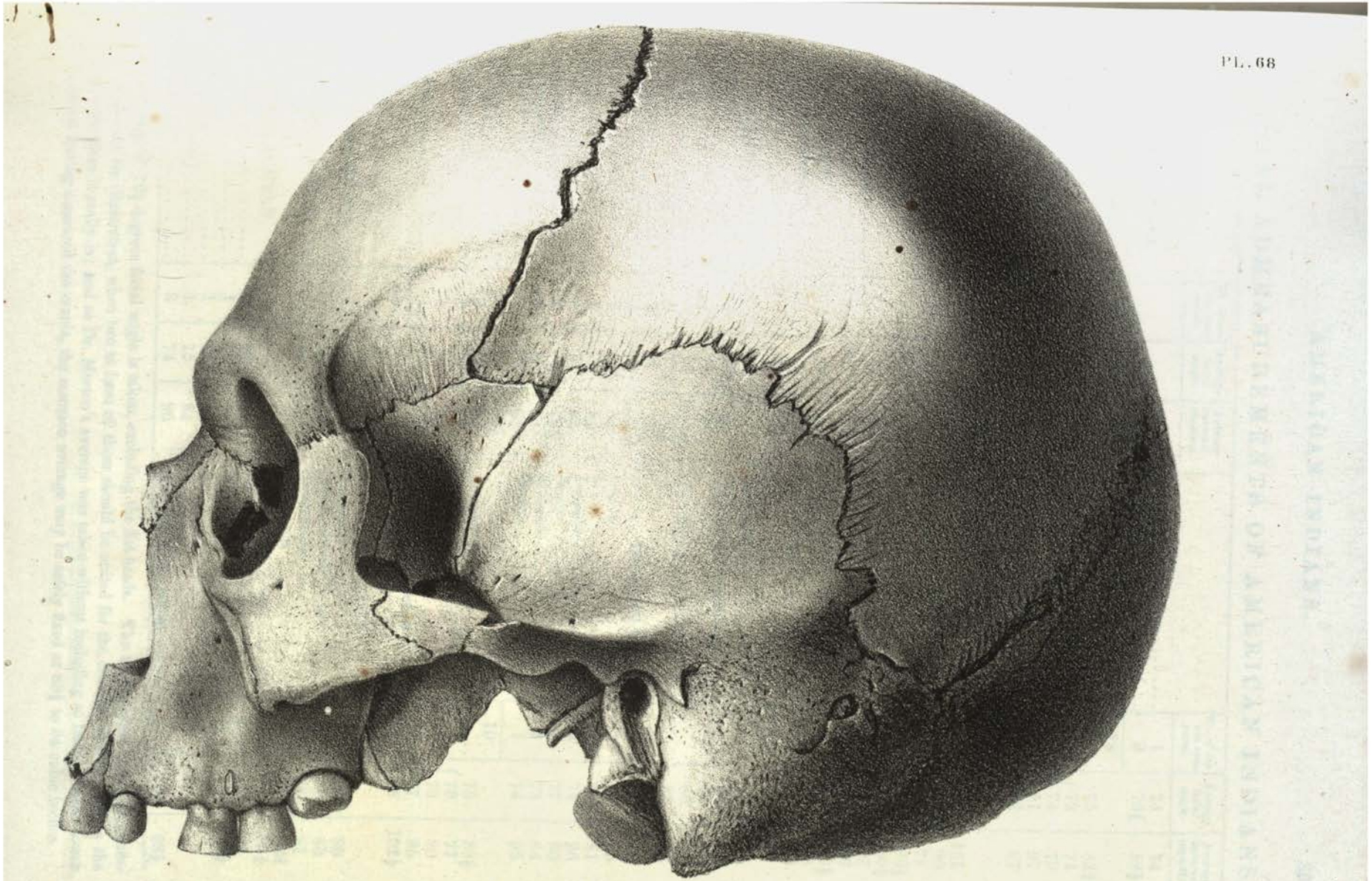
The Mexicans, with smaller brains, were evidently inferior in resolution, in attack and defence, and the more manly traits of character, to the barbarous races, who contested every inch of ground until they were entirely outnumbered.

And at the present time, the Camanches and Apaches, though a part of the great Shoshonee division,[1] one of the lowest of the races of North America, are continually plundering and destroying the Indians of northern Mexico, who scarcely attempt resistance.

Viewed in this light, the apparent contradiction of a race with a smaller brain being superior to tribes with larger brains is so far explained, that the volume and distribution of their respective brains appears to be in accordance with such facts in their history as have come to our knowledge.

FLATHEAD

back view



CALIFORNIAN.

CRANIAL ADMEASUREMENTS OF AMERICAN INDIANS.

	No. of crania measured.	Average facial angle.	Average internal capacity.
OREGONIANS.			
UNALTERED BY ART.			
Chenook	4	79	80
From Columbia river	10	76	80
	14		
Average		77½	80
Two lowest in series		70	67
		74	72
Two highest in series		80	91
		80	95
CRANIA ALTERED BY ART,			
From Oregon and California	15	71½	80
Two lowest in series		66	71
		67	72
Two highest in series		77	86
		77½	91
SHOSHONEES	4	76½	81
Lowest measurements		74	72
Highest "		80	91
ALGONQUIN.			
Chippewa	2	78½	91
Cotonay	2	77	85
Illinois	1	82	broken
Lenape	3	77½	74½
Massasauga	1	76	79½
Minsi	1	78	broken
Menomonee	8	75½	84
Miami	3	76	89
Natick	4	76	85
Naumkeag	2	80	79½
Narragansett	9	75	83
Ottigamie	4	81	92
Ottawa	4	72	80½
Pottawatomie	2	78	92
Quinipiac	1	70	78
Sauk	2	82	91
Shawnee	1	78	72
	50		
Average		77	83¾
Two lowest in series		70	71
		72	72
Two highest in series		84	95
		86	102
APPALACHIAN.			
Cherokee	2	75½	87
Choctaw	1	74	79
Euchee	1	75	84
Tlascalan [Aztec]	1	75	84
Muskogee	3	74	90
Miccosaukie	1	74	74
Seminole	9	76½	88½
	18		
Average		75	83¾
Two lowest in series		72	74
		74	79
Two highest in series		81	97
		82	97
DACOTA.			
Assineboin	1	79	101
Dacota	1	77	90
Otomie	4	74½	78
Minetari	4	77	86½
Mandan	4	74	80½
Osage	2	78	87
Otoe	3	74½	86
Pawnee	2	76½	73½
Rickaree	3	80	78
Winnebago	2	79	89
	26		
Average		77	85
Two lowest in series		70	76
		71	76
Two highest in series		80	94
		83	101
IROQUOIS.			
Cayuga	1	78	95
Huron	2	74½	81
Iroquois	2	74	96
Mingo	1	77	80
Mohawk	3	73	84
Oneida	1	74	95
	10		
Average		75	88½
Two lowest in series		70	77
		73	80
Two highest in series		77	95
		78	102½
SUMMARY.			
Oregonian	14	77½	80
Crania altered by art	15	71½	80
Shoshonees	4	76½	81
Algonquin	50	77	83¾
Appalachian	18	77	83¾
Dacota	26	77	85
Iroquois	10	75	88½
	137		
Average of the whole		76⅔	83⅓

The average of 76⅔ degrees facial angle is taken, excluding the flat heads. The three lowest types being measured separately for illustration, when two at least of them should be united for the common average, makes the average lower than it really is; and as Dr. Morton's average was taken without including so many of these lower types, he not having measured the crania, the common average may be safely fixed at 83½ to 84 cubic inches.

IX. LANGUAGE. A.

LANGUAGE.

SYNOPSIS.

I. Indian Languages of the United States. By H. R. Schoolcraft.
II. Plan of Thought of the American Languages. By Dr. Francis Leiber.
III. Essay on the Grammatical Structure of the Algonquin Language. By H. R. Schoolcraft.
IV. Remarks on the Principles of the Cherokee Language. By Rev. S. N. Worcester.
V. Reply to Philological Inquiries in relation to the Ojibwa Language of Lake Superior. By Rev. Sherman Hall.[1]
VI. Vocabularies.

I. Algonquin Group:—
- *a.* 1. Ojibwa of Sault Ste Marie.
  2. Ojibwa of Grand Traverse Bay.
  3. Ojibwa of Saginaw.
  4. Ojibwa of Michilimackinac.
- *b.* Miami.
- *c.* Menomonee.
- *d.* Shawnee.
- *e.* Delaware.

Sub-division—
Natic, or Massachusetts dialect. Vol. I., p. 288.

II. Iroquois Group:—
- *a.* Mohawk.
- *b.* Oneida.
- *c.* Onondaga.
- *d.* Cayuga.
- *e.* Seneca.[1]
- *f.* Tuscarora.[1]
- *g.* Wyandot.[1]

III. Appalachian Group:—[1]
- *a.* Muscogee East.[1]
  Muscogee West.[1]
- *b.* Choctaw.[1]
- *c.* Seminole.[1]

[1] Deferred to Part III.

IV. Dacota Group:—[1]
- *a.* Dacota.[1]
- *b.* Winnebago.[1]
- *c.* Iowa.[1]
- *d.* Osage.[1]

V. Shoshonee Group:—
- *a.* Comanchee.

Miscellaneous Vocabularies:—
- Satsika, or Blackfeet.
- Cushna. California.
- Costanos. California.
- Diegunos. Lower California, ante, p. 104.
- Cuchan or Yuma. Rio Colorado, ante, p. 118.
- Cheyenne, or Chawai.[1]
- Snake. Vol. I., p. 216.[1]

1. INDIAN LANGUAGES OF THE UNITED STATES.

No topic has, from the first, excited a deeper curiosity among the learned than the American languages. The discussion of their principles has, however, proceeded generally from writers of theoretical views, who, however imbued with the true spirit of philosophy and learning, have not themselves been practically acquainted with the dialects, and have, moreover, been limited to narrow or imprecise examples. A people who are perpetually speaking of things in their concrete and gross relations, could not be expected to discourse analytically, or to utter elementary names or phrases; nor could great certainty of forms be relied on, when it is known that the vocabularies and examples of these forest tongues have been committed to paper either by travellers wholly or measurably ignorant of the languages, or else by native interpreters, who, however well-versed with the aboriginal tongues, have yet been too ignorant of the principles of grammatical structure to give the precise equivalent of words in English, French, Spanish, or German,—the four principal modern languages in which, during the settlement of America, it has been attempted.

The attention of the author was first called to this particular, and the subject of the languages generally, in 1822, on his entering the Indian country in an official capacity, when he commenced, with excellent interpreters, the study of the Algonquin and its dialects; and he soon felt a zeal in the pursuit, and in the philosophy of languages generally, which has absorbed much of his time.

In 1847, efforts were made, under the auspices of the government, to extend these inquiries to other groups of the leading stocks of the United States. Several valuable memoirs have been received, in answer to this requisition, from persons in various quarters of the United States, who have made the Indian languages their study; and a large collection of original vocabularies, and numerical and geographical terms, has been made.

A commencement to put these philological records in print, both personal and communicated, is made in the present volume, which will be continued in the future parts of these inquiries, as time and convenience will permit: the topic itself being one which, more than any other, appears suited to throw light on the obscure origin and history of the tribes. Of the part of these investigations which are personal, it is proper to add, that none of the observations on the Algonquin and its dialects [1] have, heretofore, been communicated, excepting the observations on the grammatical structure of the Chippewa noun, which were translated by Mr. Duponceau for the National Institute of France, I think, in 1833; also some examples which were subsequently inserted in the North American Review. These have received commendations which were decided enough to flatter the highest ambition, had the latter been limited to a casual labor, or the commendations themselves proceeded from individuals who had not lacked the advantages of personal inquiry into the subject on the spot.

Nothing could, apparently, be farther removed from the analytical class of languages than the various dialects spoken by the American Indians; who invariably express their ideas of objects and actions precisely as they are presented to their eyes and ears, that is, in their compound associations. A person and an act are ever associated, in their forms of syntax, with the object of the action. To love and to hate are, therefore, never heard in their analytical forms. This combination of the action of the speaker with the objects is universal. The substantive, which appears to have been generally anterior in age to the verb, comes under the same rule as the verb; and the adjective, which is required to perform the same office of limitation, is also, within its range, characterized by this transitive principle.

It will be sufficient to state this principle of the Indian syntax, to denote a peculiar plan of thought, to which attention has been called. It appears to be the result, in

---

[1] The chief of these are:

Chippewa *or* Ojibwa	Kenisteno *or* Cree	Piankasha
Ottowa	Kickapoo	Shawnee
Pottawottamie	Illinois:	Delaware
Fox	Peoria	Munsee
Sauk	Kaskaskia	Mohegan
Menomonee	Miami	Stockbridge, &c.
Maskigo	Wea	

the mind, of a crude and primitive age. Analysis, generalization, refinement, come from matured reflection. The mind that criticises, adopts or rejects. Redundancies are dropped, defects supplied, and elegancies introduced, as languages are applied to letters, arts, and sciences. The Indian, on the contrary, appears to have adhered to his original modes of distinction; piling up syllable on syllable, till his forms are infinitely multiplied, and his actual vocabulary has become a formidable mass of aggregated sounds. The antiquity of the race derives, indeed, a strong support from this consideration of the originality of grammatical structure.

That the plan itself is homogenous — that it proceeds from a peculiar view of the use of words, in their concrete forms, and from a synthesis of the same kind and power, appears to me to be a fact established by investigation. The attempt is, perpetually, to speak of objects in groups. It is a simple plan of thought, however curiously carried out, and every other purpose is made to give way to it. There are heaps of syllables clustered, as it were, on a polysyllabic stem, but nothing diverse, in its grammatical ratiocination — or that leads the mind to doubt the oneness of its synthesis, however varied the mode of accomplishing its ends, or crude and redundant in some of its forms. The development of this plan may be said to be recondite, creating the idea of many plans of thought; but there is, in fact, only one generic scheme, tending to denote compound expression. It is a fixed theory of language, built on radices, which have the singular property of retaining the meaning of their original, incremental syllables or vowelic meanings, under every varied aspect of the compounds. Not only pronouns, verbs, and substantives, are thus denoted and detected by the etymologist, but adjectives and prepositions are at once identified, and the fragments of words are perceived to be employed as the common woof or filling of the primitive grammatical web. The term "encapsulated" structure, which is employed by an acute and learned correspondent, in one of the following papers, conveys, in a striking and happy manner, the mode of compound structure which the words assume. They are, indeed, clustered or botryoidal — thought exfoliating thought, as capsule within capsule or box within box.

Gesenius says "that languages, in their earlier epochs and, as it were, in their youthful vigor, generally exhibit a strong tendency to the development of *forms;* but, in their later periods, this tendency continually diminishes in force, and it becomes necessary to resort to the constructions of syntax." [1] It is also to be inferred, that the use of the common gender — he, as denoting *he* and *she* — of the same word for *young man* and *young woman*, as it is found in the Pentateuch, is an indication of the antiquity and crudity of early languages, particularly of those of the Semitic stock.[2]

It will not escape the observer, that this anti-sexual character of the Indian

[1] Hebrew Grammar, p. 8, Intro.

[2] Hebrew Grammar, T. J. Conant, p. 75.

pronoun *he*, and the exact identity of the words for *younger brother* and *younger sister*, is, at this day, a strong peculiarity of all the groups of Indian languages of the United States, which have been examined, except the Iroquois, which has duplicate forms for these terms, founded on the distinction of sex; this sonorous tongue has, also, the advantage of a dual — two refinements, which entitle it to be distinguished as the Greek of our barbarous tongues.

From the examination of vocabularies and grammatical forms, the tribes who occupied the United States east of the Rocky Mountains, at the respective eras of the discovery, may be grouped into seven principal ethnological families, namely:

1. Algonquins.
2. Iroquois.
3. Appalachians.
4. Dacotas.
5. Shoshonees.
6. Achalaques (Cherokees.)
7. Natchez.

This classification does not include the small tribes of Texas, who may be, provisionally, referred to as Texanos. The leading stock of that State — the Näüni, or Comanche, is Shoshonee, belonging to the same group as the Snakes of the Rocky Mountains and their congeners. Neither does it embrace the small tribe of the Chawai, better known as Cheyennes, — a people who originated north of the sources of the Mississippi, — who appear, by their numerals and some imperfect vocabularies, to have claims to independent consideration; nor the Catawbas and Woccons. From partial vocabularies furnished the late Mr. Gallatin, some years since, by traders at Fort Union on the Missouri, which are however not fully sustained by a vocabulary of Mr. Moncrevie, herewith submitted, the large tribe of the Black-feet are, to our surprise, denoted to be, although remotely, of the Algonquin stock; while their character, their alleged ferocity, and their cranial indices, given herewith in VIII. A., far more, assimilate them to the Dacota, or most barbarous family of the Prairie tribes.

The Catawbas have heretofore occupied an anomalous position in our Indian languages, and have, apparently, offered grounds for a separate group. It appears, however, from a manuscript document, recently obtained by Mr. Thomas from the Office of the Secretary of State of South Carolina, that the tribe originated in the north, and is not to be considered indigenous to that State. They fled, according to this authority, from the region of the lakes, under the fury of their enemies; and, after entering into a league with the Cherokees, encountered, together with that tribe, the undying hatred of the Iroquois.

We have no vocabulary of the ancient Eries; but it is inferable, from the French missionary records, that they were a cognate tribe of the Iroquois group — that they formed a "neutrality," as between the French and Algonquins, on the one side, and

the Iroquois on the other; that this Erie league embraced several other tribes, as the Andastes, Kakwas, &c.; and that, when the final struggle came, they fell, or fled, and disappeared, before the conquering power of the more perfectly confederated and predominating Iroquois. The hint, thus furnished by this document, for making a philological inquiry, may throw light on this obscure point of our Indian history. No definite affirmation can be made respecting it, however, and the language cannot, consequently, be grouped, until this prior investigation has been made.

From traditions recently recorded by Mr. Pickett,[1] the Cherokees, whose traditions have heretofore been silent as to their origin, appear to have anciently dwelt in the north, probably higher up the Mississippi Valley, whence they would seem to have been expelled and replaced by the Allegans or Iroquois. But whatever was their ancient history, their language, as at present understood, vindicates its claim to a peculiarity in its scheme of vowels and consonants,[2] while its structure coincides, generally, with the American aboriginal plan of thought. It uses the fragmentary pronouns in connexion with the verbs; one of the striking peculiarities of this class of language.

The term "Mobilian" was needlessly, and with a lamentable, but, (considering the epoch,) excusable ignorance of the languages, introduced by Du Pratz, and it may be summarily disposed of. The Mobilians of this writer were pure Choctaws. The Chickasaws are of the same stock. There is no evidence whatever, that the Alabamas spoke any but a dialect of the same generic language. A similar remark applies, with equal force, to the numerous sub-tribes and bands, who are referred to by various names in this southern area; but who all eventually fell into either the Appalachian or Muscogee sub-group of languages, the affinities between which permit them to be all merged under the general name of Appalachians.

Under this term must also be included the Yamases of South Carolina; and perhaps, though with less probability, some others of the ancient southern coast tribes of that State. It is uncertain whether the term Chickorean,[3] which was applied by early navigators to the tribes of the *northern Georgia and Carolina Atlantic coasts*, had respect to a language differing from the known Cherokee and "Apalachites" or Muscogee generally. And if the Catawbas be withdrawn from the proposed family,[4] agreeably to a preceding observation, there is no element to found this group upon, unless we are compelled to do so by examples of a peculiar character and idiom in the extinct dialects of the Cheraws, Waxsaws, and Kershaws. Admitting the radices of Cher, Ker, and Wax, in these words, to be characteristic of peculiar traits, the termination in aw is clearly an Algonquin syllable, and carries the idea of people. And we should be limited, in the inquiries, to the differing bands of the Santees, Oconees, Waterees, and Pedees.

---

[1] History of Alabama.

[2] Vide Cherokee Alphabet, VI. B.

[3] Carrol's Historical Collections of South Carolina. 2 vols. 8vo, N. Y.

[4] Vide I, B. page 35.

Another question in the classification of our Indian languages arises from the two small tribes of the Natchez and Utchees, the remnants of which have coalesced with the Muskogees. We may suppose that there was some ancient alliance, to lead their minds to the act; if not, some remote affinity; but, in the present state of our inquiries, they must be separately grouped.

The languages of New Mexico, California, and Oregon, require several new groups; but the labour cannot be satisfactorily attempted until our collection of vocabularies and grammars is more complete.

II. PLAN OF THOUGHT OF THE AMERICAN LANGUAGES.

BY FRANCIS LEIBER, LL.D., MEM. OF THE FR. INST.

The perceptive organs carry specific images—images of things in *all* their thousand, yet, for the single case, peculiarly combined relations, to the mind. We never see a man, or a horse, but we see a man with brown hair, calm expression, sitting, one leg over the other, reading, black pants, near a sopha, &c., &c.; or a specific horse so or so, in its thousand relations to the world around. Now it is clear, that if each thing in all its individual relations, and each action with *all* its peculiarities, had its own name, or its own word, no language would be possible, because the object of language is to arrive, by skilful combinations of *known* signs, at the expression of something unknown to the hearer, (the idea to be conveyed); but, in the case that I suppose, each thing and action would have its own word; and as each singular thing or precise action has never existed before, (for I still speak of totalities,) the hearer could not know this word. Remember that nothing in the world is in one moment the same it was the moment before, if we speak, as I now do, of *all* relations. A piece of rock will be shone upon by the sun, or rained upon, or looked upon by me or by you, and in each case that rock and its totality is another; the *whole*, as comprehended by the eye as *one* thing, is a different thing every moment. In one word, the world consists of *realities*, and not abstractions; but realities are always individualized entities. *Abstraction* therefore becomes necessary for the very possibility of language. If I say, *the horse in my stable is brown*, I put together nothing but abstractions, in order to entrench the idea or thing to be expressed. *Horse*, *stable*, *brown*, *is*, *my*, are all abstractions. I never saw *brown*, or *existence*, or *my*, or *stable*, but I have seen millions of brown things, thousands of individual horses, many stables, have often thought of things belonging to me, and am all the time perceiving things that *are*, *exist*,—I am surrounded by existences, and am myself one.

On the other hand, imagine that this process of abstraction is carried on ad infinitum. We have the word *riding*. This is an abstraction, still it means the comprehensive idea of locomotion on the back of an animal. The French have no such word, and must say *monter à cheval*. Suppose they had no word for *cheval*, but were obliged to say *the neighing animal*; suppose they had no word for neighing, nor for animal, but were obliged to describe neighing, and to say for animal, breathing thing; suppose no separate words existed for either, but that you must put together other words more

generalizing still to arrive at the ideas of thing-breathing, don't you see that again language would be reduced to zero, to nothing, to an impossibility, as much as in the previous case of infinite individualization? All language, therefore, plays between these two poles; every language inclines more to the one *or* the other; all human speech requires the one *and* the other. Tone, vividness, energy, brevity, point-blank shots with words, require individualizing words, words which throw a volume of associated ideas, an idea with a hundred adjunct relations, like a shell shot into the soul of the hearer. Refinement, definition, intentional dilution, transparency, philosophical disquisition, on the other hand, require generalizing words.

When I became acquainted with the Indian languages, I was led to this whole meditation, and I found that two terms were necessary to indicate these two different characters. I found that the Indians often say in one word that for which we require ten; I then reflected that the Greek language, especially its verb, frequently does the same; I remembered that the Sanscrit has the same tendency with our Indian languages, that is, to form or to use single words which to us appear like clusters of grapes. On the other hand, I saw that the French often are obliged to use half a dozen of words where we require but one. I discovered, moreover, that as man begins with *perceiving* totalities, and then generalizes in his *mind*, so do children and early nations show the strongest tendency to form and use individualizing words — *bunch words*, words which, indeed, express a main idea, but along with it a hundred other ideas, which, so long as you wish to express that one idea with those hundred adjunct ideas, are excellent,—as excellent as a carpenter's word, e. g., *adze*, but which becomes cumbersome and ruinous so soon as you wish to express something more general, as *adze* would be, were there no such words as instrument, sharp-tool, handle, flat, &c., &c., and you were still obliged, each time that you wished to express the idea of hatchet, to use the term *adze*. These adhesions are the greatest trouble to our missionaries.

I found that William von Humboldt called these *bunch words* of the Indians *agglutinations* (in-gluings), and Duponceau *polysynthetic* (many compound): but I saw, at once, that this was beginning at the wrong end; for these names indicate that that which has been separated is put together, as if man began with analysis, while, in fact, he ends with it. And I saw, moreover, that there are three different kinds of bunch words. This very word has the same defect, but you will let it pass for the present. I use it merely epistolarily or conversationally. There are such words which express what *now* to *us* expresses a bunch of ideas by one striking word; others, by a variety of inflections, re-duplications, changes of vowels, and other transmutations; and others, again, which express clusters of ideas by real synthesis, with more or less changes of the elements. For *all* these three classes I wanted one term, and I formed the word *holophrastic*, from ὅλος, undivided, entire, and φράσω, to say, express, utter forth. For the opposite, I selected the term *analytical*. Holophrastic and analytical, used in this

connexion, are, of course, but relative terms. The question is about more or less. No language, as I have shown, can be wholly holophrastic, none wholly analytical; but I believe men like yourselves will sustain me, when I say that these, or any similar ones, were necessary in general philology, and that neither agglutination nor polysynthesis expressed what we needed to express.

You have seen those sets of boxes, where one is put into another, to save room in transposing them. These sets furnish indeed the image of some words of the American Indians, or of Sanscrit. There is occasionally a real process of en-capsulation (of boxing box within box) — a term which would in fact appear better to me than agglutination, because the latter indicates merely an increment from without which is not always the case by any means. But whether we take en-capsulation, (from *capsula*, a box, or little box,) or agglutination or polysynthesis, we still cannot dispense with a term which refers to the *meaning* of the word, considered in a philosophical point of view, and not to the purely etymological process, which is but a means, and a late one, to indicate the cluster-thought by the *holophrastic word.* I say *a late one;* because, before you agglutinate or en-capsulate, you must have the separate elements, and these elements are the results of analysis or generalization, while holophrasm is the beginning. Were it not so, we would have absolute terms for abstractions or generalities, as direct for the meaning they strive to convey as rub-a-dub is for drumming, or moaning for what it signifies, or *flash* for sudden bright-passing light; while the fact is that all terms for abstractions are faded metaphors, and these generally express but very lamely what they are intended to convey — so much so, that there is no absolute language except in mathematics; I mean absolute so far as the thought to be expressed is concerned. As to the etymology of mathematical terms, they are likewise but faded metaphors, or terms stripped of their original physical meaning.

Once more, *holophrasm* relates to the great logic of the human mind cast into utterance; en-capsulation, on the other hand, to the grammar only.

One of the leading topics of Bradford's American Antiquities is the hypothesis that the American red race is of Mongolian origin, and reached this continent by the islands of the Pacific. He adduces many facts in support of this supposition, sufficient to arrest the attention of the reflecting reader. Among other things he mentions the great grammatical similarity of all American idioms, and those spoken by the Islanders of the South Pacific Ocean. It is with regard to this point that I believe an additional fact may be mentioned.

In a letter to the Honorable Albert Gallatin on the Study of the Ancient Languages, printed about six years ago[1] in the Southern Literary Messenger, then published by Mr. White in Richmond, Virginia, I said that the American languages distinguished

[1] 1843.

themselves, among other things, by a strong prevalence of *holophrastic* words, as I took the liberty of calling them. I know that holophrastic is a relative term, yet when we apply it to such words which express an assemblage of ideas, or a connexion of two ideas, which must appear even to the least analytic or generalizing mind as different ideas, or which in very many cases express by one word, ideas, which nevertheless the same language in other cases expresses by different words, the term holophrastic will be of sufficient distinctness to divide languages into holophrastic and analytical ones. If you should think it worth your while to read the letter to Mr. Gallatin, you will find the reason why I preferred to call those words holophrastic, and have not followed Mr. William de Humboldt, who called a part of them at least agglutinated words.

Now, we do not only find the holophrastic character prevailing in our Indian languages, as may be seen from a very neat article written by my friend Mr. John Pickering of Boston, for the sixth volume of my Americana, but also in the languages of the Islands of the Indian Archipelago. In Holden's Narrative, Boston, 1836, page 135, et seq., we find for instance that, in the language of Lord North's Island, the numeral *one* is *yaht;* if, however, they count cocoanuts, *one* is *soo;* and if they count fish, *one* is expressed by the word *seemnl.*

Going farther back, to Asia, we find in Father Sangermano's Description of the Burmese Empire, translated by William Tandy, D. D., and published by the London Oriental Translation Fund, Rome, 1833, on page 139, instances of the holophrastic character of the Burmese language, almost identical with those which Mr. Pickering gives on page 589, of vol. vi. of the Americana, of the Cherokee and many other American idioms. Sangermano says: "So that for to wash the hands they use one word; but to wash the face requires another; the word for to wash linen with soap is different from the one signifying to wash it simply with water; and to wash the body, the dishes, &c., are all different phrases, each expressing the action to wash by a different verb."

I am well aware that the Sanscrit, and possibly *all* very ancient languages, express a great variety of modifications of the original idea — all of which *we* express by several words — by one word only, as indeed the Greek and Latin verbs alone furnish numerous examples; but it is to be observed that these words, which express what appears to our analytic minds a whole cluster of ideas, are either compounds or agglutinations, or modifications of the original idea expressed by grammatical modifications of the original word, and moreover relate to meanings modified by the additional ideas of number, degree, time, action, condition, intensity, repetition, desire, imprecation, relation, &c.; (in general they relate to what is called in philosophy the categos,) but not to the connexion of two or more ideas of distinct *objects.*

It has appeared to me that this common feature of all these languages, which nevertheless is so peculiar, may deserve attention and invite farther research.

III. AN ESSAY ON THE GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE OF THE ALGONQUIN LANGUAGE.

BY HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT.

SYNOPSIS.

§ 1. Introductory Remarks: Progress of Inquiry respecting the Study of the American Languages: Scheme of Annotation.

§ 2. Observations on the Substantive — its Changes and Inflections.

§ 3. Further remarks on the character and flexibility of the Substantive.

§ 4. Nature and Principles of the Adjective — its pseudo-substantive character and varied forms.

§ 5. Principles of the Pronoun — its coalescent character and different forms.

§ 6. The Verb — its fixed classes of conjugation, adaptiveness, and tendency to absorb, in its principles of forming compounds, all the other parts of speech.

§ 7. Further considerations on the extreme flexibility of the Verb, and its capacities for expressing the various wants and phenomena of the barbarous state.

§ 8. Non-existence of auxiliary Verbs. Considerations on the existence of a substantive-verb in the Algonquin. Distinctions which characterize the Language. Duplicate radices to express the classes of matter and being.

AN ESSAY

ON THE

GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

OF THE

ALGONQUIN LANGUAGE.

§1. Introductory Remarks: Progress of Inquiry respecting the Study of the American Languages: Articulate Sounds, and Scheme of Annotation employed in the present Paper.

It is within late years only, that the discussion of the American languages has excited the fixed attention of Americans. The causes of this neglect it would be foreign to my purpose to detail; but it is believed they may be sufficiently found in the political necessities which have incessantly absorbed the public attention from the first planting of the colonies, to the close of the American Revolution, and up to the commencement of the 19th century. The great work of reclaiming a wilderness; of protecting feeble and extended settlements from the effects of Indian wars; and the great practical duties of providing and establishing a government on solid foundations, were calculated to give a strictly utilitarian character to the intellectual exertions of those early times, which left but little room for the investigation of abstract branches of science, or the cultivation of belle lettres. Other reasons may have existed; but these causes may be said to have abated in their force, with the first quarter of the present century; and he must have been an indifferent observer of the progress of philological inquiries within late years, on this side of the Atlantic, who has not

perceived that the current of intellectualization on this topic is greatly changed, and is rapidly changing.

Philology is not, perhaps, one of the earliest topics to engage the researches, either of a fixed or expatriated people. And the interest which has been recently excited at home in a few minds, on the aboriginal languages of this continent, must be attributed to the unusual attractions which they present, as new problems of the mode of thought. Those individuals who have directed their inquiries most successfully to the subject, have manifestly labored under great disadvantages, from the paucity and incompleteness of their materials; the vague and unsatisfactory nature of some of them, and the great want of uniformity in the orthography, and consequently general comparative value of all. Under these adverse circumstances, it is less a matter of surprise, that, without such adequate data, so little has been done towards the determination and classification of the Indian languages, as that, with so slender an accumulation of facts, any valuable results at all should have been obtained.

It is rather, therefore, to supply, as far as may be, some of the deficiencies referred to, by contributing to the stock of materials for generalization, than to apply the results to the general purposes of philology, (for which great experience and consideration are required,) that these remarks are commenced. And it is felt, that even in this task, some apology may be deemed necessary for entering on a topic, which, it may be thought, others are more eminently qualified to discuss. It is no want of respect for the talents of men removed from the sphere of personal observation upon Indian manners and languages; nor is it the want of having duly estimated the labor, the caution, learning, and peculiar difficulties which a successful investigation of the subject presupposes, that induces the writer to lay the present papers before the public.

He may plead, in his behalf, the force of circumstances, which, during a period of upwards of thirty years, have placed him in the extreme solitude of the forest, in contact with the aborigines, under auspices extremely favorable to the acquisition of their languages, and to the collection and examination of facts and materials elucidating their history and condition, past and present. The number of journeys which he has performed through the portions of country, embracing in longitude the whole extent of the Mississippi Valley, and the continental region to the Rocky Mountains and the Itasca summit; the public treaties he has attended and made, under the auspices of the United States government, with the Indian tribes, and the situation he has filled as the official organ of communication between the government and the Indians on the northwestern frontiers, have opened sources of information of which the assertion may be ventured, it is believed, without presumption, that he has neither wanted opportunies, disposition, nor assiduity to avail himself.

The inquiries which have been addressed to him, while on the frontiers, by distinguished and learned individuals, who have made the Indian languages a study, or by persons of enlarged views in the service of the United States government, and

the memoirs and occasional papers which he has drawn up to satisfy these inquiries, have sometimes served to inspire fresh ardor, or to direct it to new objects. Under every aspect, the subject has been interesting. It has, at various periods, while it has stimulated learning, furnished the hope of discovery, the charm of novelty, and the amusement of solitude.

Travel has enabled him to test his remarks at various points, to compare one idiom with another, and to perceive analogies in the etymology and syntax of a very considerable number of dialects and languages, which induce a belief that the parent languages in the United States are few and quite analogous in their general principles.

In the several narratives and accounts of travels which he has published, he has refrained, in a great degree, from the discussion of the subject. While geography, geology, and natural history were engrossing topics, it did not appear that the Indian languages could be advantageously treated; and, in casting a retrospect over the list of travellers who had visited the frontiers, it was evident that they had not furnished the highest models for imitation. Besides, the topic had none of the elements of general popularity; and, though deeply interesting to a few minds, it will be no injustice to American readers, to say, that this interest was limited.

I have deemed this much necessary to satisfy public curiosity, and to justify, perhaps, grammatical positions, which, if they are sometimes stated with much confidence, are the result of full convictions, mature inquiry, and ample opportunities.

Not to regard what has been done on this subject in past times, would be to limit very much the view of what remains to be done at present. The first translations which were made into the Indian tongues, on this continent, were undertaken as helps to the introduction of Christianity among the tribes. This was commenced at very early periods. The most considerable and known effort of this kind at an early day, in North America, was made in Massachusetts.

In 1685, the Rev. John Eliot, (who is styled, from his venerable age and eminent services, The Indian Apostle, by his contemporaries,) published at Cambridge a revised and complete translation of the entire Bible, in the principal Indian tongue. This is believed to have been the greatest literary labor in the department of the translation into the aboriginal languages, which has ever been accomplished on this continent. It gave a great impetus to the subject; and Cotton Mather, in his letter to Dr. Leusden, Hebrew Professor in the University of Utrecht, of July 12, 1687, speaks of it in the highest terms. Prior to this time, namely, in 1661, Eliot had published a translation of the New Testament, and in 1663 the Old Testament in this language. He also published a grammar.

We are informed by Mr. Du Ponceau,[1] that about the year 1766, more than a century after Eliot's translation, two eminent philosophers of France, M. Maupertius and M. Turgot, each published a treatise on the origin of languages.

[1] Translations of the Hist. and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society, p. 370.

Maupertius, in his essay, took great pains to show the importance of studying the languages of even the most distant and barbarous nations, "because," is his expression, "we may chance to find some that are formed on new *plans* of ideas." Turgot, who had acquired considerable distinction as a statesman, instead of approving this, tried to turn it into ridicule, by the remark that he could not understand what was meant by "plans of ideas." A new idea was at least thrown out to the philological world by Maupertius, which has been the cause of thought to grammarians ever since.

Germany, however, but not France, pursued this investigation. In an inquiry whether America was peopled from the old continent,[1] Professor Vater of Leipsic, who had received some examples of the Lenno Lenapee from Moravian Brethren, in Pennsylvania, was struck with the richness of their grammatical forms, and on comparing them with Eliot's Bible of 1685, perceived the same philological phenomena.

Professor Rudiger has published vocabularies of the languages of the world, as far as known, and among them gives some of our Indian dialects. It appears from these that the Swedes, while they occupied Delaware, compiled a catechism in the Lenno Lenapee, which was published at Stockholm in 1696. These appear to be the earliest traces of inquiry into the principles of American philology.

In 1703, the Empress Catherine of Russia directed the collection of vocabularies in all the barbarous dialects of that Empire; a literary labor in which it is said she personally engaged with great zeal, and was also assisted by various learned men. The results of these investigations were published at Paris in 1715, and doubtless helped to fix the attention of philosophers on the then but little understood phenomena of language.

Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, viewed the existence of the Indians here as an anomaly in history. This work was written, I believe, in 1778. His mind was turned to the subject of the Indian languages as the readiest solution of Indian history, and he gathered a collection of vocabularies, which it is said he designed to digest and publish. For this purpose, Mr. Gallatin informed me, he took his materials along with him to Virginia, after his election to the Presidency, in 1801, that he might employ the leisure of his summer retreat in examining them; but, in crossing the Rappahannock, he had left the conduct of his baggage to negro servants, through whose carelessness the house in which they were took fire, and all his manuscripts were consumed. He had not the heart to commence his work anew, and, with the exception of the speech of Logan, which had been published with his Notes on Virginia, and his just opinions of the importance of the languages, this is all that remains of his well-directed inquiries. In his NOTES, London edition, 1787, he observes: "A knowledge of their several languages would be the most certain evidence of their derivation that could be produced. In fact, it is the best proof of the affinity of nations which ever can be referred to. How many ages have elapsed since the English, the Dutch, the Germans, the Swiss, the Norwegians, the Danes, and Swedes,

[1] Mithridates.

have separated from their common stock! Yet, how many more must elapse before the proofs of their common origin, which exist in their several languages, will disappear! It is to be lamented then, very much to be lamented, that we have suffered so many of the Indian tribes already to disappear, without our having previously collected, and deposited in the records of literature, the general rudiments, at least, of the languages they spoke. Were vocabularies formed of all the languages spoken in North and South America, preserving their appellations for the most common objects in nature — of those which must be present to every nation, barbarous or civilized, with the inflections of their nouns and verbs, their principles of regimen and concord, and these deposited in all the public libraries, it would furnish opportunities, to those skilled in the languages of the old world, to compare them with these, now or at any future time, and hence to construct the best evidence of the derivation of this part of the human race."

Volney, in his View of the United States, reflecting the opinions of Maupertius and other philosophers of Europe, expressed his sense of the importance of collecting vocabularies, and grammars of the Indian tongues; and declared the work to be one that should engage the notice of government.

The importance of studying the languages, as a guide to history, appears to have been realized by Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, whose work on the languages called the attention of American philologists distinctly, but vainly, it is believed, to the subject.

This was followed by Dr. Elias Boudinot's "Star in the West," which revived the ancient idea of Grotius, of the Indians being the "LOST TRIBES," or descendants of Israel. Feeling as a Christian philosopher on this head, he appears to have pursued the inquiry, rather as an historical and practical, than a purely scientific question.

In 1816, the American Philosophical Society turned its attention to the American languages, and directed the late Peter S. Duponceau to open a correspondence with the Rev. John Heckewelder on the subject. This forms an era in the home-inquiries on American philology. The results, in which we are greatly indebted to Mr. Duponceau's learning, were laid before the Historical Committee of that society, and were published at Philadelphia, in a separate volume of their Transactions, in 1819.

Amongst the materials received by the American Philosophical Society, was a grammar of the Lenno Lenape, or Delaware language, by Mr. Zeisberger. This, together with the correspondence, opened up a new field of inquiry. The verb was found to be particularly rich and varied in its inflections and forms. The "transitions," as they have since been called, offered a new feature to the mind. "I am inclined to believe," says Mr. Duponceau, "that these forms are peculiar to this part of the world, and that they do not exist in the languages of the old hemisphere." Trans. p. 370. He was led to admire the rich and varied forms of the Delaware language. "If," said he, "this language was cultivated and polished, as those of Europe have been, and if

the Delawares had a Homer and Virgil among them, it is impossible to say, with such an instrument among them, how far the language could be carried. The Greek has been admired for its compounds, but what are they to those of the Indians!" p. 415. The conception of Maupertius of "new plans of ideas," seemed to be realized in the Lenno Lenape. In considering this subject, he finally denominated the American languages *poly-synthetic*, (many-syntheses,) a term which they have since borne among philologists.

It appears from the transactions of the American Antiquarian Society, that the Honorable Albert Gallatin furnished vocabularies of the Indian languages to Baron Alexander Humboldt in 1823. These were subsequently enlarged, and formed the basis, as he has indicated, of his SYNOPSIS of the tribes, published by that society in 1836. (Vide Archæologia Americana, Vol. II., p. 1.)

The writer's attention was first called to the subject in 1822, when he went to reside in the capacity of Agent of Indian Affairs—a semi-diplomatic office, at Sault Ste. Marie, at the foot of the basin of Lake Superior. The advantages of this position, and his opportunities generally for investigating the languages, have been stated in the preceding pages. The observations in the following paper on the substantive, were published in 1834. (Vide Appendix to Expedition to Itasca Lake.) They were subsequently translated into French by Mr. Duponceau, and submitted to the National Institute of France. In 1844, the remarks on the Pronoun were published in the Miscellany entited Oneota. The entire Essay is now submitted.

All the examples of Indian lexicography are taken from the Ojibwa, the mother language of the Algonquins, the principles of which have been so long and so justly the theme of French eulogy. The word Ojibwa, and its anglicized form, Chippewa, appears to have been developed since the term Algonquin, in its generic sense, was applied to the people living at Lake Nepissing, (who are hence often called Nipercinians,) on the ancient portage, from the Outawais or Grand river, leading to the waters flowing into Lake Huron, near La Cloche. From this summit they were traced by early writers into the valley of the St Lawrence, where, in contradistinction to the Iroquois, who lived on the southern shores, they were called Algonquens or Algonquins, a term of doubtful etymology, but which seems to mean *People of the other or opposite shore*. (Ethnological Researches, Part I., p. 306.)

Those bands which were found living at the Sault-de-Ste-Marie, on the outlet of Lake Superior, were called *Saulteaux*, or people of the Sault. Others who were encountered at the Mississagie River, on the north shore of Lake Huron, were called Mississagies, or people of the wide-mouthed stream. There was, however, no appreciable or stated difference of dialect or language noticed, such as marks the Ottawa, Pottawattomie, Kenisteno, Menomonie, and the dialects of various other tribes, who yet all employ, with slight differences, the Algonquin vocabulary and syntax.

Taking it then as the original mother language, and regarding the deviations from it as dialectic, it becomes important to inquire what are its primary sounds. For this

purpose I have constructed a table of the syllables employed by them in the formation of words, which, although probably incomplete, will facilitate the inquiry.

ELEMENTARY SYLLABLES FOUNDED ON THE PRIMARY VOWEL SOUNDS.

AI as A in Fate (1).	A as in Father (2).	A as in Fall (3).	A as in Hat (4). Only uttered with a Consonant following.
Aib Bai	Ahb Bah	Aub Bau	Ab
Aid Dai	Ahd Dah	Aud Dau	Ad
Aig Gai	Ahg Gah	Aug Gau	Ag
Aih Hai	Ah Hah	Auh Hau	Ah
Aik Kai	Ahj Jah	Auj Jau	Aj
Ail Lai	Ahk Kah	Auk Kau	Ak
Aij Jai	Ahl Lah	Aul Lau	Al
Aim Mai	Ahm Mah	Aum Mau	Am
Ain Nai	Ahn Nah	Aun Nau	An
Aip Pai	Ahp Pah	Aup Pau	Ap
Ais Sai	Ahs Sah	Aus Sau	As
Ait Tai	Aht Tah	Aut Tau	At
Aiw Wai	Ahw Wah	Auw Wau	Au
Aiz Yai	Ahz Zah	Auz Yau	Az
Aizh Zhai		Auzh Zhau	

EE as in Me (1).	E as in Met (2).	I as in Fine (1).	I as in Pin (2).
		Bi	
Eeb Bee	Eb	Di	Ib
Eed Dee	Ed	Gi	Id
Eeg Gee	Eg	Hi	Ig
Eeh He	Eh	Ji	Ih
Eej Jee	Ej	Ki	Ij
Eel Lee	Ek	Li	Ik
Eek Kee	El	Mi	Il
Eem Mee	Em	Ni	Im
Een Nee	En	Pi	In
Eep Pee	Ep	Si	Ip
Ees See	Es	Ti	Is
Eet Tee	Et	Wi	It
Eew Wee	Ew	Yi	Iw
Eez Zee	Ez	Zi	Iz

O as in Note (1).	O as in Move (2).	O as in Not (4).	U as in But.
Bo	Oob Boo	Ob	Ub
Do	Ood Doo	Od	Ud
Go	Oog Goo	Og	Ug
Ho	Ooh Hoo	Oh	Uh
Jo	Ooj Joo	Oj	Uj
Ko	Ook Koo	Ok	Uk
Lo	Ool Loo	Ol	Ul
Mo	Oom Moo	Om	Um
No	Oon Noo	On	Un
Po	Oop Poo	Op	Up
So	Oos Soo	Os	Us
To	Oot Too	Ot	Ut
Wo	Oow Woo	Ow	Uz
Yo	Ooy Yoo	Oy	
Zo	Ooz Zoo	Oz	

Each of the 17 primary syllables may be changed fifteen times, showing the possible number of elementary syllables which are employed to be 255—a fact, significant of the capacity of the language.

The language, it will be perceived, possesses all the vowel sounds, as heard in far, fate, fall; met, meet; shine, pin; not, note, move; put, nut. It has two labials, b and p; five dentals, d, t, s, z, and j, or g, soft; two nasals, m and n; and two primary gutturals, k and g, hard. The letters f, r, v, are wanting. The sound of x is also believed to be wanting in all the Algonquin dialects but the Delaware and the old Mohegan of the Hudson valley, in which it is fully heard, as in Coxackie. The letter l is heard in the Delaware, Sac and Fox, and Shawnee dialects, where it is the transmutative of n. The sound of r, which is observed frequently in the ancient annotation of geographical terms in the Powhatanic and Abinakie dialects, and a few of the earlier Algonquin vocabularies of New France and New Jersey, is merely dropped in the attempts to pronounce foreign words; or is believed, in most cases, as employed by authors in the ancient geographical terminology, to represent the sound of ah. To the Normans who came to Canada, and to the English cavaliers of Virginia, the sound appears also to have often taken the form of ar. The transmutative consonants are p for f, n for b, and b for v. The letter x is uttered as if written egs. The most common change in the consonantal sounds, is that which exists reciprocally between p and b. Part of this, however, is the result of tense.

These changes occur with regularity in the conjugations of the verbs. Words commencing with b in the first and second persons, are rendered p in the third. Thus nim bemaudiz, I live; ke bemaudiz, thou livest, are changed to pimaudizzi, he lives. When a word commencing with a vowel has the pronoun prefixed, it takes a consonant before it; thus *ossin*, a stone, is rendered in the possessive, nin dosseem, my stone; *ais*, a shell, ke daisim, thy shell. The same rule obtains, if an adjective is prefixed. Thus addik, a rein-deer, is changed by the prefix of male, to iauba waddik, a male reindeer.

When vowels succeed each other, without the intervention of a consonant, their sounds are broad, as in penjiee, (within,) i-au, (to be.) To this observation the vowel i permits another to be added, that when followed by a consonant, it has uniformly the short sound of i, in pin. The sound of th, as heard in this, that, (the th or Þ. of the Scandinavians,) appears to be confined nearly to a certain dialect of the Algonquin, namely, the Shawnee — a tribe whose history connects them directly, agreeably to their own traditions, and concurrent facts, with the extreme southern bounds of the United States. There is also an unmistakeable trace of it in the ancient New York type of the Mohegan — a tribe between whom and the Shawnees, there is, agreeably to the traditions of Metoxon, a close ancient affinity. The nasal sounds are frequent. That of n is heard in möñz (moose), and in the diminutive termination öñs. By the use of this diminutive, annemoosh, a dog; muk woh, a bear, become annemöns, a little dog; muk-öns, a cub. Ng, as in *linger*, is found in annung, (a star.) The nasal sound of m appears in m'eew (enough,) and its full sound as in minnis, (an island,) minnekwä, (he drinks.) The letter y is heard as

a consonant in yo, 'nyau, and tyau; the two former feminine, and the latter a masculine exclamation; but is never required as a vowel sound. Those dialects have been denoted, which employ the letters b, r, and x; and the unusual combination of th; but no examples are proposed to be exhibited from either of these excepted dialects. The distinctive sounds, indeed, from which the Algonquin, in its entire breadth of dialects throughout the land, is to be excepted, are those of the letters f and v.

Thus an alphabet of five vowels and thirteen consonants is capable of expressing, either simply or in combination, every full sound of the Ojibwa or Algonquin language; and it is from this that the examples will be exclusively drawn. In this estimate of primary sounds, the letters c, and q, and y, as representing a vowel sound, are entirely rejected. The soft of c is s, the hard sound k. The sound of g is always that of k.

With the subject thus simplified, I have been induced to adopt a system of alphabetical notation different, in some respects, from what I should have proposed without this previous information. This system is, in fact, the result of practice rather than of theory, and has been altered to suit the expression of new or unusual combinations of sounds, as they were presented to me in the course of my inquiries. A practical method, as little removed as the exact preservation of the sounds would permit from common usage, appeared to claim preference. To this end, I have introduced no new character of notation, and have attempted no new combinations of existing ones. Without attending to the foreign powers of the Roman letters, I found the English alphabet adequate to the representation of every distinct sound. It was only necessary to reject its redundancies, and to determine the precise powers of the vowels, and of such of its consonants as were required. The cedilla is used to denote the nasal sounds; and the diæresis to mark the long sounds of the vowels in cases where they could not be otherwise indicated by the establishment of a general rule. Every vocal peculiarity I have not attempted, however, to preserve. There are several semi-tones, both nasal and guttural, for which no certain character exists; and it appeared to me that more would be lost than gained by endeavoring to convey nice distinctions, which, after all, the most critical student might find it difficult to pronounce: but I indulge the hope, that no characteristic or distinctly audible sound has been neglected or omitted. Walker's key to English pronunciation being in general use, it appeared expedient to subjoin, that one system may be converted into the other.

It is desirable, as the Indians are to be taught to read English books and English bibles, and to learn English history, philosophy, poetry, and literature, that they employ the English system of orthography, after it is pruned of its redundancies, and the inexactitude that would result to Indian ears from the use of its homophonous vowels and consonantal combinations; and that such a scheme of orthography should be pursued in their elemental teaching that they may not, at a certain point on their path to knowledge, be necessitated to unlearn the system of their school-boy days. For,

however it may appear to subserve the purposes of elementary philology, by exhibiting new plans of annotation, the English must be the language of civilization to them, if they can ever learn one; and, most assuredly, the English race will not tread back its steps in orthography to suit the sounds of barbarous dialects, however precisely or elegantly expressed.

It is believed, also, that its homophones can be so limited, defined, and expressed, as not only to subserve this practical purpose, but fulfil the higher uses of scientific philology. The foundation of English orthography is laid in the letter A,—the common English sound of A, as heard in fate. To mark this, the diphthongal sound of ai will be invariably used. Its second sound, as heard in father, is expressed by the sound of ah;[1] its third sound, as heard in law, by au. The short sound of a, as heard in hat, (No. 4) will be, by a law of utterance in the Algonquin, always followed by a consonant, or placed between two consonants, as in ad-ik, a reindeer, ap-pak-pe-win, a chair. This attention to the syllabication will accurately and invariably dispose of the four admitted sounds of A.

The next vowel e, is uniformly long, as heard in me, whether preceding or following a consonant, or placed between two consonants. It is written ee, when under the accent. The short sound of e is marked with a short accent.

The sound of i in this language is governed by the rule which gives it the long sound of i, as heard in pine, when uttered by itself, or preceded by the letters k, g, or n. In all other positions in the syllable, as when preceded by a consonant, or when placed between two consonants, it is short, and has the sound of i in pin, as heard in the term An-o-ki-win, work, labor.

The sound of the vowel o follows a law of utterance, which makes it uniformly broad and full, as o in note, and oa in moan, when standing as an independent syllable, as in ō-mō-de, a bottle; or when preceded by a consonant, and under the accent, as in Tō-tōsh, a female breast; Ah-mō, a bee; Kōn, snow. The sound of oo as heard in pool, and of ue, as in glue, due, is represented by oo. The short sound of o, as in not, is followed uniformly by a consonant, as Ot-ta-wa.

The vowel u, as heard in rule, is expressed by oo, as above stated; leaving this latter to stand uniformly for its short sound, as u in nut. No instance is known of the sound of this word in the language, as heard in consuetude, dew, &c.

Diphthongal sounds are heard in limited classes of words, ending in ia, io, and ou. The most uncommon sounds of this character are those formed of ia, in connexion with the sound of w, as heard in Shezh-o-daiw, a shore; and in the change of nouns indefinite to verbs indicative in the third person, as in the change from Moneda, a spirit, to ne-monedouw, I am a spirit.

[1] This is believed to be one of the simplest, easiest, and most natural of articulate words. It is uttered the first thing by infants. The next is the mixed sound of goo; and the two, put together, Ah! goo! form often, if not generally, the first attempt to talk to their mothers.

The nasal sounds, which abound in the language, are chiefly confined to the letter n, and the combination ng. The gutturals are mostly formed by the letters gh and kh. The hard sound of g, final, which is a characteristic of the language, can be appreciated by the English orthoepist, by supposing it to be followed by a half utterance of k, as in the attempt to pronounce gk.

The combinations of ch, sh, and zh, are common, as are also those of bw, dw, gw, and hw. The scheme of these simple and philosophical laws of utterance of articulate sounds, may be exhibited as follows:

Syllabical Scheme of Vowels and Dipthongs.

		Walker's Key.
Ai.	To express the sound of a, in fate	1
Ah.	To express the sound of a, in father	2
Au.	To express the sound of a, in fall, of au, in auction, and aw, in law	3
A.	To express the sound of a, in hat	4
EE.	To express the sound of e, in me, and ee, in feel	1
E.	To express the sound of e, in met	2
I.	When uttered as a syllable, or when preceded by the letters k, g, or n, to express the sound of i, in pine	1
I.	In all other positions in the syllable to express the sound of i, in pin	2
O.	To express the broad and full sound of o, in note, oa, in moan, when standing as an independent syllable, or when under accent and preceded by a consonant	1
Oo.	To express the sound of oo, in pool, of ue, in glue, of o, in move, and of u, in rule	2
O.	When followed by a consonant, to express the sound of o, in not	4
U.	To express the sound of u, in nut, and of i, in bird	2

Mixed Sounds.

Ia. The sound of ia, in media.
Oi. The sound of oi, in voice.
Aiw. In converting verbs indicative into different moods.
Ouw. " " " "
Eow. " " " "
Ih. The sound of i, suddenly stopped off.
Ooh. The sound of oo, suddenly stopped off.
Uh. The sound of u, roughly aspirated.
Ugh. " " "
Ch. As in English.

Sh. As in English.
Zh. " "
Bw. As in bwoin.
Gw. As in Gwiuk. Just.
Hw. As in Mohwa. A wolf.
Kw. As in Wewukwun. A hat.
Mw. As in wa-mwa.
Ny. As in nyau.
Tshw. As in Tshwe — tshwees ke wa. A snipe.

The letters C, F, Q, V, and Y *as a vowel*, are rejected for reasons expressed.

§ 2. OBSERVATIONS ON THE SUBSTANTIVE.—1. THE PROVISION OF THE LANGUAGE FOR INDICATING THE GRAMMATICAL WANT OF GENDER. —ITS GENERAL AND COMPREHENSIVE CHARACTER.—THE DIVISION OF WORDS INTO ANIMATE AND INANIMATE CLASSES.—2. NUMBER—ITS RECONDITE FORMS, ARISING FROM THE TERMINAL VOWEL IN THE WORD.—3. THE GRAMMATICAL FORMS WHICH INDICATE POSSESSION, AND ENABLE THE SPEAKER TO DISTINGUISH THE OBJECTIVE PERSON.

Most of the researches which have been directed to the Indian languages, have resulted in elucidating the principles governing the use of the verb, which has been proved to be full and varied in its inflections. Either less attention has been paid to the other parts of speech, or results less suited to create high expectations of their flexibility and powers, have been attained. The Indian verb has thus been made to stand out, as it were, in bold relief, as a shield to defects in the substantive and its accessories, and as, in fact, compensating by its multiform appendages of prefix and suffix — by its tensal, its pronominal, its substantive, its adjective, and its adverbial terminations; for conjectured barrenness and rigidity in all other parts of speech. Nothing could be farther from the truth, although the verb, when it comes to be considered, will be shown to possess a degree of affluence in its forms which is truly surprising. Influenced by this reflection, I shall defer, in the present inquiry, the remarks I intend offering on this part of speech until I have considered the substantive and its more important adjuncts.

Palpable objects, to which the idea of sense strongly attaches, and the actions or conditions which determine the relation of one object to another, are perhaps the first points to demand attention in the plans of languages. And they have certainly imprinted themselves very strongly, with all their materiality of thought, and with all their local, and exclusive, and personal peculiarities, upon the Indian. The noun and the verb not only thus constitute the principal elements of speech, as in all languages,

but they continue to perform their first offices, with less direct aid from the auxiliary parts of speech, than would appear to be reconcilable with a clear expression of the circumstances of time and place, number and person, quality and quantity, action and repose, and the other accidents on which their definite employment depends. But to enable the substantive and attributives to perform these complex offices, they are provided with inflexions, and undergo changes and modifications, by which words and phrases become very concrete in their meaning, and are lengthened out to appear formidable to the eye. Hence the polysyllabic, and the descriptive character of the language, so composite in its aspect and in its forms.

To utter succinctly, and in as few words as possible, the prominent ideas resting upon the mind of the speaker, appears to have been the paramount object with the first speakers of the language. Hence concentration became a leading feature; and the pronoun, the adjective, the adverb, and the preposition, however they may be disjunctively employed in certain cases, are chiefly useful as furnishing materials to the speaker, to be worked up into the complicated texture of the verb and the substantive. Nothing, in fact, can be more unlike than the language, viewed in its original elementary state—in a vocabulary, for instance, of its primitive words, so far as such a vocabulary can now be formed, and the same language as heard under its oral, amalgamated form. Its transpositions may be likened to a picture, in which the copal, the carmine, and the white lead, are no longer recognised as distinct substances, but each of which has contributed its share towards the full effect. It is the painter only who possesses the principle by which one element has been curtailed, another augmented, and all, however seemingly discordant, made to coalesce.

Such a language may be expected to abound in derivatives and compounds; to afford rules for giving verbs substantive, and substantives verbal qualities; to concentrate the meaning of words upon a few syllables, or upon a single letter or alphabetical sign; and to supply modes of contraction and augmentation, and, if I may so say, short cuts; and by paths to meanings which are equally novel and interesting. To arrive at its primitives, we must pursue an intricate thread, where analogy is often the only guide. We must divest words of those accumulated syllables or particles, which, like the molecules of material matter, are clustered around the primitives. It is only after a process of this kind, that the PRINCIPLE OF COMBINATION, that secret wire which moves the whole machinery, can be searched for with a reasonable prospect of success. The labor of analysis is one of the most interesting and important which the subject presents. And it is a labor which it will be expedient to keep constantly in view, until we have separately considered the several parts of speech, and the grammatical laws by which the language is held together; and thus established principles and provided materials, wherewith we may the more successfully labor.

1. In a general survey of the language as it is spoken, and as it must be written, there is perhaps no feature which obtrudes itself so constantly to view, as the principle

which separates all words, of whatever denomination, into animates and inanimates, as they are applied to objects in the animal, vegetable, or mineral kingdom. This principle has been grafted upon most words, and carries its distinctions throughout the syntax. It is the gender of the language; but a gender of so unbounded a scope, as to merge in it the common distinctions of a masculine and feminine, and to give a two-fold character to the parts of speech. The concords which it requires, and the double inflections it provides, will be mentioned in their appropriate places. It will be sufficient here to observe, that animate nouns require animate verbs for their nominatives, animate adjectives to express their qualities, and animate demonstrative pronouns to mark the distinctions of person. Thus, if we say, I see a man, I see a house, the termination of the verb must be changed. What was in the first instance waub-e-mau, is altered to waub-ĕnd-aun. Waub is here the infinitive, but the root of this verb is still more remote. If the question occur, Is it a good man? or a good house? the adjective, which, in the inanimate form is onishish-e, is, in the animate, onishish-in. If the question be put, Is it this man? or this house? the pronoun this, which is maubum in the animate, is changed to maundun in the inanimate.

Nouns animate embrace the tribes of quadrupeds, birds, fishes, insects, reptiles, crustacæ, the sun, and moon, and stars, thunder and lightning; for these are personified, and whatever either possesses animal life, or is endowed by the peculiar opinions and superstitions of the Indians, with it. In the vegetable kingdom, their number is comparatively limited, being chiefly confined to trees, and those only while they are referred to as whole bodies, and to the various species of fruits, seeds, and esculents. It is at the option of the speaker to employ nouns either as animates or inanimates; but it is a choice never resorted to, except in conformity with stated rules. These conventional exceptions are not numerous, and the more prominent of them may be recited. The cause of the exceptions it is not always easy to perceive. It may, however, generally be traced to a particular respect paid to certain inanimate bodies, either from their real or fancied properties, the uses to which they are applied, or the ceremonies to which they are dedicated. A stone, which is the altar of sacrifice to their manitoes; a bow, so necessary in the chase; a feather, the honored sign of martial prowess; a kettle, so valuable in the household; a pipe, by which friendships are sealed and treaties ratified; a drum, used in their sacred and festive dances; a medal, the mark of authority; vermilion, the appropriate paint of the warrior; wampum, by which messages are conveyed, and covenants remembered. These are among the objects, in themselves inanimates, which require the application of animate verbs, pronouns, and adjectives, and are thereby transferred to the animate class.

It is to be remarked, however, that the names for animals are only employed as animates, while the objects are referred to as whole and complete species; but the gender must be changed when it becomes necessary to speak of separate members. Man, woman, father, mother, are separate nouns so long as the individuals are meant;

but hand, foot, head, eye, ear, tongue, are inanimates. Buck is an animate noun while his entire carcase is referred to, whether living or dead; but neck, back, heart, windpipe, take the inanimate form. In like manner, eagle, swan, dove, are distinguished as animates; but beak, wing, tail, are arranged with inanimates. So oak, pine, ash, are animate; branch, leaf, root, inanimates.

Reciprocal exceptions, however, exist to this rule, the reasons for which, as in the former instance, may generally be sought either in peculiar opinions of the Indians, or in the peculiar qualities or uses of the objects. Thus, the talons of the eagle, and the claws of the bear and of other animals, which furnish ornaments for the neck, are invariably spoken of under the animate form. The hoofs and horns of all quadrupeds, which are applied to various economical and mystic purposes; the castorum of the beaver, and the nails of man, are similarly situated. The vegetable creation also furnishes some exceptions of this nature; such are the names for the outer bark of all trees, (except the birch,) and the branches, the roots, and the resin of the spruce and its congeners.

In a language which considers all nature as separated into two classes of bodies, characterized by the presence or absence of life, neuter nouns will scarcely be looked for, although such may exist without my knowledge. Neuters are found amongst the verbs and the adjectives, but it is doubtful whether they render the nouns to which they are applied neuters, in the sense we attach to that term. The subject, in all its bearings, is interesting, and a full and minute description of it would probably elicit new light respecting some doubtful points in the language, and contribute something towards a curious collateral topic, — the history of Indian opinions. I have stated the principle broadly, without filling up the subject of exceptions as fully as it is in my power, and without following its bearings upon points, which will more properly come under discussion at other stages of the inquiry. A sufficient outline, it is believed, has been given, and having thus met at the threshold a principle deeply laid at the foundation of the language, and one which will be perpetually recurring, I shall proceed to enumerate some other prominent features of the substantive.

2. No language is perhaps so defective as to be totally without number. But there are probably few which furnish so many modes of indicating it as the Algonquin. There are as many modes of forming the plural as there are vowel sounds, yet there is no distinction between a limited and unlimited substantive plural; although there is, in the pronoun, an INCLUSIVE and an EXCLUSIVE plural. Whether we say man or men, two men or twenty men, the singular inin-e, and the plural ininewug, remain the same. But if we say we, or us, or our men, (who are present,) or we, us, or our Indians, (in general,) the plural we, and us, and our — for they are rendered by the same form — admit of a change to indicate whether the objective person or persons be INCLUDED or EXCLUDED. This principle, of which full examples will be given under

the appropriate head, forms a single and anomalous instance of the use of particular plurals. And it carries its distinctions, by means of the pronouns, separable and inseparable, into the verbs and substantives, creating the necessity of double conjugations and double declensions, in the plural forms of the first person. Thus, the term for Our Father, which, in the inclusive form, is Kosinaun, is, in the exclusive, Nosinaun.

The particular plural, which is thus, by the transforming power of the language, carried from the pronoun into the texture of the verb and substantive, is not limited to any fixed number of persons or objects: it is not a dual, but arises from the operations of the verb. The general plural is variously made. But the plurals making inflections take upon themselves an additional power or sign, by which substantives are distinguished into animates and inanimates. Without this additional power, all nouns plural would end in the vowels a, e, i, o, u. But to mark the gender, the letter g is added to animates, and the letter n to inanimates, making the plurals of the first class terminate in ag, eeg, ig, og, ug, and of the second class in an, een, in, on, un. Ten modes of forming the plural are thus provided, five of which are animate, and five inanimate plurals. A strong and clear line of distinction is thus drawn between the two classes of words, so unerring indeed in its application, that it is only necessary to inquire how the plural is formed to determine whether it belong to one or the other class. The distinctions which we have endeavored to convey will perhaps be more clearly perceived by adding examples of the use of each of the plurals.

ANIMATE PLURAL.

a. Ojibwa	a Chippewa.	Ojibwaig	Chippewas.
e. Ojee	a Fly.	Oj-eeg	Flies.
i. Kosenaun	Our Father (in.)	Kosenaun-ig	Our Fathers (in.)
o. Ahmo	a Bee.	Ahm-og	Bees.
u. Ais	a Shell.	Ais-ug	Shells.

INANIMATE PLURAL.

a. Shkoda	Fire.	Ishkodain	Fires.
e. Wadop	Alder.	Wadop-een	Alders.
i. Adetaig	Fruit.	Adetaig-in	Fruits.
o. Nodin	Wind.	Nodin-on	Winds.
u. Meen	Berry.	Meen-un	Berries.

Where a noun terminates with a vowel in the singular, the addition of the g, or n, shows at once both the plural and the gender. In other instances, as in peena, a partridge; seebe, a river; it requires a consonant to precede the plural vowel, in

conformity with a rule previously stated. Thus, peenai is rendered peenai-wug; and seebe, seebe-wun. Where the noun singular terminates in the broad instead of the long sound of a, as in ogimau, a chief; ishpatinau, a hill, the plural is ogim-aug, ishpatinaun. But these are mere modifications of two of the above forms, and are by no means entitled to be considered as additional plurals.

Comparatively few substantives are without number. The following may be enumerated:

Missun'	Fire-wood.	Ussaimau	Tobacco.
Pingwi	Ashes.	Naigow	Sand.
Méjim	Food.	Akioun	Mist.
Kon	Snow.	Kimmiwun	Rain.
Mishkwe	Blood.	Ossoakumig	Moss.
Ukkukkuzha	Coals.	Unitchemin	Peas.

Others may be found, and, indeed, a few others are known. But it is less an object, in this enumeration, to pursue exceptions into their minutest ramifications, than to sketch broad rules, applicable, if not to every word, to at least a majority of words in the language.

There is, however, one exception from the general use of number, so peculiar in itself, that not to point it out would be an unpardonable remissness, in giving the outlines of a language, in which it is an object neither to extenuate faults nor to over-rate beauties. This exception consists in the want of number in the THIRD PERSON of the declensions of animate nouns, and the conjugation of animate verbs. Not, that such words are destitute of number, in their simple forms, or when used under circumstances requiring no change of these simple forms — no prefixes and no inflections. But it will be seen, at a glance, how very limited such an application of words must be, in a transpositive language.

Thus, mong and gaug (loon and porcupine) take the plural inflection, wug, becoming mong-wug and gaug-wug (loons and porcupines.) So, in their pronominal declension —

My loon	Ne mong oom	My loons	Ne mong oom ug
Thy loon	Ke mong oom	Thy loons	Ke mong oom ug
My porcupine . . .	Ne gaug oom	My porcupines . . .	Ne gaug oom ug
Thy porcupine . .	Ke gaug oom	Thy porcupines . .	Ke gaug oom ug

But his loon or loons, (o mong oom un,) his porcupine or porcupines, (o gaug oom un,) are without number. The rule applies equally to the class of words in which the pronouns are inseparable. Thus, my father and thy father, nos and kos, become my fathers and thy fathers by the numerical inflection ug, forming nosug and kosug. But osun, his father or fathers, is vague, and does not indicate whether there be one father or twenty fathers. The inflection un merely denotes the OBJECT. The rule also applies equally to sentences, in which the noun is governed by or governs the verb.

Whether we say, I saw a bear — ninge waubumau mukwah, or a bear saw me — mukwah ninge waubumig, the noun itself undergoes no change, and its number is definite. But oge waubum-aun muk-wun, he saw bear, is indefinite, although both the verb and the noun have changed their endings; and, if the narrator does not subsequently determine the number, the hearer is either left in doubt, or must resolve it by a question. In fine, the whole acts of the third person are thus rendered questionable. This want of precision, which would seem to be fraught with so much confusion, appears to be obviated in practice by the employment of adjectives, by numerical inflections in the relative words of the sentence, by the use of the indefinite article, paizhik, or by demonstrative pronouns. Thus, paizhik mukwun oge waubumaun conveys, with certainty, the information — he saw A bear. But in this sentence both the noun and the verb retain the objective inflections, as in the former instances. These inflections are not uniformly un, but sometimes een, as in ogeen, his mother; and sometimes on, as in odakeek-on, his kettle: in all which instances, however, the number is left indeterminate. It may hence be observed, and it is a remark which we shall presently have occasion to corroborate, that the plural inflection to inanimate nouns (which have no objective form) becomes the objective inflection to animate nouns, which have no number in the third person.

3. This leads us to the consideration of the mode of forming possessives, the existence of which, when it shall have been indicated by full examples, will present to the mind of the inquirer one of those tautologies in grammatical forms which, without imparting additional precision, appear to clothe the language with accumulated verbiage. The strong tendency to combination and amalgamation existing in the language, renders it difficult, in fact, to discuss the principles of it in that elementary form which could be wished. In the analysis of words and forms, we are constantly led from the central point of discussion. To recur, however, from these collateral unravellings to the main thread of inquiry at as short and frequent intervals as possible, and thus to preserve the chain of conclusions and proof, is so important that, without keeping the object distinctly in view, I should despair of conveying any clear impressions of those grammatical features which impart to the language its peculiar character.

It has been remarked that the distinctions of number are founded upon a modification of the five vowel sounds. Possessives are likewise founded upon the basis of the vowel sounds. There are five declensions of the noun to mark the possessive, ending, in the possessive, in am, eem, im, ôm, um, oom. Where the nominative ends with a vowel, the possessive is made by adding the letter m, as in maimai, a woodcock, ne maimaim, my woodcock, &c. Where the nominative ends in a consonant, as in ais, a shell, the full possessive inflection is required, making nin dais-im, my shell. In the latter form, the consonant d is interposed between the pronoun and noun, and sounded with the noun, in conformity with a general rule. Where the nominative ends in the broad, in

lieu of the long sound of a, as in ogimau, a chief, the possessive is aum. The sound of i, in the third declension, is that of i in pin, and the sound of u, in the fifth declension, is that of u in bull. The latter will be uniformly represented by oo.

The possessive declensions run throughout both the animate and inanimate classes of nouns, with some exceptions in the latter, as knife, bowl, paddle, &c.

Inanimate nouns are thus declined:

Nominative,	Ishkôdai, Fire.
Possessive.	My, Nin Dishkod-aim
	Thy, Ke Dishkod-aim
	His, O Dishkod-aim
	Our, Ke Dishkod-aim-inun (in.)
	" Ne Dishkod-aim-inun (ex.)
	Your, Ke Dishkod-aim-iwau
	Their, O Dishkod-aim-iwau

Those words which form exceptions from this declension take the separable pronouns before them, as follows:

Mokomahn	a knife
Ne mokomahn	my knife
Ke mokomahn	thy knife
O mokomahn	his knife, &c.

Animate substantives are declined precisely in the same manner as inanimate, except in the third person, which takes to the possessive inflections, aim, eem, im, om, oom, the objective particle un, denoting the compound inflection of this person, both in the singular and plural, to be aimun, eemun, imun, omun, oomun, and the variation of the first vowel sound, aumun. Thus, to furnish an example of the second declension, pezhiki, a bison, changes its form to nim bezhik-im, my bison, ke bizhik-im, thy bison, O bizhik-imun, his bison or bisons.

The cause of this double inflection in the third person may be left for future inquiry. But we may add further examples in aid of it. We cannot simply say, the chief has killed a bear; or, to reverse the object upon which the energy of the verb is exerted, the bear has killed a chief; but must say, ogimau ogi nissaUN mukwUN, literally, CHIEF HE HAS KILLED HIM BEAR; or, mukwah ogi nissaUN ogimaUN, BEAR HE HAS KILLED HIM CHIEF. Here the verb and the noun are both objective in UN, which is sounded aun, where it comes after the broad sound of a, as in missaun, objective of the verb to kill. If we confer the powers of the English possessive ('s) upon the inflections aim, eem, im, om, oom, and aum, respectively, and the meaning of HIM, and, of course, he, her, his, hers, they, theirs, (as there is no declension of the pronoun, and no number to the third person,) upon the objective particle un, we shall then translate the above expression, o bizhik — eemun, his bison's — his. If we reject this meaning, as I think we should, the sentence would read, literally, his bison — him: a mere tautology.

It is true, it may be remarked, that the noun possessed has a corresponding termination, or pronominal correspondence with the pronoun possessor; also a final termination, indicative of its being the OBJECT on which the verb exerts its influence; a mode of expression which, so far as relates to the possessive, would be deemed superfluous in modern languages, but may have some analogy in the Latin accusatives am, um, em.

It is a constant and unremitting aim in the Indian languages, to distinguish the actor from the object; partly by prefixes, and partly by inseparable suffixes. That the termination UN is one of these inseparable particles, and that its office, while it confounds the number of the third person, is to designate the object, appears probable, from the fact that it retains its connexion with the noun, whether the latter follow or precede the verb, or whatever its position in the sentence may be.

Thus we can, without any perplexity in the meaning, say, WAIMITTIGOZHIWUG OGI SAGIAUN PONTIAC-UN; Frenchmen they did love Pontiac him. Or to reverse it, PONTIAC-UN WAIMITTIGOZHIWUG OGI SAGIAUN; literally, Pontiac he did Frenchmen he loved. The termination un, in both instances, clearly determines the object beloved. So in the following instance, SAGUNOSHUG OGI SAGIAUN TECUMSEH-UN; Englishmen they did love Tecumseh, or TECUMSEH-UN SAGUNOSHUG OGI SAGIAUN; Tecumseh, he did Englishmen he loved.

In tracing the operation of this rule through the doublings of the language, it is necessary to distinguish every modification of sound, whether it is accompanied, or not accompanied, by a modification of the sense. The particle un, which thus marks THE THIRD PERSON AND PERSONS, is sometimes pronounced WUN, and sometimes YUN, as the euphony of the word to which it is suffixed may require. But not the slightest change is thereby made in its meaning.

Waubojeeg ogi meegaun-aun naudowaisi-wun.

Waubojeeg fought his enemies. Literally; He did fight them, his enemy or enemies.

O saugi-aun inini-wun.

He or she loves a man. Literally; He or she loves him, man or men.

Kego-yun waindji pimmaudizziwaud.

They subsist on fish. Literally; Fish or fishes, they upon them, they live.

Ontwa o sagiaun odi-yun.

Ontwa loves his dog. Literally; He loves him, his dog or dogs.

In these sentences the letters w and y are introduced before the inflection un, merely for euphony's sake, and to enable the speaker to utter the final vowel of the substantive, and the inflective vowel, without placing both under the accent. It is to be remarked in these examples, that the verb has a corresponding inflection with the noun, indicated by the final consonant n, as in sagiau-n, objective of the verb to love. This is merely a modification of un, where it is requisite to employ it after broad a,

(aw,) and it is applicable to nouns as well as verbs, whenever they end in that sound. Thus, in the phrase, he saw a chief, O waubumau-n O gimau-n, both noun and verb terminate in n. It is immaterial to the sense which precedes. And this leads to the conclusion which we are, in some measure, compelled to state in anticipation of our remarks on the verb; that verbs must not only agree with their nominatives in number, person, and GENDER, (we use the latter term for want of a more appropriate one,) but also with their objectives. Hence the objective sign n, in the above examples. Sometimes this sign is removed from the ending of the verb, to make room for the plural of the nominative person, and is subjoined to the latter. Thus —

O sagiau (wau) n.
They love them, (him or them.)

In this phrase the interposed syllable (wau) is, apparently, the plural — it is a reflective plural of HE — the latter being indicated as usual by the sign O. It has been observed above, that the deficiency in number, in the third person, is sometimes supplied "by numerical inflections in the relative words of the sentence," and this interposed particle (wau) affords an instance in point. The number of the nominative pronoun appears to be thus rendered precise, but the objective is still indefinite.

When two nouns are used without a verb in the sentence, or when two nouns compose the whole matter uttered, being in the third person, both have the full objective inflection. Thus,

Os — (un.) Odi — (yun.)
His father's dog. Literally his father — his dog or dogs.

There are certain words, however, which will not admit the objective in een, or on.

O waubumau — (n.) Assin — (een.)
He sees the stone. Literally, he sees him — stone or stones.

O waubumau - (n) mittig o mizh - (een.) Literally,
He sees him, tree or trees. (An oak tree.)

Omittig wâb (een,) gyai o bikwuk - (on.)
His bow and his arrows. Literally, his bow him, and his arrows him or them.

Odya | wau | wau (n,) akkik - (on.)
They possess a kettle. Literally, they own them, kettle or kettles.

The syllable wau, in the verb of the last example, included between bars (instead of parentheses,) is the reflective plural THEY, pointed out in a preceding instance.

I shall conclude these remarks with full examples of each pronominal declension.

a. First declension, forming the first and second persons in AIM, and the third in AIMUN.

Nominative. { Pinai, a partridge.
Pinai-wug, partridges.

1st and 2d Person.	My. Nim Bin-aim.
	Thy. Ke Bin-aim.
	Our. Ke Bin-aim inaun. Inclu. plu.
	Our. Ne Bin-aiminaun. Exclu. plu.
	Your. Ke Bin-aim wau.
3d Person.	His. O Bin-aim, (un.)
	Their. O Bin-aim wau (n.)

e. Second declension, forming the first and second persons in EEM, and the third in EEMUN.

Nominative.	Ossin, a stone.
	Ossineen, stones.
1st and 2d Person.	My. Nin Dossin-eem.
	Thy. Ke Dossin-eem.
	Our. Ke Dossin-eeminaun. (in.)
	Our. Ne Dossin-eeminaun. (ex.)
	Your. Ke Dossin-eemewau.
3d Person.	His. O Dossin-eem (un.)
	Their. O Dossin-eemewau (n.)

i. Third declension, forming the first and second persons in IM, and the third in IMUN.

Nominative.	Ais, a shell.
	Aisug, shells.
1st and 2d Person.	My. Nin Dais-im.
	Thy. Ke Dais-im.
	Our. Ke Dais-iminaun, (in.)
	Our. Ne Dais-iminaun. (ex.)
	Your. Ke Dais-iminau.
3d Person.	His. O Dais-im, (un.)
	Their. O Dais-imewau, (n.)

o. Fourth declension, forming the first and second persons in OM, and the third in OMUN.

Nominative.	Monido, a Spirit.
	Monidog, Spirits.
1st and 2d Person.	My. Ne Monid-om.
	Thy. Ke Monid-om.
	Our. Ke Monid-ominaun. (in.)
	Our. Ne Monid-ominaun. (ex.)
	Your. Ke Monid-omiwau.
3d Person.	His. O Monid-om. (un.)
	Their. O Monid-omewau. (n.)

u, (oo.) Fifth declension, forming the first and second persons in OOM, and the third in OOMUN.

Nominative.
- Moz, a Moose.
- Mozug, Moose. (plu.)

1st and 2d Person.
- My. Ne Moz-oom.
- Thy. Ke-moz-oom.
- Our. Ke Moz-oominaun. (in.)
- Our. Ne Moz-oominaun. (ex.)
- Your. Ke Moz-oomiwau.

3d Person.
- His. O Moz-oom. (un.)
- Their. O Moz-oomiwau. (n.)

aw. Additional declension, required when the noun ends in the broad, instead of the long sound of a, forming the possessive in AUM, and the objective in AUMUN.

Nominative.
- Ogimau, a Chief.
- Ogimaug, Chiefs.

1st and 2d Person.
- My. Ne Dogim aum.
- Thy. Ke Dogim aum.
- Our. Ke Dogim auminaun. (in.)
- Our. Ne Dogim auminaun. (ex.)
- Your. Ke Dogim aumiwau.

3d Person.
- His. O Dogim aum. (un.)
- Their. O Dogim aumiwau. (n.)

The abbreviations IN and EX, in these declensions, mark the inclusive and exclusive form of the pronoun plural. The inflection of the third person, as it is superadded to the first and second, is included between parentheses, that the eye, unaccustomed to these extended forms, may readily detect it.

Where the inseparable, instead of the separable pronoun is employed, the possessive inflection of the first and second person is dispensed with, although the inflection of the third is still retained.

Os: Father.

S. SINGULAR.	S. PLURAL.
Nos . . . . . My father.	Nos-ug . . . . . My fathers.
Kos . . . . . Thy father.	Kos-ug . . . . . Thy fathers.
Os-un . . . . . His father, (s. & p.)	Os-un . . . . . His fathers, (s. & p.)
Nos-inaun . . Our father. (ex.)	Nos-inaun ig . . Our fathers. (ex.)
Kos-inaun . . Our father. (in.)	Kos-inaun ig . . Our fathers. (in.)
Kos-iwau . . Your father.	Kos-iwaug . . . Your fathers.
Os-iwaun . . . Their father, (s. & p.)	Os-iwan . . . . Their fathers, (s. & p.)

The word dog, and this word alone, is declined in the following manner: —

Annimoosh: a Dog.

S. Singular.		S. Plural.	
Nin Di	My dog.	Nin Di-ug	My dogs.
Ke Di	Thy dog.	Ki Di-ug	Thy dogs.
O Di-un	His dog or dogs.	O Di-un	His dogs, &c.
Ki Di-inaun	Our dog. (in.)	Ki Di-inaunig	Our dogs. (in.)
Ni Di-inaun	Our dog. (ex.)	Ni Di-inaunig	Our dogs. (ex.)
Ki Di-iwau	Your dog.	Ki Di-iwaug	Your dogs.
O Di-iwaun	Their dog, &c.	O Di-iwaun	Their dogs, &c.

The word DI, which supplies this declension, is derived from indyiaum, mine — pronoun an — a derivative form of the word, which is, however, exclusively restricted, in its meaning, to the dog. If the expression nin di, or n' di, is sometimes applied to the horse, it is because it is thereby intended to call him, my dog, from his being in a state of servitude similar to that of the dog. It must be borne in mind, as connected with this subject, that the dog, in high northern latitudes, and even as far south as 42 degrees, is both a beast of draught and of burden. He is compelled, during the winter season, to draw the ODAUBAN, or Indian sleigh; and sometimes to support the burden upon his back, by means of a kind of drag constructed of slender poles.

A review of the facts which have been brought together respecting the substantive will show that the separable or inseparable pronouns, under the form of prefixes, are throughout required. It will also indicate, that the inflections of the first and second persons, which occupy the place of possessives, and those of the third person, resembling objectives, pertain to words which are either primitives or denote but a single object; as moose, fire. There is, however, another class of substantives, or substantive expressions, and an extensive class — for it embraces a great portion of the compound descriptive terms — in the use of which no pronominal prefixes are required. The distinctions of person are, exclusively, supplied by pronominal suffixes. Of this character are the words descriptive of country, place of dwelling, field of battle, place of employment, &c. The following examples will furnish the inflections applicable to this entire class of words: —

Aindaud: Home, or place of dwelling.

S. Singular.		S. Plural.	
Aindau-yaun	My home.	Aindau-yaun-in	My homes.
Aindau-yun	Thy home.	Aindau-yun-in	Thy homes.
Aindau-d	His home.	Aindau-jin	His homes.
Aindau-yaung	Our home. (ex.)	Aindau-yaung-in	Our homes. (ex.)
Aindau-yung	Our home. (in.)	Aindau-yung-in	Our homes. (in.)
Aindau-yaig	Your home.	Aindau-yaig-in	Your homes.
Aindau-waud	Their home.	Aindau-waudjin	Their homes.

§ 3. FURTHER REMARKS ON THE SUBSTANTIVE: 1. LOCAL, 2. DIMINUTIVE, 3. DEROGATIVE, 4. TENSAL INFLECTIONS. MODE IN WHICH THE LATTER ARE EMPLOYED TO DENOTE THE DECEASE OF INDIVIDUALS, AND TO INDICATE THE PAST AND FUTURE SEASONS. 5. RESTRICTED OR SEXUAL TERMS. 6. CONVERSION OF THE SUBSTANTIVE INTO A VERB, AND THE RECIPROCAL CHARACTER OF THE VERB, BY WHICH IT IS CONVERTED INTO A SUBSTANTIVE. 7. DERIVATIVE AND COMPOUND SUBSTANTIVES. SUMMARY OF THE PROPERTIES OF THIS PART OF SPEECH.

In the view which has been taken of the substantive, it has been deemed proper to exclude several topics, which, from their peculiarities, it was believed, could be more satisfactorily discussed in a separate form. Of this character are those modifications of the substantive by which locality, diminution, a defective quality, and the past tense are expressed; by which various adjective and adverbial significations are given; and, finally, the substantives themselves converted into verbs. Such are, also, the mode of indicating the masculine and feminine, (both merged, as we have shown, in the animate class,) and those words which are of a strictly SEXUAL character, or are restricted in their USE either to males or females. Not less interesting is the manner of forming derivatives, and of conferring upon the derivatives so formed a PERSONALITY, distinguished as either animate or inanimate, at the option of the speaker.

Much of the flexibility of the substantive is derived from these properties, and they undoubtedly add greatly to the figurative character of the language. Some of them have been thought analogous to case, particularly that inflection of the noun which indicates the locality of the object: but if so, then there would be equally strong reasons for establishing an ADJECTIVE, and an ADVERBIAL, as well as a LOCAL case, and a plurality of forms in each. But it is believed that no such necessity exists. There is no regular declension of these forms, and they are all used under limitations and restrictions incompatible with the true principles of case.

It is under this view of the subject that the discussion of these forms has been transferred to a separate paper, together with the other accidents of the substantive, just adverted to and reserved; and in now proceeding to express the conclusions at which we have arrived touching these points, it will be an object so to compress and arrange the materials before us as to present, within a small compass, the leading facts and examples upon which each separate position depends.

1. That quality of the noun which, in the shape of an inflection, denotes the relative situation of the object by the contiguous position of some accessory object, is expressed, in the English language, by the prepositions IN, INTO, AT, or ON. In the Indian, they

are denoted by an inflection. Thus the phrase, In the box, is rendered, in the Indian, by one word, mukukoong. Of this word, mukuk simply is box. The termination OONG denoting the locality, not of the box, but of the object sought after. The expression appears to be precise, although there is no definite article in the language.

The substantive takes this form most commonly after a question has been put, as Anendi ne mokomahn-ais? where is my penknife? Mukukoong, (in the box,) addo-powin-ing, (on the table,) are definite replies to this question. But the form is not restricted to this relation. Chimauning n'guh poz, I shall embark in the canoe; waki-e-gun n'guh izhau, I shall go into the house, is perfectly correct, though somewhat formal expressions, when the canoe or the house is present to the speaker's view.

The meaning of these inflections has been restricted to IN, INTO, AT, and ON; but they are the more appropriate forms of expressing the three first senses, there being other modes, besides these, of expressing the preposition ON. These modes consist in the use of prepositions, and will be explained under that head. The choice of the one or the other is, however, with the speaker. Generally, the inflection is employed when there is some circumstance or condition of the noun either concealed, or not fully apparent. Thus, muzziniegun-ing is the appropriate term for IN THE BOOK, and MAY also be used to signify ON THE BOOK. But if it is meant only to signify ON the book, something visible being referred to, the preposition OGIDJ would be used, that word indicating, with certainty, ON, and never IN. Wakiegun-ing indicates with clearness, IN THE HOUSE; but if it is necessary to say ON THE HOUSE, and it be meant, at the same time, to exclude any reference to the interior, the expression would be changed to OGIDJ WAKIEGUN.

It will be proper further to remark in this place, in the way of limitation, that there is also a separate preposition signifying IN; it is PEENJ. But the use of this word does not, in all cases, supersede the necessity of inflecting the noun. Thus, the expression PENDIGAIN is literally WALK IN, or enter. But if it is intended to say, walk in the house, the local, and not the simple form of house, must be used; and the expression is Pendigain wakiegun-ing, ENTER IN THE HOUSE,—the verbal form which this preposition peenj puts on having no allusion to the act of WALKING, but merely implying position.

The local inflection, which in the above examples is ING and OONG, is further changed to AING and EENG, as the ear may direct, changes which are governed chiefly by the terminal vowel of the noun. Examples will best indicate the rule, as well as the exceptions to it.

SIMPLE FORM.		LOCAL FORM.	
	a. *First Inflection in* AING.		
Ishkodai	Fire.	Ishkod-aing . .	In, or on, the fire.
Muscodai	Prairie.	Muskod-aing . .	In, " the prairie.
Mukkuddai	Powder.	Mukkud-aing . .	In, " the powder.
Pimmedai	Grease.	Pimmid-aing . .	In, " the grease.

e. *Second Inflection in* EENG.[1]

Sebe	River.	Seb-eeng	In, or on, the river.
Nebe	Water.	Neb-eeng	In, " the water.
Miskwe	Blood.	Miskw-eeng	In, " the blood.
Unneb	Elm.	Unneb-eeng	In, " the elm.

i. *Third Inflection in* ING.

Kon	Snow.	Kon-ing	In, or on, the snow.
Meen	Berry.	Meen-ing	In, " the berry.
Chimaun	Canoe.	Chiman-ing	In, " the canoe.
Muzzini egun	Book.	Muzzini egun-ing .	In, " the book.

o. *Fourth Inflection in* OONG.

Azhibik	Rock.	Azhebik-oong . . .	In, or on, the rock.
Gezhig	Sky.	Gezhig-oong	In, " the sky.
Kimmiwun	Rain.	Kimmiwun-oong . .	In, " the rain.
Akkik	Kettle.	Akkik-oong	In, " the kettle.

Throw it in the fire.

1. Puggidon ishkod-aing.
   Go into the pfairie.
2. Muskodaing izhan.
   He is in the elm.
3. Unnib-eeng iau.
   It is on the water.
4. Neb-eeng attai.
   Put it on the table.
5. Addopowin-ing atton.
   Look in the book.
6. Enaubin muzzini egun-ing.
   You stand in the rain.
7. Kimmiwun-oong ke nebaw.
   What have you in that box.
8. Waigonain aitaig mukuk-oong.
   Put it in the kettle.
9. Akkik-oong atton, or Podawain.
   My bow is not in the lodge; neither is it in the canoe, nor on the rock.
10. Kauwin PINDIG 'ause ne mittigwaub; kauwiuh 'gia chemaun-ING; kauwen gia ouzhebik-oong.

[1] The double vowel is here employed to indicate the long sound of e under accent.

An attentive inspection of these examples will show, that the local form pertains either to such nouns of the animate class as are in their nature inanimates, or at most possessed of vegetable life. And here another conclusion presses upon us, that where these local terminations, in all their variety, are added to the names of animated beings, when such names are the nominatives of adjectives or adjective nouns, these words are converted into terms of qualification, indicating LIKE, RESEMBLING, EQUAL. Thus if we wish to say to a boy, he is like a man, the expression is, Inin-ing izzhenaugozzi; or if to a man, he is like a bear, mukkoong izzhinaugozzi; or to a bear, he is like a horse, Paibaizhikogauzh-ing izzhinaugozzi. In all these expressions the word IZZHI is combined with the pronominal inflection au (or nau) and the animate termination GOZZI. And the inflection of the nominative is merely an adjective correspondence with IZZHI — a term indicative of the general qualities of persons or animated beings. Where a comparison is instituted or a resemblance pointed out between inanimate instead of animate objects, the inflection GOZZI is changed to GWUD, rendering the expression which was, in the animate form, izzhinaGOZZI; in the inanimate form, izzhinaGWUD.

There is another variation of the local form of the noun in addition to those above instanced, indicative of locality in a more general sense. It is formed by ONG or NONG, frequent terminations in geographical names. Thus, from Ojibwai, (Chippewa), is formed OjibwaiNONG, Place of the Chippewas; from Wamittigozhiwug, Frenchmen, is formed WamittigozhiNONG, Place of Frenchmen; from Ishpatinä, hill, Ishpatinong, Place of the hill, &c. The termination ING is also sometimes employed in this more general sense, as in the following names of places: —

Monomonikauning . . . . . In the place of wild rice.
Moningwunikauning . . . . In the place of sparrows.
Ongwashaugooshing. . . . . In the place of the fallen tree, &c.

2. The diminutive forms of the noun are indicated by ais, ees, os, and aus, as the final vowel of the word may require. Thus, Ojibwai, a Chippewa, becomes Ojibwais, a little Chippewa; 'inin'e, a man, inin-ees, a little man; amik, a beaver, amik-os, a young beaver; ogimau, a chief, ogim-aus, a little chief, or a chief of little authority. Further examples may be added.

Inflection in AIS.

	SIMPLE FORM.	DIMINUTIVE FORM.
A woman	Eekwa	Eekwaz-ais.
A partridge . . .	Pina	Pe-nais.
A woodcock . . .	Mama	Ma-mais.
An island	Minnis	Minnis-ais.
A grape	Shomin	Shomin-ais.
A knife	Mokomahn	Mokomahn-ais.

Inflection in EES.

	SIMPLE FORM.	DIMINUTIVE FORM.
A stone	Ossin	Ossin-ees.
A river	Sebi	Seb-ees.
A pigeon	Omeme	Omem-ees.
A bison	Pezhiki	Pezhik-ees.
A potatoe	Opin	Opin-ees.
A bird	Penaisi	Penaish-ees.

Inflection in OS.

A moose	Moz	Moz-os.
An otter	Negik	Negik-os.
A reindeer	Addik	Addik-os.
An elk	Mushkos	Mushkos-os.
A hare	Waubos	Waubos-os.
A box	Mukuk	Mukuk-os.

Inflection in AUS.

A bass	Ogau	Og-aus.
A medal	Shoniau	Shoni-aus.
A bowl	Onaugun	Onaug-auns.
A bed	Nibaugun	Nibaug-auns.
A gun	Paushkizzigun	Paushkizzig-ans.
A house	Wakiegun	Wakieg-ans.

In the four last examples, the letter n of the diminutive retains its full sound.

The use of diminutives has a tendency to give conciseness to the language. As far as they can be employed, they supersede the use of adjectives, or prevent the repetition of them; and they enable the speaker to give a turn to the expression which is often very successfully employed in producing ridicule or contempt. When applied to the tribes of animals, or to inorganic objects, their meaning, however, is very nearly limited to an inferiority in size or age. Thus, in the above examples, pezhik-ees signifies a calf, omen-ees, a young pigeon, and ossin-ees, a pebble, &c. But inin-ees and ogim-aus are connected with the idea of mental or conventional as well as bodily inferiority.

1. I saw a little chief standing upon a small island, with an inferior medal about his neck.

   Ogimaus n'gi waubumau nebowid minnisain-sing onaubikawaun shoniasun.

2. Yamoyden threw at a young pigeon.

   Ogi pukkitaiwun omeneesun Yamoyden.

3. A buffalo calf stood in a small stream.

   Pezhikees ki nebowi sibeesing.

4. The little man fired at a young moose.
   Ininees ogi paushkizwaun mozasun.
5. Several diminutive looking bass were lying in a small bowl upon a little table.
   Addopowinaising attai onaugauns abbiwad ogausug.

Some of these sentences afford instances of the use, at the same time, of both the local and diminutive inflections. Thus the word minnisainsing signifies, literally, IN THE LITTLE ISLAND; seebees ing, IN THE LITTLE STREAM; addopowinais ing, ON THE SMALL TABLE.

3. The preceding forms are not the only ones by which adjective qualities are conferred upon the substantive. The syllable ISH, when added to a noun, indicates a bad or dreaded quality, or conveys the idea of imperfection or decay. The sound of this inflection is sometimes changed to eesh, oosh, or aush. Thus, chimaun, a canoe, becomes chimaunish, a bad canoe; eckwai, a woman, eckwaiwish, a bad woman; nebi, water, becomes nebeesh, strong water; mittig, a tree, becomes mittigoosh, a decayed tree; akkik, a kettle, akkikoosh, a worn-out kettle. By a further change, webeed, a tooth, becomes webeedaush, a decayed or aching tooth, &c. Throughout these changes the final sound of SH is retained, so that this sound alone, at the end of a word, is indicative of a faulty quality.

In a language in which the expressions bad dog and faint heart are the superlative terms of reproach, and in which there are few words to indicate the modifications between positively good and positively bad, it must appear evident, that adjective inflections of this kind must be convenient, and sometimes necessary, modes of expression. They furnish a means of conveying censure and dislike, which, though often mild, is sometimes severe. Thus, if one person has had occasion to refuse the offered hand of another — for it must be borne in mind, that the Indians are now a hand-shaking people, as well as the Europeans — the implacable party has it at his option, in referring to the circumstance, to use the adjective form of hand, not ONINDJ, but oninjEESH, which would be deemed contemptuous in a high degree. So also, instead of odauwai winii, a trader, or man who sells, the word may be changed to odauwai wininiwISH, implying a bad or dishonest trader. It is seldom that a more pointed or positive mode of expressing personal disapprobation or dislike is required; for, generally speaking, more is implied by these modes than is actually expressed.

The following examples are drawn from the inorganic as well as organic creation, embracing the two classes of nouns, that the operation of these forms may be fully perceived: —

Inflection in ISH.

	SIMPLE FORM.	ADJECTIVE FORM.
A bowl . . .	Onaugun	Onaugun-ish.
A house . . .	Wakiagun	Wakiegun-ish.

	SIMPLE FORM.	ADJECTIVE FORM.
A pipe . . .	Opwaugun	Opwaugun-ish.
A boy . . .	Kwewezais	Kwewezais-ish.
A man . . .	Inine	Ininiw-ish.
Water . . .	Nebi	Neb-ish.
	Inflection in EESH.	
A stone . . .	Ossin	Ossin-eesh.
A potatoe . .	Opin	Opin-eesh.
A fly	Ojee	O-jeesh.
A bow . . .	Mittigwaub	Mittigwaub-eesh.
	Inflection in OOSH.	
An otter . . .	Negik	Negik-oosh.
A beaver . .	Ahmik	Ahmik-oosh.
A reindeer . .	Addik	Addik-oosh.
A kettle . . .	Akkeek	Akkeek-oosh.
An axe . . .	Wagaukwut	Wagaukwut-oosh.
	Inflection in AUSH.	
A foot . . .	Qzid	Ozid-aush.
An arm . . .	Onik	Onik-aush.
An ear . . .	Otowug	Otowug-aush.
A hoof . . .	Wunnussid	Wunnussid-aush.
A rush-mat . .	Appukwa	Appukw-aush.

These forms in ish cannot be said, strictly, to be without analogy in the English, in which the limited number of words terminating in ISH, as saltish, blackish, furnish a correspondence in sound with the first adjective form.

It may subserve the purposes of generalization to add, as the result of the foregoing inquiries, that substantives have a diminutive form, made in ais, ees, os, or aus; a derogative form, made in ish, eesh, oosh, or aush; and a local form, made in aing, eeng, ing, or ong. By a principle of accretion, the second and third may be added to the first form, and the third to the second.

EXAMPLE.

Serpent, s.			Kinai'bik.		
"	s, diminutive	in	" ons,	implying	Little serpent.
"	s, derogative	"	" ish,	"	Bad serpent.
"	s, local	"	" ing,	"	In (the) serpent.
"	s, dim. and der.	"	" onsish	"	Little bad serpent.
"	s, dim. and lo.	"	" onsing	"	In (the) little serpent.
"	s, dim. der. and lo.	"	" onsishing	"	In (the) little bad serpent.

4. More attention has, perhaps, been bestowed upon these points than their importance demanded, but in giving anything like a comprehensive sketch of the substantive, they could not be omitted; and if mentioned at all, it became necessary to pursue them through their various changes and limitations. Another reason has presented itself. In treating of an unwritten language, of which others are to judge chiefly from examples, it appeared desirable that the positions advanced should be accompanied by the data upon which they respectively rest; at least by so much of the data employed, as to enable philologists to appreciate the justice, or detect the fallacy of our conclusions. To the few who take any interest in the subject at all, minuteness will not seem tedious, and the examples will be regarded with deep interest.

Although we have already devoted much space to these lesser points of inquiry, it will be necessary now to point out other inflections and modifications of the substantive, to clear it from obscurities, that we may go into the discussion of the other parts of speech unencumbered.

Of these remaining forms, none is more interesting than that which enables the speaker, by a simple inflection, to denote, without directly stating it, that the individual named has ceased to exist. This delicate mode of conveying melancholy intelligence, or alluding to the dead, is effected by placing the object in the past tense.

Aiekid-opun aieko Garrangula-bun.
So the deceased Garrangula spoke.

The syllable BUN, in this sentence, added to the noun, and OPUN added to the verb, place both in the past tense. And although the death of the Indian orator is not mentioned, that fact would be invariably inferred.

Names which do not terminate in a vowel sound, require a vowel prefixed to the tensal inflection, rendering it OBUN or EBUN. Inanimate, as well as animate nouns, take these inflections.

PRESENT.	PAST FORM.
Tecumseh	Tecumsi-bun.
Tammany	Temmani-bun.
Skenandoah	Skenandoa-bun.
Nos, (my father)	Nos-ebun.
Pontiac	Pontiac-ibun.
Waub Ojeeg	Waub Ojeeg-ibun.
Tarhe	Tarhi-bun.
Mittig, (a tree)	Mittig-obun.
Akkik, (a kettle)	Akkik-obun.
Moz, (a moose)	Möz-obun.

By prefixing the particle TAH to these words, and changing the inflection of the animate nouns to EWI, and that of the inanimate to IWUN, they are rendered future. Thus, Tah Pontiac-iwi, Tah mittig-iwun, &c.

The names for the seasons only come under the operation of these rules when speaking of the year before the last, or the year after the next. The last, and the ensuing season, are indicated as follows.

	PRESENT.	LAST.	NEXT.
Spring	Seegwun	Seegwun-oong	Segwung.
Summer . . .	Neebin	Neebin-oong	Neebing.
Autumn	Tahgwaugi . . .	Tahgwaug-oong . . .	Tahgwaugig.
Winter	Peebon	Peebonoong	Peebong.

I spent last winter in hunting:
Ninge nunda-wainjigai peebonoong.
I shall go to Detroit next spring:
Ninjah izhau Wauwiäú tunong seegwung.

5. Sexual nouns. The mode of indicating the masculine and feminine having been omitted in the preceding chapter, as not being essential to any concordance with the verb or adjective, nevertheless marks a striking peculiarity of the language — the exclusive use of certain words by one or the other sex. After having appeared to the speakers or founders of the language a distinction not necessary to be engrafted in the syntax, there are yet a limited number of words to which the idea of sex so strongly attaches, that it would be deemed the height of impropriety in a female to use the masculine, and in a male to use the feminine expressions.

Of this nature are the words NEEJI and NINDONGWAI, both signifying my friend; but the former is appropriated to males, and the latter to females. A Chippewa cannot, therefore, say to a female, my friend; nor a Chippewa woman to a male, my friend. Such an interchange of the terms would imply arrogance or indelicacy. Nearly the whole of their interjections — and they are numerous — are also thus exclusively appropriated; and no greater breach of propriety in speech could be committed, than a woman's uttering the masculine exclamation of surprise, TIAU! or a man's descending to the corresponding female interjection, E'YAU!

The word NEENIMOSHAI, my cousin, on the contrary, can only be applied, like husband and wife, by a male to a female, or a female to a male. If a male wishes to express this relation of a male, the term is NEETOWIS; and the corresponding female term NEENDONGWOOSHAI.

Their terms for uncle and aunt are also of a two-fold character, though not restricted like the preceding in their use. Neemishomai, is my uncle by the father's side; neezhishai, my uncle by the mother's side. Neezigwoos, is my paternal aunt; neewishai, my maternal aunt.

There are, also, exclusive words to designate elder brother and younger brother; but, what would not be expected, after the foregoing examples, they are indiscrimi-

nately applied to younger brothers and sisters. Neengai, is my elder brother, and neemissai, my elder sister; neeshemai, my younger brother, or younger sister, and may be applied to any brother or sister except the eldest.

The number of masculines and feminines and of words to which the idea of sex is inseparably attached, in the usual acceptation, is limited. The following may be enumerated:—

Masculine.		Feminine.	
Inin'i	A man.	Ekwai'	A woman.
Kwee' wizais	A boy.	Ekwa' zais	A girl.
Oskinahwai	A young man.	Oskineegekwai	A young woman.
Akiwaizi	An old man.	Mindimö' ea	An old woman.
Nosai	My father.	Nin gah	My mother.
Ningwis	My son.	Nin dänis	My daughter.
Ni ningwun	My son-in-law.	Nis sim	My daughter-in-law.
Ni nabaim	My husband.	Nimindimoimish	My wife.
Nimieshomiss	My grandfather.	Nokomiss	My grandmother.
Ogimau	A chief.	Ogemaukwä	A chiefess.
Addik	A reindeer.	Neetshauni	A doe.
Annimoosh	A dog.	Kiskishai	A bitch.

The sex of the brute creation is most commonly denoted by prefixing the words IAUBA, male, and NOZHA, female.

6. Reciprocal changes of the noun. The pronominal particles with which verbs as well as substantives are generally encumbered, and the habit of using them in particular and restricted senses, leaves but little occasion for the employment of either the present or past infinitive. Most verbs are transitives. A Chippewa does not say, I love, without indicating, by an inflection of the verb, the object beloved; and thus the expression is constantly, I love him, or her, &c. Neither does the infinitive appear to be, generally, the ultimate form of the verb.

In changing their nouns into verbs, it will not, therefore, be expected that the change should uniformly result in the infinitive, for which there is so little use; but in such of the personal forms of the various moods as circumstances may require. Most commonly, the third person singular of the indicative, and the second person singular of the imperative, are the simplest aspects under which the verb appears; and hence these forms have been sometimes mistaken for the ultimate of these moods, and thus reported. There are some instances, however, in which the infinitive is employed. Thus, although an Indian cannot say I love, thou lovest, &c., without employing the objective forms of the verb to love, yet he can say I laugh, I cry, &c., expressions in which, the action being confined to the speaker himself, there is no transition demanded. And in all similar instances, the present infinitive, with the proper pronoun prefixed, is employed.

There are several modes of transforming a substantive into a verb. The following examples will supply the rules, so far as is known, which govern these changes: —

	INDICATIVE.	IMPERATIVE.
Chemaun, a canoe . . .	Chemai, he paddles . . .	Chimain, paddle thou.
Paushkizzigun, a gun . .	Paushkizzigai, he fires . .	Paushkizzigain, fire thou.
Jeesediegun, a broom . .	Jeesidiegai, he sweeps . .	Jeesidyigain, sweep thou.
Weedjeeagun, a helper . .	Weedokagai, he helps . .	Weedjeei-wain, help thou.
Ojibwäi, a Chippewa . .	Ojibwamoo, he speaks Chippewa.	Ojibwamoon, speak thou Chippewa.

Another class of nouns is converted into the first person, indicative, in the following manner: —

Monido	A spirit.	Ne monidouw . .	I (am) a spirit.
Wassaiau . . .	Light.	Ne wassaiauw . .	I (am) light.
Ishkodai . . .	Fire.	Nin dishkodaiw .	I (am) fire.
Weendigo . . .	A monster.	Ne weendigouw .	I (am) a monster.
Addik	A deer.	Nin daddikoow .	I (am) a deer.
Wakiegun . . .	A house.	Ni wakieguniw .	I (am) a house.
Pinggwi	Dust, ashes.	Nim Binggwiew .	I (am) dust, &c.

The word am, included in parentheses, is not in the original, unless we may suppose the terminals ouw, auw, iew, oow, to be derivatives from aw. These changes are reciprocated by the verb, which, as often as occasion requires, is made to put on a substantive form. The particle WIN, added to the indicative of the verb, converts it into a substantive. Thus: —

Keegido . . .	He speaks.	Keegidowin . . .	Speech.
Paushkizzigai .	He fires.	Paushkizzigaiwin .	Ammunition.
Agindasoo . . .	He counts.	Agindasoowin . . .	Numbers.
Wahyiazhiggai .	He cheats.	Wahyiazhiggaiwin .	Fraud.
Minnikwai . .	He drinks.	Minnikwaiwin . .	Drink.
Kubbashi . . .	He encamps.	Kubbashiwin . . .	An encampment.
Megauzoo . . .	He fights.	Megauzoowin . . .	A fight.
Ojeengai . . .	He kisses.	Ojeendiwin . . .	A kiss.
Annoki . . .	He works.	Annokiwin	Work.
Paupi	He laughs.	Paupiwin	Laughter.
Pemaudizzi . .	He lives.	Pemaudaiziwin . .	Life.
Onwaibi . . .	He rests.	Onwaibiwin . . .	Rest.
Annamiau . .	He prays.	Annamiauwin . .	Prayer.
Nebau	He sleeps.	Nebauwin	Sleep.
Odauwai . . .	He trades.	Odauwaiwin . . .	Trade.

Adjectives are likewise thus turned into substantives: —

Keezhaiwaudizzi .	He generous.	Keezhaiwaudizziwin .	Generosity.
Minwaindum . .	He happy.	Minwaindumowin .	Happiness.
Keezhaizhawizzi .	He industrious.	Keezhaizhawizziwin .	Industry.
Kittimaugizzi . .	He poor.	Kittimaugizziwin . .	Poverty.
Aukkoossi . . .	He sick.	Aukkoossiwin . . .	Sickness.
Kittimishki . .	He lazy.	Kittimishkiwin . .	Laziness.
Nishkaudizzi . .	He angry.	Nishkaudizziwin . .	Anger.
Baikaudizzi . .	She chaste.	Baikaudizziwin . .	Chastity.

In order to place the substantives thus formed in the third person, corresponding with the indicative from which they were changed, it is necessary only to prefix the proper pronoun. Thus, Ogeezhaiwadizziwin, his generosity, &c.

7. Compound substantives. The preceding examples have been given promiscuously from the various classes of words, primitive and derivative, simple and compound. Some of these words express but a single idea, as nos, father — gah, mother, moz, a moose — kaug, a porcupine — mong, a loon — and appear to be incapable of further division. All such words may be considered as primitives, although some of them may be contractions of dissyllabic roots. There are also among the primitives a number of dissyllables, and POSSIBLY some trisyllables, which, in the present state of our analytical knowledge of the language, may be deemed both simple and primitive. Such are neebi, water; ossin, a stone; geezis, the sun; nodin, wind. But it may be premised, as a principle which our investigations have rendered probable, that all polysyllabic words, all words of three syllables, SO FAR AS EXAMINED, and most words of two syllables, are compounds.

The application of a syntax, formed with a view to facilitate the rapid conveyance of ideas by consolidation, may, it is presumable, have early led to the coalescence of words, by which all the relations of object and action, time and person, were expressed. And in a language which is only spoken, and not written, the primitives would soon become obscured and lost in the multiform appendages of time and person, and the recondite connexion of actor and object. And this process of amalgamation would be a progressive one. The terms that sufficed in the condition of the simplest state of nature, or in a given latitude, would vary with their varying habits, institutions and migrations. The introduction of new objects and new ideas would require the invention of new words, or what is much more probable, existing terms would be modified or compounded to suit the occasion. No one who has paid much attention to the subject, can have escaped noticing a confirmation of this opinion in the extreme readiness of our western Indians to bestow, on the instant, names, and appropriate names, on any new object presented to them. A readiness not attributable to their having at command a stock of generic polysyllables — for these it would be very

awkward to wield — but as appears more probable, to the powers of the syntax, which permits the resolution of new compounds from existing roots, and often concentrates, as remarked in another place, the entire sense of the parent words upon a single syllable, and sometimes upon a single letter.

Thus it is evident that the Chippewas possessed names for a living tree MITTIG, and a string AIAUB, before they named the bow MITTIGWAUB — the latter being compounded under one of the simplest rules from the two former. It is further manifest that they had named earth AKKI, and AUBIK (any solid, stony or metallic mass), before they bestowed an appellation upon the kettle, AKKEEK, or AKKIK, the latter being derivatives from the former. In process of time these compounds became the bases of other compounds, and thus the language became loaded with double and triple, and quadruple compounds, concrete in their meaning, and formal in their utterance.

When the introduction of the metals took place, it became necessary to distinguish the clay from the iron pot, and the iron from the copper kettle. The original compound, AKKEEK, retained its first meaning, admitting the adjective noun piwaubik (itself a compound) iron, when applied to a vessel of that kind, making piwaubik akkeek, iron kettle. But a new combination took place to designate the copper kettle, MISKWAUKEEK, red-metal kettle; and another expression to denote the brass kettle, OZAWAUBIK AKKEEK, yellow-metal kettle. The former is made up from miskowaubik, copper (literally RED-METAL — from miskwa, red, and AUBIK, the generic above mentioned) and AKKEEK, kettle. Ozawaubik, brass, is from OZAWAU, yellow, and the generic AUBIK — the term akkeek being added in its separate form. It may, however, be used in its connected form of wukkeek, making the compound expression OZAWAUBIK WUKKEEK.

In naming the horse, paibaizhikögazhi, i. e. the animal with solid hoofs, they have seized upon the feature which most strikingly distinguished the horse from the cleft-footed animals, which were the only species known to them at the period of the discovery. And the word itself affords an example, at once, both of their powers of concentration, and brief, yet accurate description, which it may be worth while to analyze. Paizhik is one, and is also used as the indefinite article — the only article the language possesses. The word is further used in an adjective sense, figuratively, indicating united, solid, undivided. And it acquires a plural signification by doubling, or repeating the first syllable, with a slight variation of the second. Thus, Pai-baizhik denotes not ONE or AN, but several; and when thus used in the context, renders the noun governed plural. Oskuzh is the nail, claw, or horny part of the foot of beasts, and supplies the first substantive member of the compound OAUZH. The final vowel is from AHWAISI, a beast; and the marked o, an inseparable connective, the office of which is to make the two members coalesce and harmonize. The expression thus formed becomes a substantive, specific in its application. It may be rendered plural like the primitive nouns, may be converted into a verb, has its diminutive, derogative

and local form, and, in short, is subject to all the modifications of other substantives.

Most of the modern nouns are of this complex character. And they appear to have been invented to designate objects, many of which were necessarily unknown to the Indians in the primitive ages of their existence. Others, like their names for a copper-kettle and a horse, above mentioned, can date their origin no farther back than the period of the discovery. Of this number of nascent words are most of their names for those distilled or artificial liquors for which they are indebted to Europeans. Their name for water, NEEBI, for the fat of animals, WEENIN, for oil or grease, PIMMIDAI, for broth, NAUBOB, and for blood, MISKWI, belong to a very remote era, although all but the first appear to be compounds. Their names for the tinctures or extracts derived from the forest, and used as dyes or medicines, or merely as agreeable drinks, are mostly founded upon the basis of the word AUBO, a liquid, although this word is never used alone. Thus —

Shomin-aubo . . .	Wine . . .	From Shomin, a grape; äbo, a liquor.
Ishkodaiw-aubo . .	Spirits . . .	From Ishkodai, fire, &c.
Mishimin-aubo . .	Cider . . .	From Mishimin, an apple, &c.
Totosh-aubo . . .	Milk . . .	From Tötösh, the female breast, &c.
Shiew-aubo	Vinegar . .	From Sheewun, sour, &c.
Annibeesh-aubo . .	Tea	From Annibeshun, leaves, &c.
Ozhibiegun-aubo. .	Ink	From Ozhibiegai, he writes, &c.

In like manner their names for the various implements and utensils of civilized life, are based upon the word JEEGUN, one of those primitives which, although never disjunctively used, denotes, in its modified forms, the various senses implied by our words instrument, contrivance, machine, &c. And, by prefixing to this generic a substantive, verb, or adjective, or parts of one or each, an entire new class of words is formed. In these combinations the vowels e and o are sometimes used as connectives.

Keeshkebö-jeegun . .	A saw	From Keezhkeezhun, v. a. to cut.
Seesebö-jeegun . . .	A file	From Seese; to rub off, &c.
Wassakoonen-jeegun .	A candle	From Wassakooda, bright; biskoona, flame, &c.
Beesebo-jeegun . . .	A coffee-mill . . .	From Beesau, fine grains, &c.
Minnikwad-jeegun . .	A drinking-vessel . .	From Minnekwäi, he drinks, &c.
Tashkeebod-jeegun . .	A saw-mill	From Taushkä, to split, &c.
Mudwaiabeed-jeegun.	A violin	From Mudwäwäi, sound; äiäb, a string, &c.

Sometimes this termination is shortened into GUN, as in the following instances:—

Onaugun	A dish.
Tikkinau-gun	A cradle.
Nebau-gun	A bed.
Puddukkie-gun	A fork.

Puggimmau-gun	A war-club.
Opwau-gun	A pipe.
Wassaitshie-gun	A window.
Wakkie-gun	A house.
Podahwau-gun	A fire-place.
Sheemau-gun	A lance.

Another class of derivatives is formed from WIAN, indicating, generally, an undressed skin. Thus—

Muk-wian	A bear-skin	From Mukwah, a bear, and wyaun, a skin.
Wazhusk-wian . .	A muskrat-skin . . .	From Wazhusk, a muskrat, &c.
Wabos-wian . . .	A rabbit-skin . . .	From Wabos, a rabbit, &c.
Negik-wian	An otter-skin . . .	From Negik, an otter, &c.
Ojegi-wian	A fisher-skin . . .	From Ojeeg, a fisher, &c.
Wabizhais-ewian . .	A marten-skin . . .	From Wabizhais, a marten, &c.

Wabiwyan, a blanket, and bubbuggiwyan, a shirt, are also formed from this root. As the termination WIAN is chiefly restricted to undressed skins, or peltries, that of WAIGIN is, in like manner, generally applied to dressed skins, or to cloths. Thus—

Monido-waigin . . .	Blue cloth, strouds . .	From Monido, spirit, &c.
Misk-waigin	Red cloth	From Miskwa, red, &c.
Nonda-waigin	Scarlet.	
Beezhiki-waigin	A buffalo-robe	From Peezhiki, a buffalo, &c.
Addik-waigin	A cariboo-skin	From Addik, a cariboo, &c.
Ozhauwushk-waigin . .	Green cloth	From Ozhawushkwa, green.

An interesting class of substantives is derived from the third person singular of the present indicative of the verb, by changing the vowel sound of the first syllable, and adding the letter d to that of the last, making the terminations in aid, ad, eed, id, ood. Thus, Pimmoossa, he walks, becomes pamoosaad, a walker.

AID—	Munnissai . . .	He chops.	Mannisaid . . . A chopper.
	Ozhibeigai . . .	He writes.	Wazhibeigaid . . A writer.
	Nundowainjeegai	He hunts.	Nundowainjeegaid A hunter.
AD—	Neebau	He sleeps.	Nabaud . . . . A sleeper. [net.
	Kwaubahwa . .	He fishes with scoop-net.	Kwaubahwaid . . A fisher with scoop-
	Puggidowau . . .	He fishes with seine.	Paugidowaid . . A fisher with seine.
EED—	Annokee . . .	He works.	Annokeed . . . A worker.
	Jeessake . . .	He juggles.	Jossakeed . . . A juggler.
	Munnigobee . .	He pulls bark.	Mainigobeed . . A bark-puller.
ID —	Neemi	He dances.	Naumid . . . . A dancer.
	Weesinni . . .	He eats.	Waussinid . . . An eater.
	Pimaudizzi . . .	He lives.	Paimaudizzid . . A living being.

OOD—Nugamoo . . .	He sings.	Naigumood . . .	A singer.
Keegido	He speaks.	Kaugidood . . .	A speaker.
Keewonimoo . .	He lies.	Kauwunimood .	A liar.

This class of words is rendered plural in IG—a termination which, after d final in the singular, has a soft pronunciation, as if written JIG. Thus, naumid, a dancer, is sounded naumidjig, dancers.

The derogative form is given to these generic substantives by introducing ish, or simply sh, in place of the d, and changing the latter to KID, making the terminations in ai, aishkid, in au, aushkid, in e, eeshkid, in i, ishkid, and in oo, ooshkid. Thus, naindowainjeegaid, a hunter, is changed to naindowainjeegaishkid, a bad or unprofitable hunter. Naibaud, a sleeper, is changed to naibaushkid, a sluggard. Jossakeed, a juggler, to jossakeeshkid, a vicious juggler. Wausinnid, an eater, to waussinishkid, a gormandizer. Kaugidood, a speaker, kaugidooshkid, a babbler. And in these cases the plural is added to the last educed form, making kaugidooshkidjig, babblers, &c.

The word nittä, on the contrary, prefixed to these expressions, renders them complimentary. For instance, nittä naigumood, is a fine singer; nittä kagidood, a ready speaker, &c.

Flexible as the substantive has been shown to be, there are other forms of combination that have not been adverted to—forms by which it is made to coalesce with the verb, the adjective, and the preposition, producing a numerous class of compound expressions. But it is deemed most proper to defer the discussion of these forms until we reach their several appropriate heads.

Enough has been exhibited to demonstrate its prominent grammatical rules. It is not only apparent that the substantive possesses number and gender, but it also undergoes peculiar modifications to express locality and diminution, to denote adjective qualities, and to indicate tense. It exhibits some curious traits connected with the mode of denoting the masculine and feminine. It is modified to express person, and to distinguish living from inanimate nouns. It is rendered possessive by a peculiar inflection, and provides particles, under the shape either of prefixes or suffixes, separable or inseparable, by which the actor is distinguished from the object—and all this, without changing its proper substantive character, without putting on the aspect of a pseudo adjective, or a pseudo verb. Its changes to produce compounds are, however, its most interesting, its most characteristic trait. Syllable is heaped upon syllable, word upon word, and derivative upon derivative; until its vocabulary is crowded with long and pompous phrases, most formidable to the eye.

So completely transpositive do the words appear, that, like chessmen on a board, their elementary syllables can be changed, at the will of the player, to form new combinations to meet new contingencies, so long as they are changed in accordance with certain general principles and conventional rules; in the application of which, however, much depends upon the will or skill of the player. What is most surprising,

all these changes and combinations, all these qualifications of the object, and distinctions of the person, the time, and the place, do not supersede the use of adjectives, and pronouns, and verbs, and other parts of speech, which are here woven into the texture of the noun, in their elementary and disjunctive forms.

§ 4. Observations on the Adjective:—

1. *Its Distinction into two Classes, denoted by the Presence or Absence of Vitality. Examples of the Animates and Inanimates. Mode of their Connection with Substantives. How Pronouns are applied to these Derivatives, and the Manner of Forming Compound Terms from Adjective Bases, to describe the various natural phenomena. The Application of these Principles in common conversation and in the description of natural and artificial objects.* 2. *Comparison.* 3. *Positive and Negative Forms.* 4. *Adjectives always preserve the Distinction of Number.* 5. *Numerals. Arithmetical Capacity of the Language. The Unit exists in Duplicate.*

1. It has been remarked, that the distinction of words into animates and inanimates is a principle intimately interwoven throughout the structure of the language. It is, in fact, so deeply imprinted upon its grammatical forms, and is so perpetually recurring, that it may be looked upon, not only as forming a striking peculiarity of the language, but as constituting the fundamental principle of its structure, from which all other rules have derived their limits, and to which they have been made to conform. No class of words appears to have escaped its impress. Whatever concords other laws impose, they all agree, and are made subservient in the establishment of this.

It might appear to be a useless distinction in the adjective, when the substantive is thus marked; but it will be recollected that it is in the plural of the substantive only, that the distinction is marked. And we shall presently have occasion to show, that redundancy of forms is, to a considerable extent, obviated in practice.

For the origin of the principle itself, we need look only to nature, which endows animate bodies with animate properties and qualities, and vice versa. But it is due to the progenitors of the tribes who speak this language, to have invented one set of adjective symbols to express the ideas peculiarly appropriate to the former, and another set applicable exclusively to the latter. And to have given the words good and bad, black and white, great and small, handsome and ugly, such modifications as

are practically competent to indicate the general nature of the objects referred to, whether provided with, or destitute of, the vital principle. And not only so, but by the figurative use of these forms, to exalt inanimate masses into the class of living beings, or to strip the latter of the properties of life — a principle of much importance to their public speakers.

This distinction is shown in the following examples, in which it will be observed that the inflection IZZI generally denotes the personal, and AU, UN, and WUD, the impersonal forms.

	ADJ. INANIMATE.	ADJ. ANIMATE.
Bad	Monaud-ud	Monaud-izzi.
Ugly	Gushkoonaug-wud	Gushkoonaug-ozzi.
Beautiful	Bishegaindaug-wud	Bishegaindaug-oozzi.
Strong	Song-un	Song-ozzi.
Soft	Nok-un	Nok-ozzi.
Hard	Mushkow-au	Mushkow-izzi.
Smooth	Shoiskw-au	Shoisk-oozzi.
Black	Mukkuddaw-au	Mukkuddaw-izzi.
White	Waubishk-au	Waubishk-izzi.
Yellow	Ozahw-au	Ozahw-izzi.
Red	Miskw-au	Miskw-izzi.
Blue	Ozhahwushkw-au	Oshahwushkw-izzi.
Sour	Sheew-un	Sheew-izzi.
Sweet	Weeshkob-un	Weeshob-izzi.
Light	Naung-un	Naung-izzi.

It is not, however, in all cases, by mere modifications of the adjective, that these distinctions are expressed. Words totally different in sound, and evidently derived from radically different roots, are in some few instances employed, as in the following examples.

	ADJ. INANIMATE.	ADJ. ANIMATE.
Good	Onisheshin	Minno.
Bad	Monaudud	Mudjee.
Large	Mitshau	Mindiddo.
Small	Pungee	Uggaushi.
Old	Geekau	Gitizzi.

It may be remarked of these forms, that although the impersonal will, in some instances, take the personal inflections, the rule is not reciprocated; and minno, and mindiddo, and gitizzi, and all words similarly situated, remain unchangeably animates. The word pungee is limited to the expression of quantity; and its correspondent, uggaushi, to size or quality. Kisheda, (hot) is restricted to the heat of a fire; Keezhaúta, to the heat of the sun. There is still a third term to indicate the natural

heat of the body KIZZIZOO. Mitshau (large) is generally applied to countries, lakes, rivers, &c.; mindiddo, to the body; and gitshee, indiscriminately. Onishishin, and its correspondent Onishishsha, signify handsome or fair, as well as good. Kwonaudj (aa) and Kwonaudjewun (ai) mean, strictly, handsome, and imply nothing further. Minno is the appropriate personal term for good. Mudjee and Monaudud may reciprocally change genders; the first by the addition of I-E-E, and the second by altering UD to IZZI.

Distinctions of this kind are of considerable importance in a practical point of view, and their observance or neglect are noticed with scrupulous exactness by the Indians, The want of inanimate forms to such words as happy, sorrowful, brave, sick, &c., creates no confusion, as inanimate nouns cannot, strictly speaking, take upon themselves such qualities. And when they do — as they sometimes do, by one of those extravagant figures of speech which are used in their tales of transformations, the animate forms answer all purposes. For, in these tales, the whole material creation may be clothed with animation. The rule, as exhibited in practice, is limited, with sufficient accuracy, to the boundaries prescribed by nature.

To avoid a repetition of forms, were the noun and the adjective both to be employed in their usual relation, the latter is endowed with a pronominal or substantive inflection. And the use of the noun in its separate form is thus wholly superseded. Thus, onishishin (ai) and onishishsha (aa) become wanishishing, that which is good, or fair; and wanishishid, he who is good or fair. The following examples will exhibit this rule, under each of its forms:—

COMPOUND, OR NOUN-ADJECTIVES, ANIMATE.

Black	Mukkuddaw-izzi	Makuddaw-izzid.
White	Waubishk-izzi	Wiaubishk-izzid.
Yellow	Ozahw-izzi	Wazauw-izzid.
Red	Miskw-izzi	Mashk-oozid.
Strong	Song-izzi	Swon-izzid.

COMPOUND, OR NOUN-ADJECTIVES, INANIMATE.

Black	Mukkuddaw-au	Makuddaw-aug.
White	Waubishk-au	Wiaubishk-aug.
Yellow	Ozahw-au	Wazhauw-aug.
Red	Miskw-au	Maiskw-aug.

The animate forms in these examples will be recognized as exhibiting a further extension of the rule, mentioned in a preceding paper, by which substantives are formed from the indicative of the verb by a permutation of the vowels. And these forms are likewise rendered plural in the manner there mentioned. They also undergo changes to indicate the various persons. For instance, onishisha is thus declined to mark the person:—

Wanishish-eyaun	I (am) good, or fair.
Wanishish-eyun	Thou (art) good, or fair.
Wanishish-id	He (is) good or fair.
Wanishish-eyaung	We (are) good or fair. (ex.)
Wanishish-eyung	We (are) good or fair. (in.)
Wanishish-eyaig	Ye (are) good or fair.
Wanishish-idjig	They (are) good or fair.

The inanimate forms, being without person, are simply rendered plural by IN, changing maiskwaug to maiskwaug-in, &c. &c. The verbal signification which these forms assume, as indicated in the words am, art, is, are, is to be sought in the permutative change of the first syllable. Thus, o is changed to wa, muk to mauk, waub to wi-aub, ozau to wauzau, misk to maisk, &c. The pronoun, as is usual in the double compounds, is formed wholly by the inflections eyaun, eyun, &c.

The strong tendency of the adjective to assume a personal or pronomico-substantive form, leads to the employment of many words in a particular or exclusive sense. And in any future practical attempts with the language, it will be found greatly to facilitate its acquisition, if the adjectives are arranged in distinct classes, separated by this characteristic principle of their application. The examples we have given are chiefly those which may be considered strictly animate or inanimate, admit of double forms, and are of general use. Many of the examples recorded in the original manuscripts employed in these inquiries are of a more concrete character, and, at the same time, a more limited use. Thus, shaugwewe is a weak person, nokaugumme, a weak drink, nokaugwud, a weak or soft piece of wood. Sussagau is fine, but can only be applied to personal appearance; beesau indicates fine grains. Keewushkwa is giddy; and keewushkwabee, giddy with drink, both being restricted to the third person. Songun and songizzi are the personal and impersonal forms of strong, as given above. But mushkowaugumme is strong drink. In like manner the two words for hard, as above, are restricted to solid substances. Sunnuhgud is hard (to endure.) Waindud is easy (to perform.) Sangedääe is brave; shaugedää cowardly; keezhinzhowozzi, active; kizheekau, swift; onaunegoozzi, lively; wunwaindum, happy; gushkaindum, sorrowful; but all these forms are confined to the third person of the indicative, singular. Pibbigwun is a rough or knotted substance. Pubbiggoozzi, a rough person. Keenwau is sharp. Keenaubikaid, a sharp knife, or stone. Keezhawbikeda, is hot metal, a hot stove, &c. Keezhaugumeeda, is hot water. Wubudjeetan, is useful, a useful thing. Wauweeug, is frivolous—any thing frivolous in word or deed. Tubbushish, appears to be a general term for low. Ishpimming, is high in the air. Ishpau, is applied to any high fixture, as a house, &c. Ishpaubikau, is a high rock. Taushkaubikau, a split rock.

These combinations and limitations meet the inquirer at every step. They are the

current phrases of the language. They present short, ready, and often beautiful modes of expression. And, as they shed light both upon the idiom and genius of the language, I shall not scruple to add further examples and illustrations. Ask a Chippewa the name for rock, and he will answer AUZHEBIK. The generic import of aubik has been explained. Ask him the name for red rock, and he will answer miskwaubik, — for white rock, and he will answer waubaubik, — for black rock, mukkuddawaubik, — for yellow rock, ozahwaubik, — for green rock, ozahwushkwaubik, — for bright rock, wassayaubik, — for smooth rock, shoishkwaubik, &c.; compounds in which the words red, white, black, yellow, &c., unite with aubik. Pursue this inquiry, and the following forms will be elicited: —

IMPERSONAL.

Miskwaubik-ud . . . . It (is) a red rock.
Waubaubik-ud . . . . It (is) a white rock.
Mukkuddawaubik-ud . . It (is) a black rock.
Ozakwaubik-ud . . . . It (is) a yellow rock.
Wassayaubik-ud . . . . It (is) a bright rock.
Shoiskwaubik-ud . . . . It (is) a smooth rock.

PERSONAL.

Miskwaubik-izzi . . . . He (is) a red rock.
Waubaubik-izzi . . . . He (is) a white rock.
Mukkuddawaubik-izzi . . He (is) a black rock.
Ozahwaubik-izzi . . . . He (is) a yellow rock.
Wassayaubik-izzi . . . . He (is) a bright rock.
Shoiskwaubik-izzi . . . . He (is) a smooth rock.

Add BUN to these terms, and they are made to have passed away, — prefix TAH to them, and their future appearance is indicated. The word "is" in the translations, although marked with parentheses, is not deemed to be wholly gratuitous. There is, strictly speaking, an idea of existence given to these compounds, by the particle au, in aubik, which seems to be, indirectly, a derivative from that great and fundamental root of the language — IAU. Bik is, apparently, the radix of the expression for "rock."

Let this mode of interrogation be continued, and extended to other adjectives, or the same adjectives applied to other objects, and results equally regular and numerous will be obtained. Minnis, we shall be told, is an island; miskominnis, a red island; mukkuddaminnis, a black island; waubeminnis, a white island, &c. Annokwut is a cloud; miskwaunakwut, a red cloud; mukkuddawukwut, a black cloud; waubahnokwut, a white cloud; ozahwushkwahnokwut, a blue cloud, &c. Neebe is the specific term for water, but is not generally used in combination with the adjective. The

word *guma*, like *aubo*, appears to be a generic term for water, or potable liquids. Hence the following terms:—

Gitshee . . .	Great . . .	Gitshig guma . . .	Great water.
Nokun . . .	Weak . . .	Nokau guma . . .	Weak drink.
Mushkowau .	Strong . . .	Mushkowau guma .	Strong drink
Weeshkobun .	Sweet . . .	Weeshkobau guma .	Sweet drink.
Shewun . . .	Sour . . .	Shewau guma . .	Sour drink.
Weesugun . .	Bitter . . .	Weesugau guma .	Bitter drink.
Minno . . .	Good . . .	Minwau guma . .	Good drink.
Monaudud . .	Bad . . .	Mahnau guma . .	Bad drink.
Miskwau . .	Red . . .	Miskwau guma . .	Red drink.
Ozahwa . . .	Yellow . .	Ozahwau guma . .	Yellow drink.
Weenun . . .	Dirty . . .	Weenau guma . .	Dirty water.
Peenud . . .	Clean . . .	Peenau guma . . .	Clean water.

From minno and from monaudud, good and bad, are derived the following terms:— Minnopogwud, it tastes well; minnopogoozzi, he tastes well; mauzhepogwud, it tastes bad; mauzhepogoozzi, he tastes bad; minnomaugwud, it smells good; minnomaugoozzi, he smells good; mauzhemaugwud, it smells bad; mauzhemaugoozzi, he smells bad. The inflections, gwud and izzi, here employed, are clearly indicative, as in other combinations, of the words *it* and *him*.

Baimwa is sound. Baimwawä, the passing sound. Minwäwä, a pleasant sound. Maunwäwa, a disagreeable sound. Mudwayaushkau, the sound of waves dashing on the shore. Mudwayaunnemud, the sound of winds. Mudwayaukooshkau, the sound of falling trees. Mudwäkumigiskin, the sound of a person falling upon the earth. Mudwaysin, the sound of any inanimate mass falling on the earth. These examples might be continued ad infinitum. Every modification of circumstances, almost every peculiarity of thought, is expressed by some modification of the orthography. Enough has been given to prove that the adjective combines itself with the substantive, the verb, and the pronoun; that the combinations thus produced are numerous, afford concentrated modes of conveying ideas, and oftentimes happy terms of expression. Numerous and prevalent as these forms are, they do not, however, preclude the use of adjectives in their simple forms. The use of the one or the other appears to be generally at the option of the speaker. In most cases, brevity or euphony dictates the choice. Usage results from the application of these principles. There may be rules resting upon a broader basis, but if so, they do not appear to be very obvious. Perhaps the simple adjectives are oftener employed before verbs and nouns, in the first and second persons singular.

Ningee minno neebau nabun . . . . I have slept well.
Ningee minno weesin . . . . . I have eaten a good meal.

Ningee minno pimmoossa	I have walked well, or a good distance.
Kägät minno geezhigud	It (is) a very pleasant day.
Kwanaudj ningodahs	I have a handsome garment.
Ke minno iau nuh?	Are you well?
Auneende ain deyun?	What ails you?
Keezhamonedo aupädush shawainemik .	God prosper you.
Aupadush shawaindaugoozzeyun . . .	Good luck attend you.
Aupadush nau kinwainzh pimmaudizziyun	May you live long.
Onauneegoozzin	Be (thou) cheerful.
Ne minwaindum waubumenaun . . .	I (am) glad to see you.
Kwanaudj kweeweezaiñs	A pretty boy.
Kagat songsedää	He (is) a brave man.
Kagat onishishsha	She (is) handsome.
Gitshee kinozee	He (is) very tall.
Uggausau bawizzi	She (is) slender.
Gitshee sussaigau	He (is) fine dressed.
Bishegaindaugoozziwug meegwunug . .	They (are) beautiful feathers.
Ke daukoozzinuh?	Are you sick?
Monaudud maundun mushkekee . . .	This (is) bad medicine.
Monaudud aindauyun	My place of dwelling (is) bad.
Aindauyaun mitshau	My place of dwelling (is) large.
Ne mittigwaub onishishsha	My bow (is) good.
Ne bikwukon monaududon	But my arrows (are) bad.
Ne minwaindaun appaukoozzegun . . .	I love mild or mixed tobacco.
Kauweekau neezhika ussamau ne sug-guswaunausee.	But I never smoke pure tobacco.
Monaudud maishkowaugumig	Strong drink (is) bad.
Keeguhgee baudjeegonaun	It makes us foolish.
Gitshee monedo neebe ogee ozheton . .	The Great Spirit made water.
Inineewug dush ween ishkodawaubo ogee ozhetonahwaun.	But man made whiskey (fire-liquor).

These expressions are put down promiscuously, embracing verbs and nouns as they presented themselves, and without any effort to support the opinion — which may or may not be correct — that the elementary forms of the adjective are most commonly required before verbs and nouns in the first and second persons. The English expression is thrown into Indian in the most natural manner, and, of course, without always giving adjective for adjective, or noun for noun. Thus, God is rendered, not "Monedo" but "Geezha monedo," MERCIFUL SPIRIT; good luck is rendered by the compound phrase "shawaindaugozzeyun," indicating, in a very general sense, THE INFLUENCE OF KINDNESS OR BENEVOLENCE ON SUCCESS IN LIFE; "songedää" is, alone, A BRAVE MAN, and the word

"kägät" prefixed is an adverb. In the expression "mild tobacco," the adjective is entirely dispensed with in the Indian, the sense being sufficiently rendered by the compound noun "appaukoozzegun," which always means the Indian weed, or smoking mixture. "Ussamau," on the contrary, without the adjective signifies "pure tobacco." "Bikwukon" signifies blunt, or blunt-headed arrows. Assowaun is the barbed arrow. Kwanand kweeweezaiins means, not simply "pretty boy," but PRETTY LITTLE BOY, and there is no mode of using the word boy but in this diminutive form, — the word itself being a derivative from ke-we-we (wife), with the regular diminution in AINS. Onauneegoozzin embraces the pronoun, verb, and adjective, BE THOU CHEERFUL. In the last phrase of the examples, "man" is rendered men (inineewug) in the translation, as the term MAN cannot be employed in the general plural sense it conveys in this connection in the original. The word "whiskey" is rendered by the compound phrase ishkodawaubo, literally FIRE-LIQUOR, a generic for all kinds of ardent spirits.

These observations on the literal terms will convey some conception of the difference between the two idioms, although, from the limited nature and object of the examples, they will not indicate the full extent of this difference. In giving any thing like the spirit of the original, much greater deviations in the written forms must appear. And in fact, not only the structure of the language, but the mode and ORDER OF THOUGHT of the Indians, is so essentially different, that any attempts to preserve the English idiom, to give letter for letter, and word for word, must go far to render the translation wholly spiritless.

2. Varied as the adjective is in its changes, it has no comparative inflection. A Chippewa cannot say, that one substance is hotter or colder than another, or of two or more substances unequally heated, that this or that is the hottest or coldest, without employing adverbs or accessory adjectives. And it is accordingly by adverbs and accessory adjectives, that the degrees of comparison are expressed.

Pemmaudizziwin is a very general substantive expression, indicating THE TENOR OF BEING OR LIFE. Izzhewabozziwin is a term near akin to it, but more appropriately applied to the ACTS, CONDUCT, MANNER, OR PERSONAL DEPORTMENT OF LIFE. Hence the expressions: —

Nem bimonaud-izziwin	My tenor of life.
Ke bimmaud-izziwin	Thy tenor of life.
O pimmaud-izziwin	It is tenor of life, &c.
Nin dozhewäb-ozziwin	My personal deportment.
Ke dizhewäb-izziwin	Thy personal deportment.
O Izzhewäb-izziwin	His personal deportment, &c.

To form the positive degree of comparison from these terms, minno, good, and mudjee, bad, are introduced between the pronoun and verb, giving rise to some permutations of the vowels and consonants, which affect the sound only. Thus: —

Ne minno pimmaud-izziwin . . .	My good tenor of life.
Ke minno pimmaud-izziwin . . .	Thy good tenor of life.
Minno pimmaud-izziwin	His good tenor of life.
Ne mudjee pimmaud-izziwin . .	My bad tenor of life.
Ke mudjee pimmaud-izziwin . .	Thy bad tenor of life.
Mudjee pimmaud-izziwin	His bad tenor of life.

To place these forms in the comparative degree, nahwudj, MORE, is prefixed to the adjective; and the superlative is denoted by MAHMOWEE, an adverb, or an adjective, as it is variously applied, but the meaning of which is, in this connexion, MOST. The degrees of comparison may therefore be set down as follows:—

Positive.	Kishedä	Hot, (restricted to the heat of a fire.)
Comp.	Nahwudj kishedä . .	More hot.
Super.	Mahmowee kishedä .	Most hot.

Your manner of life is good . . .	Ke dizzhewäbizziwin onishishin.
Your manner of life is better . . .	Ke dizzhewäbizziwinnahwudj onishishin.
Your manner of life is best . . .	Ke dizzhewäbizziwinmahwoweé onishishin.
His manner of life is best	Odizzhewabizziwinmahmowee onishishinin.
Little Turtle was brave	Mikkonaköñs söngedää bun.
Tecumseh was braver	Tecumseh nahwudj söngedää bun.
Pontiac was bravest	Pontiac mahwowee söngedää bun.

3. The adjective assumes a negative form when it is preceded by the adverb. Thus the phrase söngedää, he is brave, is changed to Kahween söngedääSEE, he is not brave.

POSITIVE.	NEGATIVE.
Neebwaukah . . . He is wise.	Kahween neebwaukah-see, He is not wise.
Kwonaudjewee . . She is handsome.	Kahween kwonaudjewee-see, She is not handsome.
Oskineegee . . . . He is young.	Kahween oskineegee-see, He is not young.
Shaugweewee . . . He is feeble.	Kahween shaugweewee-see, He is not feeble.
Geekkau . . . . . He is old.	Kahween geekkau-see, He is not old.
Mushkowizzi . . . He is strong.	Kahween mushkowizzi-see, He is not strong.

From this rule the indeclinable adjectives — by which is meant those adjectives which do not put on the personal and impersonal forms by inflection, but consist of radically different roots — form exceptions.

Are you sick?	Ke dahkoozzi nuh?
Are you not sick?	Kahween ke dahkoozzi-see?
I am happy	Ne minwaindum.

I am unhappy . . . . . Kahween ne minwuinduz-see.
His manner of life is bad . . . . Mudjee ozzhewabizzi.
His manner of life is not bad . . Kahween mudjee-izzhewabizzi-see.
It is large . . . . . Mitshau muggud.
It is not large . . . . . Kahween mitshau-seenön.

In these examples, the declinable adjectives are rendered negative in *see*. The indeclinable remain as simple adjuncts to the verbs, and the *latter* put on the negative form.

4. In the hints and remarks which have now been furnished respecting the adjective, its powers and inflections have been shown to run parallel with those of the substantive, in its separation into animates and inanimates, — in having the pronominal inflections, — in taking an inflection for tense, (a topic, which, by the way, has been very cursorily passed over,) and in their numerous modifications to form the compounds. This parallelism has also been intimated to hold good with respect to number — a subject deeply interesting in itself, as it has its analogy only in the ancient languages, and it was therefore deemed best to defer giving examples till they could be introduced without abstracting the attention from other points of discussion.

Minno and mudjee, good and bad, being of the limited number of personal adjectives, which modern usage permits being applied, although often improperly applied, to inanimate objects, they, as well as a few other adjectives, form exceptions to the use of number. Whether we say, a good man or a bad man, good men or bad men, the words minno and mudjee remain the same. But all the declinable and coalescing adjectives — adjectives which join on, and, as it were, *melt into* the body of the substantive, take the usual plural inflections, and are governed by the same rules, in regard to their use, as the substantive — personal adjectives requiring personal plurals, &c.

ADJECTIVES ANIMATE.

Singular.

Onishishewe mishemin . . . . . Good apple.
Kwonaudjewe eekwä . . . . . Handsome woman.
Songedää inine . . . . . Brave man.
Bishegaindaugoozzi penasee . . . . . Beautiful bird.
Ozahwizzi ahmo . . . . . Yellow bee.

Plural.

Onishishewe-wug mishemin-ug . . . . Good apples.
Kwonaudjewe-wug eekwä-wug . . . . Handsome women.

Songedää-wug inine-wug . . . . . Brave men.
Bishegaindaugoozzi-wug peenasee-wug . Beautiful birds.
Ozahwozzi-wug ahm-ög . . . . . Yellow bees.

ADJECTIVES, INANIMATE.

Singular.

Onishishin mittig . . . . . Good tree.
Kwonaudj chemaun . . . . . Handsome canoe.
Monaudud ishkoda . . . . . Bad fire.
Weeshkobun aidetaig . . . . . Sweet fruit.

Plural.

Onishishin-ön mittig-ön . . . . . Good trees.
Kwonaudjewun-ön tohemaun-un . . . Handsome canoes.
Monaudud-on ishkod-än . . . . . Bad fires.
Weeshkobun-ön aidetaig-in . . . . . Sweet fruits.

Peculiar circumstances are supposed to exist in order to render the use of the adjective, in this connexion with the noun, necessary and proper. But in ordinary instances, as the narration of events, the noun would precede the adjective, and oftentimes, particularly where a second allusion to objects previously named became necessary, the compound expressions would be used. Thus, instead of saying the yellow bee, waizahwozzid would distinctly convey the idea of that insect, *had the species been before named.* Under similar circumstances, kainwaukoozzid, agausheid, songaiwnemud, mushkowawnemud, would respectively signify a tall tree, a small fly, a strong wind, a hard wind. And these terms would become plural in JIG, which, as before mentioned, is a mere modification of IG, one of the five general animate plural inflections of the language.

Kagat wahwinaudj abbenajeeug, is an expression indicating *they are very handsome children.* Bubbeeweezheewug monetosug, denotes *small insects.* Minno neewugizzi, is good-tempered, (he good-tempered.) Mawshininewug izzi, is bad-tempered, both having their plural in *wug.* Nin nuneenahwaindum, I am lonesome. Nin nun eenahwaindawmin. We (excluding you) are lonesome. Waweea, is a term generally used to express the adjective sense of *round.* Kwi, is the scalp. (Weenikwi, his scalp.) Hence, weewukwon, hat; waweewukwonid, a wearer of the hat; and its plural, waweewukwonidjig, wearers of hats—the usual term applied to Europeans, or white men generally. These examples go to prove, that under every form in which the adjective can be traced, whether in its simplest or most compound state, it is susceptible of number.

5. The numerals of the language are converted into adverbs by the inflection ING, making one, *once,* &c. The unit exists in duplicate.

Pazhik: Bazhik .	One, general unit . .	Aubeding	Once.
Ingoot	One, arithmetical unit		
Neesh	Two	Neeshing	Twice.
Niswee	Three	Nissing	Thrice.
Neewin	Four	Neewing	Four times.
Naunin	Five	Nauning	Five times.
N'goodwaswa . .	Six	N'goodwautshing .	Six times.
Neeshwauswä . .	Seven	Neeshwautshing .	Seven times.
Shwauswe . . .	Eight	Shwautshing . . .	Eight times.
Shongusswe . . .	Nine	Shongutshing . .	Nine times.
Medauswa . . .	Ten	Meedaushing . . .	Ten times.

These decimal inflections can be carried as high as they can compute numbers. After reaching ten, they repeat, ten and one, ten and two, &c. to twenty. Twenty is a compound signifying two tens, thirty, three tens, &c., a mode which is carried up to one hundred, NIRGOODWAUK. Wauk then becomes the word of denomination, combining with the names of the digits, until they reach a thousand. MEDAUSWAUK, literally TEN HUNDRED. Here the terms twice, thrice, &c. are prefixed to medauswauk, till reaching ten thousand. MEDAUTCH MEDAUSWAUK, called by the more southerly bands, ningoodwak dushing ningoodwak, ONE HUNDRED TIMES ONE HUNDRED. This is the probable extent of certain computation with the masses.

The count, however, is carried on, by placing before the term for ten thousand, clipped of a member, the term ningoodwauk dusching, that is, one hundred times, rendering the expression, literally and clearly, one hundred thousand. In this juxtaposition of words, the mental operation is clear.

Educated men, speaking the Indian language, perceive no difficulty in carrying forward the numeration to one million, and even a billion, the term for the latter of which is MEDAUSWAUK—MEDAUSWAUK—OSHE MEDAUSWAUK—that is, thousand thousand by one thousand.

We have indicated how far it is thought the masses can realize this scheme, but regard this doubtful in relation to any fixed sum of money.

The terms first, NITTUM,[1] and last, ISHKWAUDJ, are freely and definitely used in conversation.

[1] I found the first word in the Hebrew bible (bereshith) had its equivalent in this tongue in the term Wi-aish-kud. The meaning of this is exactly the same, but the examples will serve to show how widely the two languages generally differ in their sounds of derivative words.

§ 5. Nature and Principles of the Pronoun:—

1. *Its distinction into preformative and subformative classes. Personal Pronouns. The distinction of an inclusive and exclusive form in the number of the first person plural.* 2. *Modifications of the personal pronouns to imply existence, individuality, possession, ownership, position, and other accidents.* 3. *Declension of pronouns to answer the purpose of the auxiliary verbs.* 4. *Subformatives, how employed to mark the persons.* 5. *Relative pronouns considered; their application to the causative verbs.* 6. *Demonstrative pronouns; their separation into two classes, animates and inanimates. Examples of their use.* 7. *Generic conclusions.*

1. Pronouns are buried, if we may so say, in the structure of the verb. In tracing them back, to their primitive forms, through the almost infinite variety of modifications which they assume in connexion with the verb, substantive, and adjective, it will facilitate analysis to group them into preformative and subformative classes; terms which have already been made use of, and which include the pronominal prefixes and suffixes. They admit of the further distinction of separable and inseparable. By separable is intended those forms which have a meaning by themselves, and are thus distinguished from the inflective and subformative pronouns, and pronominal particles; significant only in connexion with another word.

Of the first class are the personal pronouns Nee (I), Kee (Thou), and Wee, or O, (He or she.) They are declined, to form the plural persons, in the following manner:—

I	Nee.	Mine or my .	Neen.	We, I and you or ye . .	Keen owind. (in.)
				Our	" "
				We, I, and not you or ye	Neen owind. (ex.)
				Our	" "
Thou . .	Kee.	Thine or thy.	Keen.	Ye	Keen owau.
				Your	" "
He or she	Wee or O.	His or hers.	Ween.	They	Ween owau.
				Their	" "

Here the plural of the possessive mine, or my, in the inclusive, is made by k the pronominal sign of the second person, and the usual substantive inflection in WIN, with a terminal D. The letter O is a mere connective, without meaning. The exclusive form differs from it solely in having the pronominal sign of the first person in the initial syllable.

The second person is rendered plural by the particle AU, instead of WIN. This particle appears to be derivative from the verb IEAU, and is a general personal plural. The pronominal sign of the third person, W, prefixed to it, is governed by that of the second person K.

The third person has its plural in the common sign of w, in the first and third syllable.

The double plural of the first person, of which both the rule and examples have been incidentally given in the remarks on the substantive, is one of those peculiarities of the language, which may, perhaps, serve to aid in a comparison of it with other dialects, kindred and foreign. As a mere conventional agreement for denoting whether the person addressed be included or excluded, it may be regarded as an advantage to the language. It enables the speaker, by the change of a single consonant in the first syllable, to make a full and clear discrimination, and relieves the narration from doubts and ambiguity, where doubts and ambiguity would otherwise often exist. On the other hand, by accumulating distinctions, it loads the memory with grammatical forms, and opens a door for improprieties of speech. We are not aware of any inconveniences in the use of a general plural. But in the Indian it would produce confusion. And it is, perhaps, to that cautious desire of personal discrimination which is so apparent in the structure of the language, that we should look for the reason of the duplicate forms of this word. Once established, however, and both the distinction and the necessity of a constant and strict attention to it, are very obvious and striking. How shall he address the deity? If he say; "OUR FATHER WHO ART IN HEAVEN," the inclusive form of "our" makes the Almighty one of the family. If he use the exclusive form, it throws him out of the family, and may embrace every living being but the deity. This question occasioned a good deal of discussion while it was considered as a purely philological question, and led to the discovery that there was a general term for father, which avoided the difficulty. The term WAÖSEMIGOYUN, signifying FATHER OF ALL, or Universal Father, seemed precisely the word wanted; but it was throwing the object in so general a relation, that philosophy only appeared satisfied with it.

In practice, however, I found the question to be cut short by natives who had embraced Christianity. It has appeared to them, that by the use of either of the foregoing terms, the Deity would be thrown into too remote and general a relation to them; and I observed that in prayer they placed him at the head of the family, and invariably addressed him by the concrete term of NÖSA, my father, ÖS being the radix for father.

The other personal pronouns undergo some peculiar changes, when employed as preformatives before nouns and verbs, which it is important to remark. In compound words the mere signs of the first and second pronouns, n and k, are employed. The use of WEEN is limited, and the third person, singular and plural, is generally indicated by the sign, o.

2. The particle SUH, added to the complete forms of the disjunctive pronouns, imparts a verbal sense to them, and appears, in this instance, to be a succedaneum for the substantive verb. Thus, neen, I, becomes neensuh, it is I. Keen, thou, becomes keensuh, it is thou; and ween, he or she; weensuh, it is he or she. This particle may be also added to the plural forms.

Keenowind suh	It is we (in.)
Neenowind suh	It is we (ex.)
Keenowau suh	It is ye or you.
Weenowau suh	It is they.

If the word AITAH be substituted for SUH, a set of adverbial phrases is formed.

Neen aitah . .	Mine only.	Neen aitah wind .	We, us, or ours (ex.)
Keen aitah . .	Thine only.	Keen aitah wind .	We, us, or ours (in.)
		Keen aitah wau . .	Ye, you, or yours.
Ween aitah . .	His or hers only.	Ween aitah wau .	They, them, theirs, &c.

In like manner NITTUM first, and ISHKWAUDJ last, give rise to the following arrangement of the pronoun: —

Nee nittum	I first.
Kee nittum	You or thou first.
Wee nittum	He or she first.
Kee nittum ewind	We first (in.)
Nee nittum ewind	We first (ex.)
Kee nittum ewau	Ye or you first.
Wee nittum ewau	They first.

ISHKWAUDJ.

Nee nishkwaudj	I last.
Kee nishkwaudj	Thou last.
Wee nishkwaudj	He or she last.
Keenowind ishkwaudj	We last (in.)
Needowind ishkwaudj	We last (ex.)
Keenowau ishkwaudj	Ye or you last.
Weenowau ishkwaudj	They last.

The disjunctive forms of the pronoun are also sometimes preserved before verbs and adjectives.

NEEZHIKA. I ALONE. (AN.)

Nee neezhika	I alone.
Kee neezhika	Thou alone.
Wee neezhika	He or she alone.

Keenowind neezhika	We, or us, or ours alone (in.)
Neenowind neezhika	We, us, or ours alone (ex.)
Keenowau neezhika	Ye, or you, or yours alone.
Weenowau neezhika	They, them, or theirs alone.

To give these expressions a verbal form, the verb IEAU, with its pronominal modifications, must be superadded. For instance, I AM alone, &c. is thus rendered: —

Nee neezhika nindieau . . .	I am alone . . .	Plural, aumin.
Kee neezhika keedieau . . .	Thou art alone . .	" aum.
Wee neezhika iieau	He or she is alone	" wug.

In the subjoined examples, the noun ow, body, is changed to a verb, by the introduction of the broad vowel AU, changing OW to AUW, which last takes the letter d before it when the pronoun is prefixed.

I am a man	Nee nin dauw.
Thou art a man	Keen ke dauw.
He is a man	Ween ah weeh.
We are men (in.) . . .	Ke dauw wemin.
We are men (ex.) . . .	Ne dauw we min.
Ye are men	Ke dauw min.
They are men	Weenawau ah wee wug.

In the translation of these expressions. "man" is used as synonymous with person. If the specific term ININE had been introduced in the original, the meaning thereby conveyed would be, in this particular connexion, I am a man, with respect to COURAGE, &c., in opposition to effeminacy. It would not be simply declarative of corporeal existence, but of existence in a particular state or condition.

In the following phrases, the modified forms, or the signs only, of the pronouns are used: —

Ne' debaindaun	I own it.
Ke debaindaun	Thou ownst it.
O debaindaun	He or she owns it.
Ne' debaindaum-in	We own it (ex.)
Ke debaindaun-in	We own it (in.)
Ke debaindaum-ewau . . .	Ye own it.
O debaindaum-ewau	They own it.

These examples are cited as exhibiting the manner in which the prefixed and PREformative pronouns are employed, both in their full and contracted forms. To denote possession, nouns specifying the things possessed are required to be named; and, what would not be anticipated, had not full examples of this species of declension been given in another place, the purposes of distinction are not effected by a simple change of the

pronoun, as I to MINE, &c., but by a SUBformative inflection of the NOUN, which is thus made to have a reflective operation upon the pronoun-speaker. It is believed that sufficient examples of this rule, in all the modifications of inflection, have been given under the head of the substantive. But as the substantives employed to elicit these modifications were exclusively specific in their meaning, it may be proper here, in further illustration of an important principle, to present a generic substantive, under these compound forms.

I have selected for this purpose one of the primitives. — IE-AU′ is the abstract term for existing matter. It is in the animate form. Its inanimate correspondent is IE-EE′. These are two important roots; and they are found, in combination, in a very great number of derivative words. It will be sufficient here, to show their connexion with the pronoun in the production of a class of terms in very general use.

MINE, ANIMATE FORMS.

	Singular.		*Plural.*	
Possessive.	Nin dië aum . .	Mine.	Nin dië auminaun . .	Ours (ex.)
			Ke dië auminaun . .	Ours (in.)
	Ke dië aum . .	Thine.	Ke dië aumewau . . .	Yours.
Objective.	O dië aumun . .	His or hers.	O dië aumewaun . . .	Theirs.

MINE, INANIMATE FORMS.

	Singular.		*Plural.*	
Possessive.	Nin dië eem . .	Mine.	Nin dië eeminaun .	Ours (ex.)
			Ke dië eeminaum .	Ours (in.)
	Ke dië eem . .	Thine.	Ke dië eemewau . .	Yours.
Objective.	O dië eem . . .	His or hers.	O dië eemewau . .	Theirs.

In these forms the noun is singular throughout. To render it plural, as well as the pronoun, the appropriate general plurals, UG and UN, or IG and IN, must be superadded. But it must be borne in mind, in making these additions, "that the plural inflection to inanimate nouns (which have no objective case) forms the objective case to animates, which have no number in the third person." The particle UN, therefore, which is the appropriate plural for the inanimate nouns in these examples, is only the objective mark of the animate.

The plural of I is NAUN; the plural of thou and he, WAU. But, as these inflections would not coalesce smoothly with the possessive inflections, the connective vowels, I and E, are prefixed, making the plural of I, INAUN, and of thou, EWAU.

If we strike from these declensions the radix, IE, leaving its animate and inanimate forms, AU and EE, and adding the plural of the noun, we shall then, — taking the

ANIMATE declension as an instance — have the following formula of the pronominal declensions: —

Pronoun, singular.	Place of the Noun.	Possessive Inflection.	Objective Inflection to the Noun singular.	Connective Vowel.	Plural Inflection of the Pronoun.	Objective Inflection of the Noun plural.	Plural of the Noun.
Ne . . .	—	aum	—	i	naun	—	ig.
Ke . . .	—	aum	—	e	wau	—	g.
O	—	aum	un.				
O . . .	—	aum	—	e	wau	n.	

To render the formula of general use, six variations (five in addition to the above) of the possessive inflection are required, corresponding to the six classes of substantives, whereby aum would be changed to aim, eem, im, om, and oom, conformably to the examples of the vowel sounds heretofore given in treating of the substantive. The objective inflection would also be sometimes changed to EEN, and sometimes to OAN.

3. Having thus indicated the mode of distinguishing the person, number, relation, and gender — or what is deemed its technical equivalent, i. e., the mutations words undergo, not to mark the distinctions of SEX, but the presence or absence of VITALITY, I shall now advert to the inflections which the pronouns take for TENSE, or rather, to form the auxiliary verbs, have, had, shall, will, may, &c.,—a very curious and important principle, and one which clearly demonstrates that this part of speech has not escaped the transforming genius of the language. Not only are the three great modifications of time accurately marked in the verbal forms of the Chippewas, but, by the inflection of the pronoun, they are enabled to indicate some of the oblique tenses, and thereby to conjugate their verbs with accuracy and precision.

The particle GEE (G hard), added to the first, second, and third persons singular of the present tense, changes them to the perfect past, rendering I, thou, he, I did — have — or had, Thou didst — hast — or hadst, He or she did — have — or had. If GAH be substituted for GEE, the first future tense is formed, and the perfect past added to the first future forms the conditional future. As the eye may prove an auxiliary in the comprehension of forms which are not familiar, the following tabular arrangement of them is presented: —

First Person — I.

Nin gee . . . . . I did — have — had.
Nin gah . . . . . I shall — will.
Nin gah gee . . . . I shall have — will have.

Second Person—THOU.

Ke gee . . . . . Thou didst—hast—hadst.
Ke gah . . . . . Thou shalt—wilt.
Ke gah gee . . . . Thou shalt have—wilt have.

Third Person—HE or SHE.

O gee . . . . . He or she did—have—had.
O gah . . . . . He or she did—have—had.
O gah gee . . . . He or she shall have—will have.

The present and imperfect tense of the potential mood is formed by DAU, and the perfect by gee suffixed, as in other instances.

First Person—I.

Nin dau . . . . . I may—can, &c.
Nin dau gee . . . . I may have—can have, &c.

Second Person—THOU.

Ke dau . . . . . Thou mayst—canst, &c.
Ke dau gee . . . . Thou mayst have—canst have, &c.

Third Person—HE or SHE.

O dau . . . . . He or she may—can, &c.
O dau gee . . . . He or she may have—can have, &c.

In conjugating the verbs through the plural persons, the singular terms for the pronoun remain, and they are rendered plural by a retrospective action of the pronominal inflections of the verb. In this manner, the pronoun-verb auxiliary has a general application, and the necessity of double forms is avoided.

4. The preceding observations are confined to the pre-formative or PREFIXED pronouns. The inseparable suffixed or sub-formative are as follows:—

Yaun . . . My.
Yun . . . . Thy.
Id or d . . . His or hers.
Yaung . . . Our (ex.)
Yung . . . Our (in.)
Yaig . . . . Your.
Waud . . . Their.

These pronouns are exclusively employed as suffixes; and as suffixes to the descriptive substantives, adjectives, and verbs. Both the rule and examples have been stated under the head of the substantive and adjective. Their application to the verb will be shown as we proceed.

5. Relative Pronouns. In a language which provides for the distinctions of person, by particles prefixed or suffixed to the verb, it will scarcely be expected that separate and independent relative pronouns should exist: or if such are to be found, their use as separate parts of speech must, it will have been anticipated, be quite limited; limited to simple interrogatory forms of expression, and not applicable to the indicative or declaratory. Such will be found to be the fact, in the language under review. And it will be perceived from the subjoined examples, that in all instances requiring the relative pronoun WHO, other than the simple interrogatory forms, this relation is indicated by the inflections of the verb or adjective, &c. Nor does there appear to be any declension of the separate pronoun, corresponding to WHOSE and WHOM.

The word AHWANAIN may be said to be uniformly employed in the sense of WHO, under the limitations we have mentioned. For instance:—

Who is there?	Ahwanain e-mah ai-aud?
Who spoke?	Ahwanain kau keegidood?
Who told you?	Ahwanain kau weendumoak?
Who are you?	Ahwanain iau we yun?
Who sent you?	Ahwanain waynönik?
Who is your father? . . .	Ahwanain kös?
Who did it?	Ahwanain kau todung?
Whose dog is it? . . .	Ahwanain wai dyid?
Whose pipe is that? . . .	Anwanain döpwaugunid en-en?
Whose lodge is it? . . .	Ahwanain wai weegewomid?
Whom do you seek? . . .	Ahwanain nain dau wau bumud?
Whom have you here? . .	Ahwanain oh omau AI au waud?

Not the slightest variation is made in these phrases, between who, whose, and whom.

Should we wish to change the interrogative, and to say, he who is there; he who spoke; he who told you, &c., the separable personal pronoun ween (he) must be used in lieu of the relative, and the following forms will be elicited:—

Ween, kau unnönik	He (who) sent you.
Ween, kau geedood	He (who) spoke.
Ween, AI-aud e-mah	He (who) is there.
Ween, kau weendumoak . . .	He (who) told you.
Ween, kau tö dung	He (who) did it, &c.

If we object that in these forms there is no longer the relative pronoun WHO, the

sense being simply, he sent you, he spoke, &c., it is replied, that if it be intended to say only, he sent you, &c., and not he WHO sent you, &c., the following forms are used:—

Ke gee unnönig . . .	He (sent) you.
Ainnözhid	He (sent) me.
Ainnönaud	He (sent) him, &c.
Ieau e-mau	He is there.
Ke geedo	He spoke.
Ke gee weendumaug . .	He told you.
Ke to dum	He did it.

We reply to this answer of the native speaker, that the particle KAU prefixed to a verb, denotes the past tense; that in the former series of terms in which this particle appears, the verbs are in the perfect indicative; and in the latter form they are in the present indicative, marking the difference only between SENT and SEND, SPOKE and SPEAK, &c. And that there is absolutely no relative pronoun in either series of terms. We further observe that the personal pronoun ween, prefixed to the first set of terms, may be prefixed, with equal propriety, to the second set; and that its use or disuse is perfectly optional with the speaker, as he may wish to give additional energy or emphasis to the expression.

We now wish to apply the principle thus elicited, to verbs causative, and to other compound terms; to the adjective verbs, for instance; and to the other verbal compound expressions in which the objective and the nominative persons are incorporated as a part of the verb, and are not prefixes to it. This may be shown in the causative verb, TO MAKE HAPPY.

Mainwaindumëid . . .	He (who) makes ME happy.
Mainwaindumëik . . .	He (who) makes THEE happy.
Mainwaindumëaud . . .	He (who) makes HIM happy.
Mainwaindumëinung . .	He (who) makes US happy, (in.)
Mainwaindumëyaug . .	He (who) makes US happy, (ex.)
Mainwaindumëinaig . .	He (who) makes YE or YOU happy.
Mainwaindumëigowaud .	He (who) makes THEM happy.

And so the forms might be continued throughout all the objective persons—

Mainwaindumegun . . . THOU (who) makest me happy, &c.

The basis of these compounds is MINNO, good, and AINDUM, the mind. Hence minwaindum, he happy. The adjective in this connexion cannot be translated "good," but its effect upon the noun is to denote that state of the mind which is at rest with itself. The first change from this simple compound is to give the adjective a verbal form; and this is effected by a permutation of the vowels of the first syllable—a rule of very extensive application—and by which, in the present instance, the phrase HE HAPPY is changed to HE MAKES HAPPY, (mainwaindum.) The next step is to add

the suffix personal pronouns, id, ik, aud, &c., rendering the expressions he makes ME happy, &c. But in adding these increments, the vowel E is thrown between the adjective verb and the pronoun suffixed, making the expression, not mainwaindumyun, but mainwaindumeyun. Generally the vowel e, in this situation, is a connective, or introduced merely for the sake of euphony. And those who maintain that it is here employed as a personal pronoun, and that the relative WHO is implied by the final inflection, overlook the inevitable inference, that if the marked e stands for ME in the first phrase, it must stand for THEE in the second, HE in the third, US in the fourth, &c. As to the meaning and office of the final inflections id, ik, &c., whatever they may in an involuted sense IMPLY, it is quite clear, by turning to the list of SUFFIXED PERSONAL pronouns, and ANIMATE PLURALS, that they mark the persons I, thou, he, &c.; we, ye, they, &c.

Take, for example, minwaindumëigowaud. He (who) makes them happy. Of this compound, minwaindum, as before shown, signifies HE MAKES HAPPY. But as the verb is in the singular number, it implies that but ONE PERSON is made happy, and the suffixed personal pronouns SINGULAR mark the distinctions between ME, THEE, and he, or him.

Minwaindum-e-ig is the verb plural, and implies that several persons are made happy; and, in like manner, the suffixed personal pronouns PLURAL mark the distinctions between we, ye, they, &c. For it is a rule of the language, that a strict concordance must exist between the number of the verb and the number of the pronoun. The termination of the verb consequently always indicates whether there be one or many objects, to which its energy is directed. And as animate verbs can be applied only to animate objects, the numerical inflections of the verb are understood to mark the number of persons. But this number is indiscriminate, and leaves the SENSE vague, until the pronominal suffixes are superadded. Those who, therefore, contend for the SENSE of the relative pronoun "who" being given in the last-mentioned phrase, and all phrases similarly formed by a succedaneum, contend for something like the following form of translation: — He makes them happy — him; or him (who) he makes them happy.

The equivalent for what, is WAIGONAIN.

What do you want?	Waigonain wau iauyun.
What have you lost?	Waigonain kau wanetöyun.
What do you look for? . . .	Waigonain nain dahwaubundahmun.
What is this?	Waigonain ewinain maundun.
What will you have?	Waigonain kau iauyun.
What detained you?	Waigonain kau oondahme egöyun.
What are you making? . . .	Waigonain waizhetöyun.
What have you there? . . .	Waigonain e-mau iauyun.

The use of this pronoun, like that of the preceding, appears to be confined to simple interrogative forms. The word AUNEEN, which sometimes supplies its place, or is used for want of the pronoun WHICH, is an adverb, and has considerable latitude of meaning. Most commonly, it may be considered as the equivalent for HOW — in what manner, or at what time.

What do you say? . . . . . Auneen akeedöyun.
What do you call this? . . . . Auneen aizheneekaudahmun maundun (i.)
What ails you? . . . . . Auneen ain dëyun.
What is your name? . . . . . Auneen dizheekauzoyun.
Which do you mean? this or that (an.) Auneen ah-ow ainud woh-ow gamau ewaidde.
Which do you mean? this or that (in.) Auneen eh-eu ewaidumun oh-oo gamau ewaidde.
Which boy do you mean? . . . Auneen ah-ow-ainud.

By adding to this word the particle DE, it is converted into an adverb of place, and may be rendered WHERE.

Where do you dwell? . . . . . Auneende aindauyun.
Where is your son? . . . . . Auneende ke gwiss.
Where did you see him? . . . . Auneende ke waubumud.
Where did you see it? . . . . . Auneende ke waubumdumun.
Where are you going? . . . . . Auneende azhauyun.
Where did you come from? . . . Auneende ka oonjeebauyun.
Where is your pipe? . . . . . Auneende ke döpwaugun.
Where is your gun? . . . . . Auneende ke baushkizzigun.

By a still further modification, it is rendered an adverb of inquiry of the cause or motive.

Why do you do so? . . . . . Auneeshween eh eu to dumun.
Why do you say so? . . . . . Auneeshween eh eu ekeedoyun.
Why are you angry? . . . . . Auneeshween nishkaudizzeyun.
Why will you depart? . . . . . Auneeshween wee mahjawyun.
Why will you not depart? . . . Auneeshween mahjauseewun.
Why have you come? . . . . . Auneeshween ke peëzhauyun.
Tell me why? . . . . . Weendumowishin auneeshween.
Wherefore is it so? . . . . . Auneeshween eh-eu izzhewaibuk (in.)
Wherefore did you strike him? . . Auneeshween ke pukketaiwud.

6. Demonstrative pronouns are either animate or inanimate, and may be arranged as follows: —

	ANIMATE.	INANIMATE.
This	Mau-bum (impersonal) . . .	Maun-dun (inanimate proper).
	Woh-ow (personal)	Oh-oo (inanimate and conventional).

That	Ah-ow	Eh-eu.
These	Mau-mig	Mau-min.
Those	Ig-eu (personal)	In-eu (inanimate proper).
	O-goo impersonal)	O-noo (inanimate conventional).

These words are not always used merely to ascertain the object, but *often*, perhaps *always*, when the object is present to the sight, have a substantive meaning, and are used without the noun. It creates no uncertainty, if a man be standing at some distance, to say, Ah-ow, or if a canoe be lying at some distance, to say, Eh-eu; the meaning is clearly, that *person*, or that *canoe*, whether the noun be added or not. Or if there be two animate objects standing together, or two inanimate objects lying together, the words maumig (a) or maumin (i), if they be near, or ig-eu (a), or in-eu (i), if they be distant, are equally expressive of the materiality of the objects, as well as their relative position. Under other circumstances, the noun would be required, as where two animate objects of diverse character, a man and a horse, for instance, were standing near each other; or a canoe and a package of goods were lying near each other. And, in fact, under all circumstances, the noun *may* be used after the demonstrative pronoun, without violating any rule of grammar, although not without the imputation, in many instances, of being *over formal* and *unnecessarily minute*. What is deemed redundant, however, in oral use, and amongst a people who supply much by sight and gesticulation, becomes quite necessary in writing the language; and in the following sentences the substantive is properly employed after the pronoun.

This dog is very lean	Gitshee bukaukuddoozo woh-ow annemoosh.
These dogs are very lean	Gitshee bukaukuddoozowug o-goo annemooshug.
Those dogs are fat	Ig-eu annemooshug ween in-eewug.
That dog is fat	Ah-ow annemoosh ween in-oo.
This is a handsome knife	Gagait onishishin maundun mokomahn.
These are handsome knives	Gagait wahwinaudj o-noo mokomahnun.
Those are bad knives	Monaududon in-euwaidde mokomahnun.
Give me that spear	Meezhishin eh-eu ahnitt.
Give me those spears	Meezhishin in-en unnewaidde ahnitteen.
That is a fine boy	Gagait kwonaudj ah-ow kweewezaiñs.
Those are fine boys	Gagait wahwinaudj ig-euwaidde kweewezaiñsug.
This boy is larger than that	Nahwudj mindiddo wah-ou kweewezaiñs ewaidde dush.
That is what I wanted	Meeh-eu waweauyaumbaun.
This is the very thing I wanted	Mee-suh oh-oo wau iauyaumbaun.

In some of these expressions, the pronoun combines with an adjective, as in the compound words, ineuwaidde, and igeuwaidde, THOSE YONDER (in.) and THOSE YONDER

(in.) Compounds which exhibit the full pronoun in coalescence with the adverb EWAIDDE, yonder.

7. Generic conclusions.—The Algonquin language is in a peculiar sense a language of pronouns. Originally there appear to have been but three terms, answering to the three persons, I, thou or you, and he or she. By these terms, the speaker or actor is clearly distinguished; but they convey no idea of sex, the word for the third person in which we should suspect it, being strictly epicene. In a class of languages strongly transitive, the purposes of precision required another class of pronouns, which should be suffixed to the end of verbs, to render the object of the action as certain as the actor is. The language being without auxiliary verbs, their place is supplied by the tensal syllables, ge, gah, and guh, which have extended the original monosyllables into trisyllables. This is the first step on the polysyllabical ladder. To make the suffixed or objective pronouns, they appear to have availed themselves of a principle which they had already applied to nouns—namely, the principle of indicating, by the letters g or n added to the plural terms, the two great divisions of creation, on which the whole grammatical structure is built—namely, the genderic classes of living or inert matter. As these alphabetical signs, g and n, could be applied to the five terminal vowel sounds of all nouns and all verbs (for they must, to be made plural or conjugated, be provided with terminal vowels, where they do not, when used disjunctively, exist,) there is naturally a set of five vital or animate and five non-vital or inanimate plurals. Ten classes of nouns and ten classes of verbs are thus formed. But as the long vowels in au and oan require three more varieties of numerical inflection in each of these vowels, the respective number of plural terms is eight, and the total sixteen—sixteen modes of making the plural, and sixteen conjugations for the verb. This is productive of a variety of terminal sounds, and appears at the first glance to be confused, but the principle is simple and easily remembered; so easily, that a child need never mistake it. The terminal g or n of each word denotes in all positions, the two great genderic classes of nature, which are the cardinal points of the grammar.

Allusion is had particularly to the Algonquin language in this observation, in which this principle prevails without knowing certainly how far it obtains in the other Indian languages of North and South America.

Agreeably to data furnished in the preceding pages, the regular plurals are respectively ag, eg, ig, og, ug, and ain, een, in, on, un, with the additional aug, eeg, and oag, in the vital, and aun, een, and oan, for the long vowels, in the non-vital class. But two ideas are gained by these thirty-two numerical inflections, namely, that the objects are vital or non-vital.

In English, all this purpose is answered by the simple letter s, or, where euphony requires it, es; in Latin by a single vowel or diphthong; and in Hebrew, in all direct

cases, by the syllable im. So much ground is travelled over by the Indian to get his plurals. The pure verbs, the noun-verbs, the adjective verbs, and the propositional, adverbial, and compound terms and declensions, are made plural precisely as the nouns, regard being always had to the principle of euphony, in throwing away or adding a letter, or giving precedence to an adjective inflection. The suffixed pronouns are required to be put at the end of these plurals, where they will not always coalesce without inserting them before the sign of the epicene or anti-epicene.

These suffixed plural inflections, as before indicated, are yaun, yun, id, or simply d. I, you, he, she; which are changed to plurals personal by the usual inflections of the letter g, making them yaung, we, us, our (ex.); yung, we, us, our (in.), and yaig for ye. The vital particle are, is placed before d for the pronoun they.

But the speaker is not confined to these, as the pronouns are made plural precisely as the nouns: he may employ, for distinction's sake, the numerical inflections aig, aug, eeg, ig, og, oog, ug, to express the various senses of we (bis), they, them, and us, ours, theirs. These fourteen suffixed pronouns enable the speaker to designate the objective transitive persons, and to designate the reflex action in the first plural, which is uniform.

The anti-epicene suffixed pronouns for the same persons, are ain, een, in, on, aun, un, aim, eem, im, om, oam, um; with such changes in their adjustment as usage and the juxtaposition of consonants have produced.

§ 6. Principles of the Verb:—

1. *Indian mode of grouping ideas.* 2. *Concrete character of words.* 3. *Number of primary sounds of the language.* 4. *Its radically monosyllabic character.* 5. *The language unasynthetic.* 6. *Primary sounds.* 7. *Nature thrown into two great classes, merging the principle of gender. Its rules.* 8. *Type of barbaric grammars. Verbs epicene and anti-epicene. Five conjugations in each class, formed by the five epicene and five anti-epicene vowels.* 9. *Breadth of this rule of classes.*

1. The power of analysis is not a faculty of the Indian mind. It considers phenomena in the gross. The sky, to which the hunter's eyes are directed, is not regarded as filled with the elements, air and vapour, light and heat, clouds and sunshine only, but with concrete images of the effects of these, upon each other. The river, which pursues its way through the forests, is not simply regarded as a channel of water moving rapidly or slowly, deep or shallow, dark or bright. The rays of light are not described as elementary pencils; but pencils flashing upon, or reflected from objects on the earth's surface. An animal is described as possessing some peculiar

properties, as black or white; or gifted with peculiar looks or powers, whether flying in the air, living upon the earth, or swimming in the waters. Sounds are described as proceeding from the force of winds, from a tree, stone, or man falling on the earth from a stroke of thunder; or a murmuring of leaves or waters.

2. These images, or ideas, are thrown upon the Indian mind in their concrete forms, and the first attempt is, to express the phenomena by combined phrases, which shall embrace syllabical increments or alphabetical signs of all the phenomena. Hence the terms of the language are compound and polysyllabical. They aim to paint ideas. To do this, however, requires a very exact knowledge of the primary elements of utterance. The ear must analyze each sound, and recognise its distinctive meanings in words and terms, wherever they occur, and whatever may be the juxtaposition of syllables.

3. It has been indicated, that, with the five vowel, there are but thirteen simple consonantal sounds; that the number of primary syllables is seventeen, and that the number of possible changes, which these can be made to undergo, is two hundred and fifty-five. With respect to this, we may perhaps require further scrutiny, and it is, therefore, but approximate in its character. All that is contended for, in this respect, is, that the number of syllabical sounds is fixed, and that it cannot be exceeded, with the natural powers of utterance. Whatever be the actual number, the child soon learns to know them, together with the principles by which they must be used. The speaker gives, at all times, the same meaning to the same syllable or phrase, allowing for the throwing away of superfluous consonants, when they come together, or for the insertion of them, when the same want of euphony requires them to be interposed between vowels in the compounds.

4. It is found that the primary words, when dissected from their appendages, are chiefly monosyllabic. Many of the words of its vocabulary still retain their character of elementary brevity, as ais, a shell; meen, a berry; mong, a loon; kaug, a porcupine; waub, to see; böz, to embark; peezh, to bring; paup, to laugh; oomb, to lift, möz, a moose; wauzh, a lair; wauk, a fish-roe. The Indian ear is very nice in discriminating the pronominal and tensal prefixes and the various inflections for number, person, place, and other accidents, which conceal the radix both from the eye and ear of the uninitiated, and also in detecting the least error in its principles of unity.

5. The language appears to be altogether sui generis. There is nothing that has the aspect of being foreign or borrowed — nothing that seems like the putting together of two plans of thought; nor the tracing of roots to diverse sources. The requirements

of its etymology are so plain, that they cannot be mistaken. The grammatical concords are too simple and unique to admit of doubt. Its principles are homogeneous and philosophical: they are, at all times, true to certain laws of utterance, of combination, and of concords. The plan of thought, or synthesis, is a unity: it is uniform, unique, and simple.

6. A whoop, a shout, or a hiss, a cackle, a guttural expulsion of the breath, or any other modification of human sounds, aided by genefluction, may stand, conventionally or symbolically, for an act or expression of passion or feeling. But the moment an Algonquin undertakes articulate utterance, by which language is to be represented, he employs vowel sounds, compelled, as they often are, to be loaded down with consonantal appendages difficult of utterance. That he should found his grammar on these vowel sounds, with such concords only as are supplied by the distinctions of the grand phenomena of organic and inorganic life around him, is natural; and it should excite no surprise, if, in carrying out these principles, he is found to have developed philosophical rules which have escaped other nations.

In this inquiry, it is not asked where the language was first spoken, whether in Asia, Polynesia, or America. That topic is ulterior in its importance. Wherever situated, he was evidently surrounded by the great phenomena of woods, waters, organic life, skies, and meteoric displays. He was in a vast wilderness of plains and forests — not in pent-up cities, with their thousand intellectual. artificialities. This is clear from the phenomena of language alone.

Complete utterance, in the organs of human speech, finds vent only in the independent open vowel sounds — *a*, e, i, o, u. These sounds may each run through a scale, and are still independent; but they require to be propped up by consonants the moment the half-utterances or short vowel sounds are to be expressed. The Red man has done this by an oral system, which he has no books to explain, and which he is too ignorant of the laws of orthographical utterance implanted in his ear, to describe. Languages cannot be spoken of as inventions. No nation invents a language, at least, not in any recognisable compass of years. They are a gift, or proceed to alter themselves very slowly by the natural laws of articulation. To comprehend the principles of these American languages, it will facilitate comparison to suppose that the Indian mind kept ever before it the two grand kingdoms of organic and inorganic matter, or the world of vital beings and inert objects. This principle has already been indicated, in the considerations brought forward on the substantive, the adjective, and the pronoun; but it is not to be over-rated in its importance, in relation to the verb: for the whole language is brought to this test, and, whatever functions other parts of speech perform, they find the fulfilment of their powers in the verb.

7. In viewing the mass of images and ideas floating before the Indian mind, the

first and most generic grammatical law which it proposed as necessary to both speaker and hearer, at all times, was the separation of all the phenomena of nature and art into two grand classes, which have been called animates and inanimates. In forming these, the animal kingdom is obliged to surrender its proud claim to distinction above vegetable life; and, what we should not, à priori, expect from barbarism, even man is compelled to sink his sexuality, and take his place, in the grammatical scale, beside the bison, the wolf, and the bear. Gender is sunk in vitality, or mere animation.

To effect this purpose of grammatical concord, two consonantal signs are employed as terminal letters, in designating the plurals of the respective classes, namely, G and N — the former of which, added to the terminal vowel of the word, renders it organic, and the latter inorganic. These terms correspond to the words epicine and anti-epicine. If the word, in either class, does not terminate in a vowel in the singular, but a consonant, a vowel is required to be added, and then the rule carried out. This principle has been so fully illustrated, in the observations on the substantive, and is so regular and distinctive, that it forms the primary integer to grammatical order in the language. Not only all the nouns, but all the verbs, obey it. By it, both are formed into ten classes, which terminate respectively in äig, ëeg, ïg, ög, üg, or än, ën, ïn, ön, ün.

By adopting the epicine principle, the distinction of masculine and feminine is lost in a higher law of concord, while the anti-epicine corresponds to the neuter in other languages. How far this principle prevails in the Indian languages of America cannot be certainly affirmed from the incompleteness of our materials. It is absolute, under all circumstances, in the various tongues of the Algonquin stock; and it is by far the most characteristic principle which has been developed, differing as it does from all the known modern, and (so far as investigated in relation to this principle) ancient languages. The Hebrew, to which reference has so often been made from the time of Grotius, as the probable parent language of the American stocks, whatever other analogies it may offer, has nothing of this kind. It has been carefully studied, and the result is, that so far as its modern compounds can now be traced, the distinctions of masculine, feminine, and neuter, are preserved. During the epoch of the Pentateuch, Gesenius has shown, that the pronoun HE included SHE, and that the term for young man and young woman was the same. It therefore becomes important to philology, in seeking grammatical forms in order to illustrate the topic of origin, to direct its investigations to this point.

8. It is not alone in these two great classes of words, which have been called the epicene and the anti-epicene, that the simple and primary vowel sounds are relied on for principles of synthesis and concord. The vocalic rules pervade the grammar. The whole stock of verbs in the Indian vocabulary is grouped into five epicine and five classes of anti-epicine conjugations. The conjugations embrace not only the natural verbs in common use, but they provide for all the nouns and noun-adjectives

of every possible kind; for these, it must be remembered, can all be converted, under the plastic rules of the language, into verbs.

With a formidable display of vocal terms and inflective forms, there is, therefore, a very simple principle to unravel the lexicography, namely, fidelity to the meaning of primary and vowelic sounds. If we compare this principle to a thread, parts of which are white, black, green, blue, and yellow, the white may stand as the symbol of five vowelic classes of words in a; the black in b; the green in c; the blue in d; and the yellow in e. It creates no confusion to the eye to add, that there is a filament of red running through the whole series of colored strands, whereby five additional distinctions are made, making ten in all. These represent the two great classes of sounds of the Algonquin grammar, denoting what has been called the epicene and anti-epicene scheme.

Let me not be misapprehended. The vowel sounds are first taken as guides to the Indian ear in forming plurals, making two quintuplicate classes, the first ending in the epicene g, and the second in the anti-epicene n. The decimal plurals then become the rule for forming the same number of conjugations for active verbs. If we would know to what class of conjugations a word belongs, we must inquire how the plural is made. It will be recollected that all verbs, like all substantives, either terminate in a vowel sound, or, where they do not, that a vowel sound must be added in making the plural, in order that it may serve as a coalescent for the epicene g, or the anti-epicene n. Thus man, inine, is rendered men, ininewug, not by adding the simple epicene plural ug, but by throwing a w before it, making the plural in wug. So paupe, to laugh, is rendered plural in wug, and not ug; whilst minnis, an island, sebens, a brook, and all words ending in a consonant, take the regular anti-epicene plural in un. The rule that in syllabication a vowel should follow a consonant, is indeed universal. It is equally so that a short vowel precedes a consonant, or is placed between two consonants, and that a long vowel follows it, or makes a syllable when standing by itself. Such is the power of vowels and consonants, as heard in Miss-is-sip-pi, and Mau-me, I-o-wa, Pe-o-ri-a, and Wis-con-sin. These principles were referred to, in forming the practical scheme of notation herein adopted.

The arrangement of the vowelic classes is so important to any correct view of the grammer of the language, and is, at the same time, so regular, euphonious, and philosophical, that it will impress it the better on the mind, by presenting a tabular view of it.

Corresponding Classes of Verbs.

Epicene Substantives.

		PLURAL INFLECTION.
1. Words ending in	a	ag.
2. " " "	e	eg.
3. " " "	i	ig.

4.	Words ending in		o	ög.
5.	"	"	"	u	üg.

Anti-epicene Substantives.

				PLURAL INFLECTION.
1.	Words ending in		a	än.
2.	"	"	"	e	ën.
3.	"	"	"	i	ïn.
4.	"	"	"	o	ön.
5.	"	"	"	u	ün.

Epicene Verbs.

				CLASS OF CONJUGATION.
1.	Verbs ending in		ä or äg	in class a.
2.	"	"	"	ë or ëg	" e.
3.	"	"	"	ï or ïg	" i.
4.	"	"	"	ö or ög	" o.
5.	"	"	"	ü or üg	" u.

Anti-epicene Verbs.

				CLASS OF CONJUGATION.
1.	Verbs ending in		ä or än	in class a.
2.	"	"	"	ë or ën	" e.
3.	"	"	"	ï or ïn	" i.
4.	"	"	"	ö or ön	" o.
5.	"	"	"	ü or ün	" u.

§ 7. The Algonquin Language founded on Radices:—

Verbs derived from substantives. Infinitives. Word-building character of the syntax. Its analysis. In what sense it may be deemed "agglutinated." Nouns precede Verbs. Examples of the verbs to eat, to run, to walk, to burn, to strike. Declension of the prefixed pronoun to form moods. Conjugation of the verb to love a person. Its root. Generic classes of nature. A trait of concealment of character, impressed on the forms of the Indian language.

The Algonquin language is founded on roots or primary elements having a meaning by themselves. As waub, to see, paup, to laugh, wa, to move in space, bwa, a voice. The theory of its orthography is to employ these primary sounds in combination, and

not as disjunctive elements, which has originated a plan of thought and concords quite peculiar. It is evident that such particles as ak, be, ge, were invested with generic meanings, before they assumed their concrete forms of ak-e, earth; ne-be, water; ge-zis, sky. Substantives appear to have been anterior to verbs, for the latter are generally founded on them, as chemai, to paddle, from chemaun, a canoe. But this may relate to the modern class of verbs, as we perceive in the same manner, paush-kiz-ze-ga, to fire, made from paush-kiz-ze-gun, a gun, musket, or rifle. In the more ancient class of verbs, such as strike, puk-e-tai, we may suppose, however, that the word war-club, puk-e-tai-e-gun, was formed from the verb to strike, for it is literally described as a striking implement. Puk-e-tai, in this word, denotes the act of striking. Gun is from je-gun, a generic for implements or instruments. But puk-e-tai is transitive, and denotes the striking of some person or thing, and cannot be said infinitively. The true radix or infinitive, appears to be pakëd. Verbs active in the third person, end in AI. Here we obtain a rule, puketai, chemai, paushkizzegai, &c. strike, paddle, fire, &c. Without attention to this theory of radices, and to the word-building principle of the language,—to this constant capacity of incremental extension, and to the mode of doubling, triplicating, and quadruplicating ideas, it is impossible to analyze it,—to trace its compounds to their embryotic roots, and to seize upon those principles of thought and utterance, by attention to which, there has been erected in the forests of America, one of the most polysyllabic and completely transpositive modes of communicating thought that exists. We shall endeavor to bring the Algonquin languages to this test.

The anatomist would never arrive at a clear description of the human system, "so fearfully and wonderfully made," if he did not examine bone by bone, artery by artery, vein by vein, and nerve by nerve. The system becomes wonderful because it is so exact,—so complicated, and yet capable of being so perfectly traced by its physiological order. Something of this species of patience and regard to appreciate the order of structure is required in sitting down to unravel the threads of a language which has, (syntactically, perhaps,) been called "agglutinated" by an eminent linguist.[1] If by agglutination be meant accretion, and the adhesive principle be its syntax, the term is certainly appropriate; but for a mass of words or syllables to be aggregated, or stuck together without a principle of order, is to suppose an anomaly in languages. Barbarians often stick syllables together in very ungainly forms, and with many redundancies and inelegancies and faults, but not without precise, and often painfully precise, meanings.

Such is the tendency of the whole transpositive system common to the Algonquin language. Whatever is agglutinated in the material world requires gluten to attach piece to piece, and its analogy in the intellectual process of sticking syllable to syllable,

[1] Mr. William von Humboldt.

and word to word, is the accretive principle; and this syllabical gluten is precisely that to which the closest attention is required to trace its syntax.

Waub is, apparently, the radix of the verb, to see, and of the word, light. Waubun is the east, or sunlight, and inferentially, place of light. Aub is the name of the eye-ball, hence ai-aub, to eye, or to see with the eye-ball. Waub, itself, appears to be a compound of aub and the letter w, which is the sign of the third person. Waubuno is a member of a society of men, so called because they continue their orgies till daylight. The simplest concrete forms of the verb, to see, are therefore as follows: — Ne waub, I see, Ke waub, thou seest, or you see (sing.), O waub, he or she sees. But all this is vague to the Indian mind, and indefinite in relation to the general use of the verb, until the transitive inflection is added, whereby the class of objects on which the action takes place is shown.

This principle was pointed out, in 1746, by the Rev. David Brainerd, the celebrated missionary. "The most successful method," he observes, "which I have taken for instructing myself in the Indian languages, is to translate English discourses, by the help of an interpreter or two, into their language, as near verbatim as the sense will admit of, and to observe strictly how they use words, and what construction they will bear in various cases, and thus to gain some acquaintance with the root from whence particular words proceed, and to see how they are thence varied and diversified. But here occurs a very great difficulty; for the interpreters, being unlearned, and unacquainted with the rules of language, it is impossible, sometimes, to know by them what part of speech some particular word is of, whether *noun*, *verb*, or *participle*, for they seem to use participles, sometimes, where we should use nouns, and, sometimes, where we should use verbs in the English language.

"But I have, notwithstanding many difficulties, gained some acquaintance with the grounds of the Delaware language, and have learned most of the *defects* in it, so that I know what English words can, and what cannot be, translated into it. I have also gained some acquaintance with the particular phraseologies, as well as peculiarities of their language, one of which I cannot but mention. Their language does not admit of their speaking any word denoting relation, such as father, son, &c., *absolutely*; that is, without prefixing a pronoun possessive to it, such as my, thy, his, &c. Hence, they cannot be baptized in the name of *the* father, and *the* son, &c., but they may be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, and his father, &c."[1]

This is a grammatical truth equally applicable to all the American languages that have been examined; and it seems closely akin to another, namely, that all active verbs are likewise precluded from being used in what Brainerd denotes an *absolute* sense, but must be varied by a particle put at their ends, to denote the object on which they act. Hence, this class of verbs are all *transitive*.

[1] Works of Jonathan Edwards, vol. x., p. 322.

The Indian idiom is often forced, in translation, by following scrupulously the *order* of English thought. I see a man, Ne wau bum au pai-zhik-in-in-e; I see a house, Ne wau bun daun-pai zhik wa-ki-e-gun.

Here the English order of thought is clearly and precisely expressed, word for word, in the Indian. But this is not the natural Indian mode of thought, which requires the object generally to precede the verb—as inine ne wau bum au. Man, I see him. Wah kie-gun, ne ne wau bun daun. House, I see it. The word pai zhik is not required at all, being the denomination for one, and not properly an article. The verb see, also gives information which, as above denoted, is not required by the English word, namely, that the object seen is of the epicene or anti-epicene (neuter) class. For this purpose the particle au has been already stated to be used in the first class of words, which is changed to daun in the second, with a corresponding change in the letters m and n. To speak of man, or house, without designating the number, is to speak of one man, or one house; and the Indian so understands it. The use of the word pai-zhik is therefore unnecessary.

Take another radix:

Böz, to embark: He or she embarks. This is the simplest form in which the word occurs colloquially. But it will at once be perceived to be a compound. Ozh appears to be the root of every species of contrivance designed to float on water, which has been made by hands. The latter idea is incorporated in the word, and appears to be derived from ozheau, to make, (v. ep.) ozheton (v. anti-ep.) Hence, ozheaud maker, (ep.) which is changed to wazheaud, the maker.

I EMBARK.—INDICATIVE.

1.		Nim	Böz.
2.		Ke	Böz.
3.			Pö zi.
4.	(in.)	Nim	Bö zi min.
5.	(ex.)	Ke	Bö zi min.
6.		Ke	Bö zim.
7.			Pö zi wug.

Ozh appears to be the root of the name for a vessel, (artificial.) Wa mit ig ozh, the people of the wooden-made vessel—this is the Algonquin term for a Frenchman. Ozh-eau, is the verb to make: in this term ozh, is the nautical object on which work has been bestowed. Mitig, trees, or timbers, and wa, a plural phrase, indicative of persons.

I	Ne.
I love	Ne saug.
I love a person .	Ne saug-e-au.
I love a thing . .	Ne saug-e-töne.

Thus action proceeds from the first person, and is immediately rendered transitive. The terms au and tone, as here employed, denote the two great classes of epicene and anti-epicene nature.[1]

Saug is thus seen to be the radix of the verb to love.

EKID, to speak; ENAIN, to think; naud, to bring; shingaih, to hate. Persons and objects immediately convert these radices into polysyllables.

1. Nin de kid. I say.
2. Nen de nain dum. I think.
3. Fetch some water. Tugah! nebe naudin. Literally, Ho! water bring.
4. I hate my enemy. Ne, shing ai ne mau, nau do wai see. Literally, I hate him—my enemy. (Singular.)
5. I love my friend. Ne, saugeau, nedje ke waizee. Literally, I love him—my friend. (Singular.)

Adjectives, in like manner, are converted into polysyllabic phrases: Min, good; ittau, able.

6. They were good men, and able hunters. Minno ininewuneeg, gia nittau, keoossaubuneeg. Literally, good men they, and able hunters, they.

The existence, or being of a person or thing, is some term derivative from the word IEAU.

7. Have you any meat? Weos, kedianuh? Meat have you?
8. I am a living being. Nin, di-e-au. I am a living person.

These examples will show the tendency of the language to accretion; but they must not lead the inquirer away from the track of construction and conjugation: for it is still seen, that, in the latter, the root of the verb undergoes no changes except such as are necessary in the euphonious adjustment of the class of prefixed and suffixed pronouns—and the formidable array of syllables arises from the simple rule of rendering the verb plural when the noun or pronoun is plural.

1. It is required that all active and transitive verbs should be pronominally varied to suit the person and tense of the prefixed pronoun. Nothing happens, therefore, in this process, that does not take place in every grammatical language under the sun; and, what is perceived every day in our own language, namely, the number of the pronoun or noun and of the verb must agree.

EXAMPLES:—TO EAT; TO RUN; TO WALK; TO BURN; TO STRIKE.

I eat	Nee we sin.
Thou eatest	Ke we sin.

[1] The e final in tone is silent, and intended here provisionally, as in English, to give the broad sound to o.

He eats	We sin na.
We eat	Ke we sa ne min.
Ye or you eat	Ke we sa min.
They eat	We sin na wug.
I have eat	Ningee we sin.
I shall eat	Ningah we sin.
I was eating	Ne we sin ne waw bun.
It was eat	Ke me jim.
I run	Ne pim e but to.
Thou runnest	Ke pim e but to.
He runs	Pim e but to.
We run	Ke pim e but to min.
Ye or you run	Ke pim e but töm.
They run	Pim e but to wug.
To walk	Pim mos saing.
I walk	Nee pim mos sa.
Thou walkest	Ke pim mos sa.
He walks	Pim mos sai.
We walk	Ke pim mos say min.
Ye or you walk	Ke pim mos saim.
They walk	Pim mos say wug.
I did walk	Ningee pim mos say.
Thou didst walk	Kegee pim mos say.
He did walk	Ke pim mos say.
We did walk	Kegee pim mos say min.
Ye or you did walk . . .	Kegee pim mos saim.
They did walk	Ke pim mos say wug.
I shall walk	Ningee pim mos say.
Thou shalt walk	Kegah pim mos say.
He shall walk	Tah pim mos say.
We shall walk	Kegah pim mos say min.
Ye or you shall walk . .	Kegah pim mos saim.
They shall walk	Tah pim mos say wug.
Walking	Pim mos saing.
To burn	Chaw gè zoong.
I burn	Ne chaw giz.
Thou burnest	Ke chaw giz.

He burns	Chaw gie zo.
We burn	Ke chaw gie zo min.
Ye or you burn	Ke chaw gie zöm.
They burn	Chaw gie zo wug.
I did burn	Ningee chaw gie.
Thou didst burn	Kegee chaw gie.
He did burn	Kegee chaw gie zo.
We did burn	Kegee chaw ge zo min.
Ye or you did burn . . .	Kegee chaw gie zöm.
They did burn	Kegee chaw gie zo wug.
I shall burn	Ningah chaw gie.
Thou shalt burn	Kegah chaw gie.
He shall burn	Tah chaw gie zo.
We shall burn	Kegah chaw gie zo min.
Ye or you shall burn . .	Kegah chaw gie zöm.
They shall burn	Tah chaw gie zo wug.
Burn him	Chaw gie.
Burn them	Chaw gie zook.
I am burned	Nin chaw gie.
Thou art burned	Ke chaw gie.
He is burned	Chaw gie zo.
We are burned.	Ke chaw giz zo min.
Ye or you are burned . .	Kegee chaw gie zöm.
They are burned	Ke chaw giz zo wug.
I shall be burned	Ningee chaw gie zo go.
Thou shalt be burned . .	Kegah chaw gie zo göm.
He shall be burned . . .	Tah chaw giz wah.
We shall be burned . . .	Kegah chaw gie zo go min.
Ye or you shall be burned .	Kegah chaw giz zo göm.
They shall be burned . .	Tah chaw giz waw wug.
I strike him	Ne buk ke tay way.
Thou strikest her	Ke buk ke tay way.
He strikes him.	O buk ke tay way.
We strike him	Ke buk ke tay way nau.
Ye or you strike him . .	Ke buk ke tay way wug.
They strike him	O buk ke tay way waun.

I struck her.	Ningee buk ke tay wau.
He struck her	Ogee buk ke tay waun.
We struck her, ...	Kegee buk ke tay waw waun.
They struck her	Ogee buk ke tay waw waun.
I shall strike you	Kegah buk ke tay un.
Thou shalt strike them . .	Kegah buk ke tay waug.

It will be perceived in these conjugations, that the pronoun prefix, in the absence of auxiliary verbs, is declined for tense, and the moods are hereby established. To show this point, the following table of the pronominal changes is exhibited:—

INDICATIVE MOOD—*First Person.*

Ne[1].	I.
Nin-ge.	I did—was.
Nin-gah	I shall—I will—have.
Nin-gah-gee	I shall have—will have.

IMPERATIVE MOOD—*First Person.*

Nin-guh	Let me.

Potential Mood.

Nin-dah	I may—I can.
Nin-dah-ge	I might—I could.

INDICATIVE—*Second Person.*

Ke	Thou.
Ke-ge	Thou didst—hadst.
Ke-gah	Thou shalt—wilt.
Ke-gah-gee	Thou shalt have—wilt have.

IMPERATIVE—*Second Person.*

Ke-guh	Thou.

POTENTIAL—*Second Person.*

Ke-dau	Thou mayest—canst.
Ke-dau-gee	Thou mightest have—could have.

INDICATIVE—*Third Person.*

O (pron. sin epicene) . . .	He or she.
O-ge	He or she hath—have, had.

[1] The sound of e, in the pronominal conjugations, is uniformly long.

O-gah . . . . . He or she shall or will.
O-gah-ge . . . . . He or she shall have, &c.

IMPERATIVE — *Third Person.*

O-dau . . . . . He or she shall or will.
O-dau-ge . . . . . He or she may have, can have.

There is a subjunctive mood, formed by prefixing the word Kishpin to the several forms, but not in anywise altering them. The introduction of the particle SEE at the end of the verb, renders the conjugation throughout, negative. It has the same effect that the word not would have in English verbs, if placed after the several persons and voices; and its display in forms would seem to be equally formidable and useless to the learner, whose ear will readily recognise the particle of negation in the Indian, wherever it occurs.

It will be perceived that the imperfect tense, in this declension of the pronouns, is formed by adding ge to the present. That the first future changes ge to gah, and that the second future is made by adding the imperfect to the first future. There is but one voice, guh, in the imperative. The potential is made in dah, in the present, with the addition of ge for the imperfect. But that we may judge of the forms, and in order not to anticipate observations prior to the introduction of the proper data, on which they are based, it will be suitable at this point to submit a full conjugation of one of the active verbs, through all its voices. It will be observed in the pronominal declensions, that in the first person, ne, the long vowel e is invariably changed to the short i, (as in pin,) in forming the second person; a rule which, as stated in the scheme of annotation, requires this sound to be followed invariably by a consonant. Thus ne is changed to nin, with no other object but preserving a proper euphony in the sentence in juxtaposition.

FIRST EPICENE CONJUGATION IN A.

SAUG: TO LOVE. — (A as in fall.)

INDICATIVE — *Present Tense.*

Sau geau . . . . . I love a person.
Ne saugeau . . . . . I love a person.
Ke saugeau . . . . . Thou lovest a person.
O saugeau . . . . . He or she loves a person.
Nenowind saugeau . . . . . We (excluding you) love a person.
Kenowind saugeau . . . . . We (including you) love a person.
Kenawau saugeau . . . . . Ye or you love a person.
Kenowau saugeau . . . . . They love a person.

Imperfect Tense.

Nin gee saugeau-bun	I have loved a person.
Keege saugeau-bun	Thou hast loved a person.
Oge saugau-bun	He or she has loved a person.
Neenowind saugeau min au bun . .	We (in.) have loved a person.
Keenowind saugeau min au bun . .	We (ex.) have loved a person.
Kenowau saugeau wau bun . . .	He or you have loved a person.
Wenawau saugeau wau bau en e bun	They have loved a person.

First Future Tense.

Ningah saugeau	I shall or will love a person.
Kegah saugeau	Thou shalt or wilt love a person.
Ogah saugeau	He or she shall or will love a person.
Nenowind saugeau-naun	We (in.) shall or will love a person.
Kenowind saugeau-naun	We (ex.) shall or will love a person.
Kenowau saugeau-wun	Ye or you shall or will love a person.
Wenowau saugeau waun	They shall or will love a person.

Second Future Tense.

Ningahge saugeau-bun	I shall have loved a person.
Kegahgee saugeau-bun	Thou shalt have loved a person.
Ogahgee saugeau-bun	He or she shall have loved a person.
Nenowind saugeau min au bun . .	We (in.) shall have loved a person.
Kenowind saugeau min au bun . .	We (ex.) shall have loved a person.
Kenawau saugeau wau min au bun.	Ye or you shall have loved a person.
Wenowau saugeau wau min au bun.	They shall have loved a person.

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Ningah sageau-binuh	Let me love a person.
Sageau-binuh	Love thou a person.
Kegah sageau-binuh.	Let him love a person.
Ninge sageau-dau binuh	Let us (in.) love a person.
Kege sageau-dau binuh.	Let us (ex.) love a person.
Saugeik binuh	Love ye or you a person.
Ogah saugeau waun binuh . . .	Let them love a person.

POTENTIAL MOOD—*Present Tense.*

Nindau saugeau	I may or can love a person.
Kedau saugeau	Thou mayest or canst love a person.

Odau saugeau	He or she may or can love a person.
Nenowind saugeau naun	We (in.) may or can love a person.
Kenowind saugeau naun	We (ex.) may or can love a person.
Kenowau saugeau wau	Ye or you may or can love a person.
Weenowau saugeau waun	They may or can love a person.

Perfect Tense.

Nindauge saugeau bun	I may or can have loved a person.
Kedauge saugeau bun	Thou mayest or canst have loved a person.
Odauge saugeau bun een	He or she may or can have loved a person.
Nenowind saugeau min au bun . .	We (in.) may or can have loved a person.
Kenowind saugeau min au bun . .	We (ex.) may or can have loved a person.
Kenowau saugeau wau bun . . .	Ye or you may or can have loved a person.
Wenowau saugeau wau bun . . .	They may or can have loved a person.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD—*Present Tense.*

Kishpin ne saugeaug	If I love a person.
Kishpin ke saugeaud	If thou love a person.
Kishpin o saugeaud	If he or she love a person.
Kishpin nenowind saugeung . . .	If we (in.) love a person.
Kishpin kenowind saugeung . . .	If we (ex.) love a person.
Kishpin keenowau saugeaig . . .	If ye or you love a person.
Kishpin weenowau saugeauwaud .	If they love a person.

The other tenses of the indicative mood all admit of this same prefixed term, Kishpin, the Algonquin if. It will not fail to be observed, that the radix, Saug, is unbroken. All the changes are pronominal. There is no change in the radical verb itself, (the change in ik, in the plural of the third person of the imperative, being explicable on other principles). It maintains its integrity of form throughout. While the personal pronoun prefix is constantly declined for tense, there is a parallel declension of the suffixed pronouns of the verb, for the various objective persons. The infinitive can only be inferred. It is clearly traced in the word saug. The inflection eau, meaning a living person, is manifestly derivative from the generic verb IEAU—a word which appears to lie at the foundation, or at least to found often, the entire class of epicene verbs. The term EAU is made to carry the various senses of person, being, life, man, in a variety of compound phrases, and appears to be the ready resource of the language when speaking of any of the organic classes of the emotions of life. Its epicene character permits it to be applied, not only to men, without relation to sexuality, but to all the class of quadrupeds, birds, fishes, and whatever is invested with the properties of life or being. In this manner, it becomes unnecessary, in the course of the narrative, to mention the specific names of beasts or birds, or human subjects, the

mere designation of the grand vital division of nature to which they belong being deemed sufficient, and this is most commonly done in the inflection eau, or simple au. On the contrary, what does not belong to this class of vital objects, but is appropriate to the grand division of inorganic life, is as readily referred to by the anti-epicene verb IEE, which, most often, is denoted by the long sound of EE, or simple E. These are favorite modes of allusion by the Indians, and it is remarkable, to the attentive observer, how great a degree of responsibility he avoids by it, in the description of personal matters involving blame. It is next to impossible to induce an Indian to utter personal names; the utmost he will do, if a person implicated is present, is to move his lips, without speaking, in the direction of the person.[1]

This disposition of the Indian mind to doubt or concealment, the habitual want of frankness of utterance, and the assumption of the responsibility of assertion, has been supposed improperly to form a peculiar mood, for which the term *dubitative* has been suggested. These doubting phrases are all formed from the simple radix *aindum*, or aind, mind, and imply meditation or reserve of expression.[2] As well might we say, that the language requires an interrogative mood, which is made by placing the particle *nuh* after each conjugation, because this particle asks a question. So the introduction of the fragment of an adjective or an adverb into compound verbs might be pleaded as creating the necessity for new moods in an almost endless series: but to what purpose would these forms be exhibited, except to spread over quires of paper with verbal forms of no pertinence to the grammar.

The phrases I love perhaps, I hear you ill, or imperfectly, I see you painfully, and the like, may be conjugated in the Indian, through every mood, tense, and voice, precisely as they can be in English, and with the same uselessness of grammatical display.[3]

---

[1] I once saw an Indian (a man under a religious sense of obligation) in a court of justice, under oath, whom the court tried vainly to make identify the individual against whom he had unwittingly uttered a charge out of court; but the utmost that could be got from him was the pushing out of the lips towards the person.

[2] Baraga's grammar of the Otchipwee.

[3] This verbal phenomenon may be viewed agreeably to the missionary, Mr. Baraga, as one of the direct effects of the long abuse of truth, by the savage mind.

"This dubitative is peculiar," he remarks, with severity and unjust harshness, "to the Indian mind, and in some respects bears testimony to the fact, that the habit of lying is a strong trait of Indian character. Being aware of this habit themselves, they much mistrust others; and consequently when something is related as narrated to an Indian by his fellow Indian, or other men, he will indeed remember the narration, but with the idea of possibly being imposed on; and give the hearer to understand that the narrative may not be true in all its parts." p. 96. Between this mental precaution and the habit of lying there is a wide difference. Naubesuh, It may be so, is the expression which is usually applied to doubtful narrations of this kind, and it is used in the double sense of doubt and irony; but always, so far as observed, with just discrimination.

§ 8. Non-existence of Auxiliary Verbs:—

Considerations on the existence of a substantive verb of limited use in the Algonquin language. Distinction supposed to be established in the language between the question of the existence of PASSION *and the existence of* TIME. *Verb for the latter restricted to the departments of animate matter. Its counterpart respecting inorganic matter. Full conjugations of both verbs through the moods and tenses of the Chippewa grammar. Translation of the third verse of the first chapter of Genesis.*

It has been shown that the Algonquin language has no auxiliary verbs, and that the past and future tenses are exclusively denoted by tensal suffixes to the current verbs. Time is always to be understood as present; but there is no inflection to denote the present tense. A people who are perpetually saying, in their colloquial intercourse, "I sick; I well; I glad; I sorry," have naturally been supposed to have no word in their language to denote the possession or lapse of existence, abstract or concrete. Yet this would convey a wrong impression of the capacities of the language.

The habit of thus speaking is universal, it is thought, in relation to every PASSION of the human heart; its loves, its hates, its sorrows; but the mind does not appear to be thus limited in its ability to express the conceptions of being. The mythology of the people is one which creates a frequent necessity of speaking of spiritual and immaterial existences, which are supposed to inhabit the sky and the air, and which are invested by them with the powers of UBIQUITY and IMMATERIALITY. Although these creations are thought to be often manifest to the eye, and are typified in clouds, rainbows, lightnings, thunder, and a thousand varying phenomena on the earth connected with the exhibition of light and shade, they are also clothed with the power of INVISIBILITY. Their materiality as phenomena of the heavens is changed in a moment to spirituality. The Indian mythology could not exist without this theory. The Great Spirit is supposed to inhabit the heavens, and to walk "on the wings of the wind." Nobody can hear an Indian Meda, Prophet, or Jossikeed speak on the great phenomena around him, without perceiving this. And the impression of his notions of spiritual existence becomes absolute when we see him kneel down and lift up his voice in prayer. NOSA GEHIGONG ABEYUN SHOWAINIMEGOYUN. My Father in heaven dwelling, take pity on us. This is not addressed to the father of a lodge, but to the Father of Light.

The participal form of the verb ABI, to abide, namely, ABIYUN, abiding, is the equivalent term for "who art" in the Lord's prayer.

Momo is the verb to take, as contra-distinguished from odaupin: it signifies the taking by unseen or spiritual hands, and hence, perhaps, the word moneto, a spirit or god. Neither of these words appears, however, to embrace roots implying existence, or disconnected from the materiality of human life. The vocabulary furnishes another word, when it becomes necessary, it would seem, for the speaker to drop the region of passion, (where his expressions are perpetually without a primary or auxiliary verb,) and to describe the immaterial creation, or boundaries of space. For this, the terms in use are drawn from a verb whose trinal root is IEAU. The vowels in this word are long, with less stress of voice on the second than the first and third, yet not reducing the sound to short e. The first is the i in pine, and the third is uniformly broad, as a in fall, and is expressed in the combinations of the language by au and aw. The latter is indeed the great particle of universal existence, as well as of possession and vitality. Is not this the case with the verb for existence in the Hebrew? Constantly speaking, as that language does, of personal emotions, without a verb to denote personal existence, and yet employing one, when the great truths of eternal existence are involved. To what extent the sense of existence is indicated in the Algonquin verb ïëäu, distinct from its operation on created bodies, we shall not in this place inquire, while it may tend to advance the study by furnishing some examples of its use.

Who is there	Wahow, Ieäu.
He who is there	Ween, ai-aud emau.
He is there	Ieäu emau.
Be still	Pizaun, Ieäun.
He is	Ke dïëäu.
I am	Ieäu.

The whole conjugation of this verb may be exhibited, as it is employed by the Chippewas.

IEAU, TO BE, (V. A.)—INDICATIVE MOOD.

1. *Present Tense.*

Singular—1.	Nindiaŭ	I am, do, have.
2.	Keediau	Thou art, dost, hast.
3.	Iau	He or she is.
Plural—1.	Keediau-min	We are, (including the person spoken to.)
	Nindiau-min	We are, (excluding the person spoken to.)
2.	Keediau-m	Ye are.
3.	Iau-wug	They are.

2. *Imperfect Tense.*

Singular—1.	Ningeeiau-bun	I was, did, had.
2.	Keegeeiau-bun	Thou wast, &c.
3.	Keeiau-bun	He or she was.

Plural—1. Keegeeiau-min . . . . We were. (in.)
Ningeeiau-min . . . . We were. (ex.)
2. Keegeeiau-m . . . . . Ye were.
3. Keeiau-wug . . . . . They were.

3. *Perfect and Pluperfect.*

Singular—1. Ningeeiau-naubun . . . I HAVE been or HAD been.
2. Keegeeiau-naubun . . . Thou hast been, &c.
3. Keeiau-bun . . . . . He or she hath, or has been.
Plural—1. Keegeeiau-minaubun . . We have been (in.)
Ningeeiau-minaubun . . We have been (ex.)
2. Keegeeiaum-waubun . . Ye have been.
3. Keeiau-buneeg . . . . They have been.

4. *First Future.*

Singular—1. Ninguhiau . . . . . I shall or will be.
2. Keeguhiau . . . . . Thou shalt or wilt be.
3. Tahiau . . . . . He or she shall or will be.
Plural—1. Keeguhiau-min . . . . We shall or will be (in.)
Ninguhiau-min . . . . We shall or will be (ex.)
2. Keeguhiau-m . . . . . Ye shall or will be.
3. Tahiau-wug . . . . . They shall or will be.

5. *Second Future.*

Singular—1. Ninguhgee iau naubun . I shall have been.
2. Keeguhgee iau-naubun . Thou wilt have been.
3. Tahgee iau-bun . . . . He or she will have been.
Plural—1. Keeguhgee iau-minaubun We shall have been (in.)
Ninguhgee iau-minaubun We shall have been (ex.)
2. Keguhgee iaum-waubun . Ye or you will have been.
3. Tahgeeiau-buneeg . . . They will have been.

INTERROGATIVE MOOD.

(I introduce this mood because I find a peculiar termination for it, in the inflection NUH.)

1. *Present Tense.*

Singular—1. Nindiau-nuh . . . . . Am I?
2. Keediau-nuh . . . . . Art thou?
3. Iau-nuh . . . . . Is he, or she?
Plural—1. Keediau-minuh . . . . Are we? (in.)
Neediau-minuh . . . . Are we? (ex.)
2. Keediau-m-nuh . . . . Are ye, or you?
3. Iauwug-nuh . . . . . Are they?

2. *Imperfect Tense.*

Singular—1.	Neendiaun-aubunuh . .	Was I?
2.	Keediaun-aubunuh . . .	Wast thou?
3.	Iau-bunuh	Was he, or she?
Plural—1.	Keediau-minaubunuh . .	Were we? (in.)
	Neendiau-mimaubunuh .	Were we? (ex.)
2.	Keediau-waubunuh . .	Were ye?
3.	Iaubuneeg-nuh	Were they?

3. *Perfect and Pluperfect Tenses.*

Singular—1.	Ningeeiau-naubunuh . .	Have, or had I been?
2.	Keegeeiau-naubunuh . .	Hast thou been?
3.	Keeiau-bunuh	Has, or had he, or she been?
Plural—1.	Keegeeiau-minaubunuh .	Have we been (in.) or had?
	Ningeeiau-minaubunuh .	Have we been (ex.) or had?
2.	Keegeeiaum-waubunuh .	Have or had ye been?
3.	Keeiau-buneegënuh . .	Have they been?

4. *First Future Tense.*

Singular—1.	Ninguhiau-nuh	Shall or will I be?
2.	Keeguhiau-nuh	Wilt or shalt thou be?
3.	Tahiau-nuh	Shall, or will he or she be?
Plural—1.	Keehiau-minuh	Shall or will we be? (in.)
	Ninguhiau-minuh . . .	Shall or will we be? (ex.)
2.	Keeguhiaum-nuh . . .	Shall or will ye or you be?
3.	Tahiau-wugnuh	Shall or will they be?

5. *Second Future Tense.*

Singular—1.	Ninguhgeeiau-naubunuh .	Shall I have been?
2.	Keeguhgeeiau-naubunuh .	Wilt thou have been?
3.	Tahgeeiau-bunuh . . .	Will he or she have been?
Plural—1.	Keeguhgeeiau-minaubunuh	Shall or will we have been? (in.)
	Ninguhgeeiau-minaubunuh	Shall or will we have been? (ex.)
2.	Keeguhgeeiaum-waubunuh	Will ye have been?
3.	Tahgeeiau-buneegënuh .	Will they have been?

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Singular—1.	Ningudiau-binuh . . .	Let me be.
2.	Iaun-binuh	Be thou, or do thou be.
3.	Tahiau-binuh	Let him or her be.

Plural—1.	Iaudau-binuh	Let us be. (in.)
	Ninguh iamin-binuh	Let us be. (ex.)
2.	Iauyuek-binuh	Be ye, or do ye be.
3.	Tahiauwug-binuh	Let them be.

Potential Mood.

1. *Present Tense.*

Singular—1.	Nindau-iau	I may, or can be.
2.	Keedau-iau	Thou mayest, or canst be.
3.	Tahiau	He or she may, or can be.
Plural—1.	Keedau-iaumin	We may or can be. (in.)
	Nindau-iaumin	We may or can be. (ex.)
2.	Keedau iau-m	Ye or you may or can be.
3.	Tahiau-wug	They may or can be.

2. *Imperfect Tense.*

Singular—1.	Nindauiau, koossämau	I might, could, would, or should be.
2.	Keedauiau, koossämau	Thou mightst, couldst, wouldst, or
3.	Tahiau, koossämau	He or she might,&c. be. [shouldst be.
Plural—1.	Keedauiau-min-koossämau . . .	We might, &c. be. (in.)
	Neendauiau-min-koossämau . . .	We might, &c. be. (ex.)
2.	Keedauiaum, koossämau	Ye might, &c. be.
3.	Tahiau-wug, koossämau	They might, &c. be.

3. *Perfect and Pluperfect Tenses.*

Singular—1.	Nindaugee-iaubun, koossamau . .	I may, can, might, &c. have been.
2.	Keedahgee-iaunaubun, koossamau .	Thou mayest, canst, &c. have been.
3.	Tahgee-iaubun, koossamau . . .	He or she may, &c. have been.
Plural—1.	Keedaugeeiauminaubun, koossamau	We may, &c. have been. (in.)
	Nindaugeeiauminawbun, koossamau	We may, &c. have been. (ex.)
2.	Keedaugeeiaum-waubun, koossamau	Ye may, &c. have been.
3.	Tahgeeiaubuneeg, kossamau . . .	They may, &c. have been.

Subjunctive Mood.

1. *Present Tense.*

Singular—1.	Kishpin iau-yaun	If I be.
2.	Kishpin iau-yun	If thou be.
3.	Kishpin iaud	If he or she be.

Plural. — 1. Kishpin iau-yun (in.) . . . . . If we be.
Kishpin iau-yong (ex.) . . . . . If we be.
2. Kishpin iau-yaig . . . . . If ye or you be.
3. Kishpin iau waud . . . . . If they be.

2. *Imperfect Tense.*

Singular.—1. Kishpin we iau-yaun . . . . . If I were.
2. Kishpin we iau-yun . . . . . If thou wert.
3. Kishpin we iaud . . . . . If he or she were.
Plural. — 1. Kishpin we iauyung . . . . . If we were.
Kishpin we iau yaung . . . . . If we were.
2. Kishpin we iau yaig . . . . . If ye or you were.
3. Kishpin we iau waud . . . . . If they were.

(The three following tenses of this mood are conjugated, because I find terminations of the verb expressing them different from the like tenses of the Indicative.)

3. *Perfect Tense and Pluperfect.*

HAVE OR HAD.

Singular.—1. Kishpin iauyaumbaun . . . . . If I have been.
2. Kishpin iauyumbun . . . . . If thou hast been.
3. Kishpin iaupun . . . . . If he or she hath or has been.
Plural. — 1. Kishpin iauyung-ëbun . . . . . If we have been.
Kishpin iauyaung-ëbun . . . . If we have been.
2. Kishpin iau-yaig-ëbun . . . . . If ye or you have been.
3. Kishpin iau-waupun . . . . . If they have been.

4. *First Future.*

SHALL OR WILL.

Singular.—1. Kishpin we iau yaun baun . . . If I shall or will be.
2. Kishpin we iau yun bun . . . . If thou shalt or wilt be.
3. Kishpin we iau pun . . . . . If he or she shall or will be.
Plural. — 1. Kishpin we iau yung ëbun . . . If we shall or will be (in.)
Kishpin we iau yaung ebun . . . If we shall or will be (ex.)
2. Kishpin we iau yaig ebun . . . If ye or you shall or will be.
3. Kishpin we iau waupun . . . . If they shall or will be.

5. *Second Future Tense.*

SHALL OR WILL HAVE BEEN.

Singular.—1. Kishpin keeiau yaumbaun . . . If I shall have been.
2. Kishpin keeiau yumbun . . . . If thou wilt have been.
3. Kishpin keeiau-pun . . . . . If he will have been.

Plural. — 1. Kishpin keeiau yung ĕbun . . . If we shall have been (in.)
Kishpin keeiau yaung ĕbun . . . . . If we shall have been (ex.)
2. Kishpin keeiau yaig ebun . . . . . If ye or you will have been.
3. Kishpin keeiau-waupun . . . . If they will have been.

Infinitive Mood.

Present T.—Iau . . . . . To be.
Perfect T.—Iaubun . . . . . To have been.

Participles.

Present T.—Iaung . . . . . Being.
Perfect T.—Iaung ĕbun . . . Been.
Compound Perfect.—Keeiaung-ebun . . Having been.[1]

ĂTTÄ, to be, (v. i.)

Indicative Mood.

Pres. T.—Atta . . . . . It is.
Im. T.—Atta-bun . . . . . It was.
Perf. T.—Kee atta-bun . . . . It has been.
F. F. T.—Tah atta . . . . . It shall or will be.
S. F. T.—Tahgee atta-wun. . . It shall or will have been.
Pres. T.—Atta-wun . . . . . They are.
Im. T.—Atta-buneen . . . . They were.
Per. T.—Kee atta buneen. . . They have been.
F. F. T.—Tah atta wun . . . They shall or will be.
S. F. T.—Tahgee atta bun een . They shall or will have been.

Interrogative Mood.

Pres. T.—Atta-nuh . . . . . Is it?
Im. T.—Kee-atta-nuh . . . . Was it?
Per. T.—Kee-atta-bunuh . . . Has it been?
F. F. T.—Tah-atta-nuh . . . . Shall or will it be?
S. F. T.—Tahgee atta-bunuh . . Shall or will it have been?
Pres. T.—Atta wunuh . . . . Are they?
Im. T.—Kee atta buneenuh . . Were they?
Per. T.—Kee atta buneenuh . . Have they been?
F. F. T.—Tah atta wunuh. . . Shall or will they be?
S. F. T.—Tahgee atta bun eenuh Shall or will they have been?

[1] This verb was furnished to the pages of the North American Review, twenty-five years ago.

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Sing.—Poan etoan . . . . Let it be.
Plu.—Poan etoan inieu. . . Let them be.

POTENTIAL MOOD.—*Singular.*

Present T.—Tah atta koosämau . . . It may be.
Perfect T.—Tahgee atta koosämau . . It may have been.

Plural.

Present T.—Tah atta-wun koosamau .. They may be.
Perfect T.—Tahgee atta-wun koossamau They may have been.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Sing.—Pres. T.—Kishpin attaig . . . If it be.
Imper. T.—Kishpin attaig-ebun . If it was.
Perf. T.—Kishpin kee attaig-ebun If it has been.
F. F. T.—Kishpin wee attaig. . If it shall be.
S. F. T.—Kishpin kee attaig-ebun If it shall have been.

This conjugation is rendered plural by INIEU, them, after each of the above.

INFINITIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.—Atta . . . . . To be.
Perfect Tense.—Attabun . . . . . To have been.

PARTICIPLES.

Attaig . . . . . Being.
Attaig ebun . . . . . Been.

"And God said, Let there be light, and there was light." This sublime passage is rendered thus: Appe dush, geezhä, Monedo, aikedood, tah wassai-yau! ke wi-iaussai, dush! Literally, And then, merciful Spirit, he said, Let light be, and light was.

Was-sai-au, is the substantive form of light, or shining light, which is converted to a substantive verb indicative by the particle au, and is changed back from the indicative to the imperative by the prefixed but independent particle, tah. Intransitive verbs which are thus compounded, do not require this particle, however, when placed in the imperative mood, which is made simply by the inflection ai. Thus, puk-et-ai, to strike; che-mai, to paddle; paush-kiz-zeg-ai, to fire; the term iausai is changed from the imperative to the indicative by a duplication of the initial vowel after w. Thus ieau-sai, living light or created light, is rendered wi-iea-si, with the particle ke (which is not here a pronoun,) for past tense, and dush, a tensal parallel for time; thus completing the perfect sense of the term, "light was."

These conclusions seem to be inevitable, from an analysis of the terms, and are suggested to philologists with deference.

IV. REMARKS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHEROKEE. IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS TRANSMITTED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

BY REV. S. A. WORCESTER.

CHEROKEE LANGUAGE.

THE following answers to inquiries respecting the Cherokee language are written in much haste, yet have cost much time and labor. There are many blots and erasures, but I cannot take time to transcribe. Many blots are owing to my being in the habit of using the Cherokee character, and so beginning to write words in that character before I was aware.

I have used Pickering's Alphabet, modified to suit the language.

Sounds — Vowels . . a as A in FATHER — short as A in RIVAL.
" " e " A " HATE — short as E in MET.
" " i " I " PIQUE — short as I in PIT.
" " o " O " NOTE, but approaching to AW in LAW.
" " u " OO " MOON — short as U in PULL.
" " v " U " BUT, nasalized, much as if followed by the French nasal n.
" *Consonants* . g between hard G and K.
" " d " " D " T.

Other consonants as in English: Where I have used t before l, and before or after s, in many cases d would be more accurate; but few English ears can make the distinction. The same is true respecting k in the same circumstances. G in most instances would be more accurate. No doubt I have made errors in other cases by using k or t for g or d, and vice versa, for my ear does not distinguish. Other errors, no doubt, one well versed in the language would detect. I have done as well as I could.

I have numbered my answers to particular questions under each general question, as if the general question were marked (1), and the particular questions (2), (3), &c. It will be necessary to count, to see to, which particular each answer relates.

My principal Cherokee assistant has been the Rev. Stephen Foreman.

Two points before a syllable, below the line, : indicate that the vowel sound of that syllable is scarcely to be heard.

Aspirates I have sometimes expressed by the letter h, and sometimes by an ' before an aspirated consonant.

QUESTION 315. I am not acquainted with the most ancient languages, except a little only with the Hebrew. The principles of the Cherokee correspond more with that than with modern European languages, or with Greek and Latin. Yet the correspondence is slight, scarcely, perhaps, extending beyond the fact, that the grammatical forms of verbs are made in part by PRONOMINAL PREFIXES. The changes of termination have no reference to person, subject, or object. It is manifestly NOT derived from the Hebrew, MEJUDIEE.

316. (1.) Yes, especially verbs. (2.) Not very. (3.) If by the root of a word be understood those syllables which are not changed by inflection, there are in Cherokee verbs, rarely three, sometimes two, often one, SOMETIMES NONE. Whoever can tell what is the root of some Cherokee verbs, can do more than I. (4.) No.

317. (2.) Verbs are not compounded with substantives. (3, 4, 5.) It is not a coalescence of distinct WORDS, but the expression of ideas by syllables, or by consonants constituting a part of the verb, which in other languages are expressed by separate words. (6.) See 322.

318. (1.) Pronouns, prepositions, and adverbs, that is THE FORCE of such. (2.) Yes. The longest word I have found is, Wi-ni-do-di-ge-gi-na-li-sko-to-ta-no-ne-li-di-se-sti. Syllables 17. Translation — "They will by that time have nearly done granting [favors] from a distance to thee and to me."

ANALYSIS.

WI conveys the idea of distance.

NI by that time.

DO denotes that the favors are conferred on each person separately, not both collectively.

DI plurality of things granted.

GE plurality and third person of agents — they.

GI-NA duality and second person of recipients — THEE AND ME.

LI-SKO-TO, radical.

TA is DI in the simplest form of the verb, variously inflected in different tenses and relations.

NO, completion — DONE granting.

NE, sign of the dative — TO or FOR.

LI-DI, NEARLY.

SE-STI, sign of future tense.

I will not vouch for the entire accuracy of this analysis. It is an approximation — pretty close, I believe.

319. (2.) Nouns signifying persons have inflections denoting person and number. (3.) Differently in different persons, but by changes in prefixes. (4.) Yes, in first and second persons. (5.) Inclusive and exclusive in first and second persons. (6.) Changes in initials to denote personality.

320. (1.) There are a few nouns, such as man, boy, which are in their nature masculine; and woman, girl, &c., feminine. And there are adjectives signifying male and female. Otherwise there is no distinction of gender. None by inflections. (2.) Person and number. (3.) No. (5.) Verbs have inflections which denote whether the OBJECT be animate or inanimate.

321. (1.) Personal nouns change to denote number and person. Other substantives have no inflection. (2.) No. (3.) I think not. (4.) Either. The noun oftener precedes; but that word is placed first which is most prominent in the mind of the speaker. If there is emphasis on the verb, it naturally takes the first place. (5.) FOOD GIVE ME, usually, unless the verb has emphasis. But either is good. (6.) Nouns may perhaps be said to become verbs by prefixing a verbal initial, as So-qui-li, a horse. Tai-so-qui-li, I am a horse. [See 322. (9.)] Some adjectives have tenses. U-tsa-ta, there is much; u-tsa-to-gi, there was much; u-tsa-te-sti, there will be much.

322. (1.) An immense field. (2.) No. (3.) By changes in the initial syllables. (4.) Best seen in the specimens of conjugation. (5.) How many modes I cannot tell, nor decide what forms should be called modes, and what regarded as new derivative verbs. Tenses I count 18. Voices, active and passive; and, if the reciprocal or mutual form is to be regarded as another voice, middle. Toi-ge-yu, I love him; V-gi-ge-yu, I am loved; A-qua-da-ge-yu, I love myself; de-gi-na-da-ge-yu, thou and I love each other.

(6.) Different forms are used in affirmation and negation. In the latter the syllable yi, or the letter y, is prefixed.

(7.) There is a form which is used in most cases where the infinitive is used in other languages, but it has number and person. There is also a form more strictly infinitive, but it seldom occurs.

(8.) Yes.

(9.) No; except as in 321 (6): and, indeed, I think this can hardly be called transforming the nouns into verbs. It is simply denoting person and number by the same prefixes which are attached to verbs. Tsi-so-qui-li, *I a horse*, rather than I *am* a horse.

(10.) Ha-ne-ga, he speaks, Ka-ne-gi, speaker. A-li-ski-ha, he dances, a-li-ski-ski, a dancer. A-tlo-'yi-ha, he cries, A-tlo-'yi-hi, a crier.

(11.) To conjugate even one would require, perhaps, months of constant study, and make a volume. I will give a few specimens.

TENSES.

Ga-lo-i-ha	I am tying [an inanimate thing].
Ga-lo-i-ho-i	I tie [sometimes].
Ga-lo-i-ho-gi	I was tying.
Ga-lo-i-he-i	I was tying.
Ga-lo-i-he-sti	I shall be tying.
Ga-lo-tsa	I have [just] tied.
V-ga-lo-tsa	(nearly the same.)
A-qua-lo-lo	I have tied [at some former time].
A-qua-lo-lo-i	I have sometimes tied.
A-qua-lo-lo-gi . . . }	I tied.
A-qua-lo-le-i . . . . }	
A-qua-lo-le-sti . . .	I shall have tied.
Da-ga-lo-li	I shall or will tie.
Di-ga-lo-li-so-i . . .	I am sometimes expecting to tie.
Da-ga-lo-li-se-ge . . . }	I was expecting to tie [quasi—I was—will tie.]
Di-ga-lo-li-se-i . . . }	
Di-ga-lo-li-se-sti . . .	I shall be expecting to tie.
A-qua-lo-li-di. . . .	I am about to tie, nearly ready to tie.
A-qua-lo-li-di-so-i . .	I am [sometimes] about to tie.
A-qua-lo-li-di-so-gi . . }	I was about to tie.
A-qua-lo-li-di-se-i . . }	
A-qua-lo-li-di-se-sti . .	I shall be about to tie.
A-qua-lo-li-de-na . .	I am on the point of tying.

In those past tenses which have two forms, the first denotes that the speaker was a personal witness of what he relates, and the second that he is relating what he has learned from others. Of course, the second form can be used in the first person only in relation to acts done unconsciously.

Each of these tenses is declined throughout all persons and numbers.

CHEROKEE VERBS.

Persons and Numbers.

Ga-lo-i-ha	I am tying [it].
Ha-lo-i-ha	Thou art tying [it].
Ga-'lo-i-ha	He is tying [it].
[1] Ka-lo-i-ha	He is tying [it].

[1] Two forms will be observed where the subject of the verb is of the third person. The second of these forms implies the presence of the person or persons spoken of, and an intention on the part of the speaker that he or they shall hear what is said of them.

I-na-lo-i-ha . . . . . Thou and I are tying [it].
O-sta-lo-i-ha . . . . . He and I are tying "
Sta-lo-i-ha . . . . . You two are tying "
I-da-lo-i-ha . . . . . Ye and I are tying "
O-tsa-lo-i-ha . . . . . They and I are tying "
I-tsa-lo-i-ha . . . . . Ye (more than two) are tying [it].
A-na-lo-i-ha . . . . . They are tying [it].
Da-na-lo-i-ha . . . . . They are tying [it].
De-ga-lo-i-ha . . . . . I am tying [them, inanimate].
De-ha-lo-i-ha . . . . . Thou art tying [them, inanimate].
De-ga-'lo-i-ha . . . . . He is tying " "
De-ka-'lo-i-ha . . . . . He is tying " "
De-na-lo-i-ha . . . . . Thou and I are tying [them, inanimate].
Do-sta-lo-i-ha . . . . . He and I are tying " "
De-sta-lo-i-ha . . . . . Ye two are tying " "
De-da-lo-i-ha . . . . . Ye and I are tying " "
Do-tsa-lo-i-ha . . . . . They and I are tying " "
De-tsa-lo-i-ha . . . . . Ye (more than two) are tying [them, inan.]
Da-na-lo-i-ha. . . . . They are tying [them, inan.]
[1] De-da-na-lo-i-ha . . . . . They are tying "
Squa-lo-i-ha . . . . . Thou art tying me.
A-qua lo-i-ha . . . . . He is tying me.
Ta-qua lo-i-ha . . . . . He is tying me.
Ski-na lo-i-ha . . . . . Ye two are tying me.
Ski-ya lo-i-ha . . . . . Ye [more than two] are tying me.
Gǫ-qua lo-i-ha . . . . . They are tying me.
Kǫ-qua lo-i-ha . . . . . They are tying me.
Go-ya-lo-i-ha . . . . . I am tying thee.
Tsa lo-i-ha . . . . . He is tying thee.
[2] Tǫ-tsa lo-i-ha . . . . . He is tying thee.
Sto-ya lo-i-ha . . . . . We two are tying thee.
I-tso-ya lo-i-ha . . . . . We are tying thee.
Ge-tsa lo-i-ha . . . . . They are tying thee.
[2] Ke-tsa lo-i-ha . . . . . They are tying thee.
Tsi-ya-lo-i-ha . . . . . I am tying him.
[3] Ka-lo-i-ha . . . . . I am tying him.

[1] See note on p. 446.
[2] Implying that the person or persons tying are to hear.
[3] Implying that the person or persons tied are to hear.

Ga-lo-i-ha	He is tying him.
[1] Tu-lo-i-ha	
[2] Ta-gu-lo-i-ha or to-lo-i-ha . .	
E-na-lo-i-ha	Thou and I are tying him.
[2] Ti-na-lo-i-ha	
O-sta-lo-i-ha	He and I are tying him.
[2] To-sta-lo-i-ha	
E-sta lo-i-ha	You two are tying him.
[2] Ti-sta lo-i-ha	
E-da lo-i-ha	Ye and I are tying him.
[2] Ti-da lo-i-ha	
O-tsa lo-i-ha	They and I are tying him.
[2] To-tsa lo-i-ha	
E-tsa lo-i-ha	Ye are tying him.
[2] Ti-tsa lo-i-ha	
A-na lo-i-ha	They are tying him.
[3] Go-wa lo-i-ha	
[1] Kọ-wa lo-i-ha	
[1] Ta-gu-na-lo-i-ka or to-na-lo-i-ha	

Gi-na-lo-i-ha . .	de-gi-na-lo-i-ha . .	He is tying him and me.
[1] Ti-gi-na-lo-i-ha .	de-ti-gi-na-lo-i-ha .	
Ge-gi-na-lo-i-ha .	de-ge-gi-na-lo-i-ha	They are tying him and me.
[1] Ke-gi-na-lo-i-ha .	de-ke-gi-na-lo-i-ha	

In these just above, and in all that follow, the left hand form implies that the persons tied are tied *together;* the right hand form, that each is tied *separately.*

Skina-w-i-ha . .	de-ski-na-w-i-ha .	Thou art tying him and me.
O-gi-na-w-i-ha .	de-o-gi-na-w-i-ha .	He is tying him and me.
	or do-gi-na-w-i-ha .	
[1] To-gi-na-w-i-ha .	de-to-gi-na-w-i-ha .	
Ski-na-w-i-ha . .	de-ski-na-w-i-ha .	Ye two are tying him and me.
Ski-ya-w-i-ha . .	de-ski-ya-w-i-ha .	Ye are tying him and me.
Go-gi-na-w-i-ha .	de-go-gi-na-w-i-ha .	They are tying him and me.
[1] Ko-gi-na-w-i-ha .	[1] de-ko-gi-na-w-i-ha .	
Sto-ya-lo-i-ha . .	de-sto-ya-lo-i-ha .	I am tying you two.
Sta-lo-i-ha . . .	de-sta-lo-i-ha . .	He is tying you two.
[1] Ti-sta-lo-i-ha . .	de-ti-sta-lo-i-ha . .	

[1] See note (2), p. 447. [2] See note (3), p. 447.

[3] Go-wa-lo-i-ha implies that the person tied is the leading subject of discourse, and might be rendered: he is being tied by them. Also, the next form.

Sto-ya-lo-i-ha . .	de-sto-ya-lo-i-ha .	He and I are tying you two.
I-tso-ya-lo-i-ha .	de-tso-ya-lo-i-ha .	They and I are tying you two.
Ge-sta-lo-i-ha . .	de-ge-sta-lo-i-ha .	They are tying you two.
[1] Ke-sta-lo-i-ha . .	de-ke-sta-lo-i-ha .	
I-ga-lo-i-ha . . .	de-ga-lo-i-ha . .	He is tying you (plural) and me.
[1] Ti-ga-lo-i-ha . .	de-ti-ga-lo-i-ha . .	
Ge-ga-lo-i-ha . .	de-ge-ga-lo-i-ha .	They are tying you and me.
[1] Ke-ga-lo-i-ha . .	de-ke-ga-lo-i-ha .	
Ski-ya-lo-i-ha . .	de-ski-ya-lo-i-ha .	Thou art tying them and me.
O-ga-lo-i-ha . .	de-o-ga-lo-i-ha . .	He is tying them and me.
[1] To-ga-lo-i-ha . .	de-to-ga-lo-i-ha. .	
Ski-ya-lo-i-ha . .	de-ski-ya-lo-i-ha .	Ye (two or more) are tying them and me.
Go-ga-lo-i-ha . .	de-go-ga-lo-i-ha .	They are tying them and me.
[1] Ko-ga-lo-i-ha . .	de-ko-ga-lo-i-ha .	
I-tso-ya-lo-i-ha .	de-tso-ya-lo-i-ha .	I am tying you (more than two.)
I-tsa-lo-i-ha . .	de-tsa-lo-i-ha . .	He is tying you.
[1] Ti-tsa-lo-i-ha . .	de-ti-tsa-lo-i-ha .	
I-tso-ya-lo-i-ha .	de-tso-ya-lo-i-ha .	We (two or more) are tying you.
Ge-tsa-lo-i-ha . .	de-ge-tsa-lo-i-ha .	They are tying you.
[1] Ke-tsa-lo-i-ha . .	de-ke-tsa-lo-i-ha .	
Ga-tsi-ya-lo-i-ha .	de-ga-tsi-ya-lo-i-ha.	I am tying them.
[2] Ka-tsa-lo-i-ha . .	de-ka-tsa-lo-i-ha .	
Ge-hi-ya-lo-i-ha .	de-ge-hi-ya-lo-i-ha.	Thou art tying them.
Or Ki-ya-lo-i-ha .	or de-ki-ya-lo-i-ha.	
[2] Ge-ta-lo-i-ha . .	de-ge-ta-lo-i-ha .	
De-ga-lo-i-ha . .	de-ga-lo-i-ha . .	He is tying them.
[1] De-ka-lo-i-ha . .	de-ka-lo-i-ha . .	
[2] Du-na-lo-i-ha . .	de-dsi-na-lo-i-ha .	
Ge-na-lo-i-ha . .	de-ge-na-lo-i-ha .	Thou and I are tying them.
[2] Ke-na-lo-i-ha . .	de-ke-na-lo-i-ha .	
Go-sta-lo-i-ha . .	de-go-sta-lo-i-ha .	He and I are tying them.
[2] Ko-sta-lo-i-ha . .	de-ko-sta-lo-i-ha .	
Ge-sta-lo-i-ha . .	de-ge-sta-lo-i-ha .	Ye two are tying them.
[2] Ke-sta-lo-i-ha . .	de-ke-sta-lo-i-ha .	
Ge-da-lo-i-ha . .	de-ge-da-lo-i-ha .	Ye and I are tying them.
[2] Ke-da-lo-i-ha . .	de-ke-da-lo-i-ha .	
Go-tsa-lo-i-ha . .	de-go-tsa-lo-i-ha .	They and I are tying them.
[2] Ko-tsa-lo-i-ha . .	de-ko-tsa-lo-i-ha .	

[1] See note (2) p. 447.

[2] See note (3) p. 447.

Ge-tsa-lo-i-ha . .	de-ge-tsa-lo-i-ha .	Ye.
[2] Ke-tsa-lo-i-ha . .	de-ke-tsa-lo-i-ha .	
Da-na-lo-i-ha . .	de-a-na-lo-i-ha . .	They are tying them.
Go-wa-na-lo-i-ha .	de-go-wa-na-lo-i-ha	
[2 3] Ko-wa-na-lo-i-ha .	de-ko-wa-na-lo-i-ha	
De-da-na-lo-i-ha .	de-da-na-lo-i-ha .	

MODIFICATIONS BY PREFIXES.

The syllables ni, yi, wi, di, dropping or changing the vowel according to circumstances, or two or three of them together, may be prefixed to the verb, modifying its meaning. And the verb thus modified is varied through numbers, persons, and tenses, like the simple form.

Ga-w-i-ha	I am tying.
Ni-ga-lo-i-ha.	I am in the mean time tying.
Yi-ga-lo-i-ha.	If I be tying.
Ka-yi-ga-lo-i-ha	I am not tying.
Wi-ga-lo-i-ha	I am tying on the other side.
Di-ga-lo-i-ha.	I am tying on this side.
Yi-ni-ga-lo-i-ha	Combining the preceding. These prefixes PRECEDE the personal prefixes.
Wi-ni-ga-lo-i-ha.	
Yi-ni-di-ga-lo-i-ha	
Yi-wi-ni-ga-lo-i-ha	

Modifications by changes in termination, may perhaps be termed "Conjugations."

Ga-lo-i-ha	I am tying.
Ga-lo-sti-ha	I am tying with, (as a string, &c.)
Tsi-ya-lo-e-ha	I am tying for him.
Ga-lo-le-ga-ha	I am going to tie. I go and tie.
Ga-lo-li-hi-ha	I am coming to tie. I come and tie.
Ga-lo-li-do-ha.	I go about tying, (in various places.)
Ga-lo-li-lo-a	I tie (am tying) over and over again.
Ga-lo-i-si-ha	I tie it anew.
Ga-lo-o-ho-ska	I am completing the tying.

Each of these forms is conjugated regularly through number, person, mode and tense.

Passive Voice.

V-qua-lo-i-ha	I am being tied.
E-tsa-lo-i-ha	Thou art.
A-ga-lo-i-ha	He is, &c.

Thus through number, person, mode and tense.

---

[3] See note (3), p. 448.

Reciprocal Forms. (Middle Voice.)

[A-qua-so] (myself) Ga-da-lo-i-ha I am tying myself.
De-na-da-lo-i-ha . . . . . Thou and I are tying each other, &c. &c.

The same form is used to denote the act of tying without specifying the object—Ga-da-lo-i-ha, I am tying [something or other.]

IMPERATIVE MODE.

Ga-lo-tsa or wi-ga-lo-tsa, let me tie; ha-lo-tsa, tie [thou], &c. &c.
Ga-lo-lo-ha, let me tie; ha-lo-lo-ha, tie [thou] [at some future time.]

SUBJUNCTIVE MODE.

Most of the indicative forms, perhaps all, except those ending in e-sti, become subjunctive by prefixing yi [with variations] and throwing back the principal accent. Those in e-sti by throwing back the accent simply.

Ga-lo-i-ha, I tie; yi-ga-lo-i-ha, if I tie.
Ga-lo-i-he-sti, I shall be tying.
Ga-lo-i-he-sti, If, or when I shall tie.

POTENTIAL MODE.

Yi-ga-lo-tsa, I can tie.
Go-qua-lo-sti, I can tie. A shade of difference in meaning.
Another Mode — A-qua-lo-sti. I am to tie — It belongs to me to tie.

Verb with Relative Pronoun.

The syllable tsi, [modified by circumstances,] is prefixed to verbs in the indicative mode, with the power of a relative pronoun.

Ga-lo-i-ha, I am tying; a-yo, I; tsi-ga-lo-i-ha, who am tying.

Verbal Nouns.

The Agent. Ga-lo-i-hi, I a tier; ga-lo-i-hi, a tier; u-lo-lo-hi, one who has tied, &c.
The Object. Ka-lo-lo-hi, what has been tied.
Ga-lo-lo-hi, what I have tied.
Ga-lo-i-to, a tied thing, &c. &c.
The Instrument. Ga-lo-sto-di, something to tie with.
The Act. Ga-lo-i-ho-i, my tying.
A-qua-lo-lo-i, my having tied, &c. &c.

Adjective Verb.

A-qua-lo-da-sa-ta, I am apt to tie.
" " " " " to-i, " " " " " [on such or such occasion.]
" " " " " to-gi, I was apt to tie.
" " " " " te-sti, I shall be apt to tie.

INFINITIVE MODE.

A-qua-lo-sti-yi, me to tie, for example.

A-qua-lo-sti-yi, utuli, he wants me to tie it.

I think there is an infinitive which lacks numbers and persons, but it is seldom used, and I cannot now recall it.

323. (1.) Not exactly so. But see on. (2.) No such variations in TERMINATION. But see. (3.) Yes. But some adjectives have personal prefixes, like those of verbs, and WITH those prefixes can only be applied to persons; or, in the third person, to animals, exclusive of insects, &c. A few plurals distinguish objects of a solid form from those of a different shape.

O-sto, good.

Go-sto, I [am] good.

Ho-sto, thou good.

Pl. A-no-sto, good, [persons, animals, or things of a sound or solid shape.]

Pl. Tso sto, good [things of other than solid shape]. (4.) No. (5.) By U-tli, more, followed, in the comparative degree, by e-ska, than. When e-ska is wanting, the superlative is understood. (6.) See (5.) No want of precision. (7.) No. (8.) Yes.

324. (2.) No relative. That relation is expressed by an inflection of the verb.

Two personal pronouns, A-yo, first person, all numbers, and ni-hi, second person, all numbers. They partake of a demonstrative signification, being used only or chiefly when emphatic; and in the third person only the demonstrative is used.

Two demonstrative, Hi-a, this or these, Na-ski-or, simply na, that or those.

Also possessive and interrogative pronouns.

(3.) No. (4.) No distinction of number. These answers, except as to gender, do not relate to pronominal prefixes.

(5.) Only in pronominal prefixes.

(6.) I do not understand this question. In our addresses to the Deity we never have *occasion* to include him with ourselves in the first person. If we say "we," of course we mean "we who are addressing Thee," and as He is not included among those who address Him, or those on whose behalf He is addressed, consequently the *exclusive* form must always be used.[1]

325. (1.) No variations for tense. The pronouns signifying self may be considered as one pronoun with all numbers and persons, distinguished by varying initial syllables. The possessive pronouns vary to denote the number and person of the possessor, and the number, and, to some extent, the person of the object possessed. Aqua-tse-li, it mine, Di-qua-tse-li, they mine, Tsi-ya-tse-li, he mine, U-tse-li, his, [one thing], Tsu-tse-li, his [things], Go-ya-tse-li, thou mine, &c.

[1] This is not so in the Algonquin. See p. 406.

Pronominal syllables of verbs, &c., both subject and object are prefixed, *never suffixed.*

326. No. The relations expressed by them in other languages are expressed, in Cherokee, by the significancy of the verb, inflections of the verb, the use of separate verbs, adverbs, &c. In the water is expressed, in some cases, by a change in the termination of the noun. A-mă′, water, A-mo-hi, in the water. By the rock, *near* the rock, Na-ü, adverb. On the tree by the verb in connexion: e. g., U-ki-la, he is perched, he stands up on something; then add the word tree, and the sense is clearly expressed. In translating from another language, however, especially scripture, the want of prepositions is an inconvenience.

327. Besides other adverbs, all such adjectives as in English would be formed into adverbs by adding ly are used also as adverbs in Cherokee; i. e., they qualify verbs as well as nouns. (3.) No such difference. In "stand up" and "lie down," up and down are implied in the meaning of the verb. "There" is expressed by a separate adverb. (4.) V-v is yes, and Tla-v-tla, Tla-kno, V-tla-kno, each is no. Tla is no, and the other syllables, at least v, add emphasis.

328. No article. Supplied by the demonstrative pronoun when necessary.

329. I know not but conjunctions are nearly as numerous as in English. *And*, a-le and hnŏ, the latter of which is used only as a suffix, like the Latin que. *Nor*, tld ă-lé and not. *Neither, nor*, would be tla-a-le tla, not and not. *But*, ā-se-hnŏ, a-se-ski-ni, a-ti-na, and others. The phrase "chronological conjunctions" I do not understand.[1]

330. I have not noticed any particular redundancy in exclamations, nor any thing transitive, or much that is anomalous in their character. Some few are peculiar to women. No difference in "lo" from the object referred to.

331. There is a verb of existence. It is used to denote simple existence, or *place* of existence, but never *mode* of existence, character, &c. We say, U-ne-la-nǫ-hi E-HA, there is a God, or U-ne-la-nǫ-hi gǫ-lǫ-la-di E-HA, God dwells in heaven. But if we would say God is this, or that, or such, we cannot use the same verb.

There is also an impersonal verb, ī-gi, used in some cases, signifying *it is* — used only in the present tense; another, also impersonal, verb, used in the past tense, ge-sǫ-gi, *it was* [so or so], and future, ge-se-sti, *it will be* [so or so]. That used in the present, and that used in the past and future tenses, seem to be of different roots.

Of the radix IAU I know nothing.

A Cherokee says, *I am sick*, in a single verb — a-gi-tlo-ga; *I am well*, simply an

[1] In the Algonquin, AP PE is a conjunction of time.

adjective—do-hi, adding the pronoun I, if necessary—do-hi a-yo, "*well I*"—*am* being implied. *I am glad,* is, I rejoice, in one word; or I feel well, verb and adverb. *I am sorry*—I feel badly. I use the word feel, here, to denote internal emotions, not sensation.

332. Tsi-sa-la-di-ha, I lift him; ϙ-gi-sá-la-di-ha, I am lifted; a-gi-sa-la-di-ha, he lifts me.

Tsi-ya-lϙ-i-ha (tsi-yϙ-ni-lϙ-i-hà), I tie him; a-qua-lo-i-ha, he ties me; ϙ-qua-lϙ-i-ha, I am tied; a-ga-lϙ-i-ha (a-gϙ-ni-ha), he is tied.

Tsi-yϙ-ni-ha, I strike him; a-quϙ-ni-ha, he strikes me; ϙ-quϙ-ni-ha, I am struck.

333. No.

334. No.—There are several verbs, such as give, bring, &c., which denote the form of the object given, &c., such as animal, round (including all things in which length, breadth, and thickness approximate to equality), long, flexible, liquid. E. g., we-sa e-ski-ká-si, give me the cat; nϙ-ya E-SKϙ-SI, give me a stone; ka-na-sta E-SKI-DI-SI, give me a rod; a-knu-wo E-SKI-Nϙ-SI, give me cloth, [this form is applied also to an animal, *when dead,*] a-md E-SKI-ᴺE-HIϙ-SI, give me water.

335. I cannot think of any such.

336. Yo-nϙ e-ha, a bear exists; tsi-yo-nϙ, I am a bear.

So-qui-li e-ha, a horse exists; tsi-so-qui-li, I am a horse.

U-ne-la-nϙ-hi e-ha, a God exists.

U-ne-la-nϙ-hi na-ski, a God [is] he.

A-qua-ne-la-nϙ-hi a-yϙ, a God [am] I.—The name of God is a verbal noun, and therefore cannot be changed into a verb by verbal prefix, having that already. In saying, *I am a God,* we use no verb, but change the name from third to first person, and add the pronoun *I. He is a God,* add the demonstrative pronoun na-ski.

337. Nothing of all this in Cherokee, unless what I have noted under 334 be analogous to it.

338. None.

339. "The verb agrees with its subject nominative in number and person," in Cherokee AS IN ENGLISH. For in English WALKS is singular, and WALK in the third person is plural, if properly considered as elements of agreement.

341. No.

342. A very few interjections.

The word o-gi-lo, my sister, denotes the mutual relation of sisters to each other, and can of course be used by women only; and v-gi-ni-li, my elder brother; v-gi-no-tli, my younger brother, with their varied forms, denote the relation of brother to brother,

and so are used by men only; while v-gi-do denotes the relation of brother and sister, and so in the mouth of a man means my sister, and in the mouth of a woman my brother.

343. Genesis, Matthew, Luke, John, Acts of the Apostles, Thessalonians, Timothy, and the Epistles of John and James, have been printed in Cherokee, with other small portions of scripture. The Baptist Mission may perhaps have recently printed one or two other whole books. In some of these, at least, I think a good degree of accuracy has been attained. The epistles, especially some of Paul's, are by no means as easy to translate as narrative.

We have endeavored to express the sense of the original in good Cherokee, rather than to translate word for word, which indeed is an impossibility, though much may be lost by attempting it.

The Cherokee word for maid does not of itself necessarily denote virginity, but requires an adjective to qualify it.

344. The language is well enough adapted to history, except the awkwardness with which alone many foreign names can be imitated.

I do not know that there was any thing in the language which could well be termed poetry, previously to the translation and composition of Christian hymns. In these there is no rhyme, but measure only. Rhyme cannot be appreciated. But the language is well adapted to lyric compositions; and it is vastly easier to sing Cherokee words so as to be understood, than English. In regard to most branches of LITERATURE, as distinct from SCIENCE, I suppose there would be no great difficulty. Many branches of science would introduce many new terms, which would create a difficulty. Yet the Cherokees have a pretty good knack at coining names out of the verbs of their own language, making verbal nouns expressive of the use or of some prominent attribute of the thing to be named. Names of things, too, may be borrowed from other languages, though it is in fact done only to a very limited extent.

Our Father	O-gi-do-da.
Who art in heaven . . .	ga-lo-la-di-e-hi.
Hallowed	ga-lo-quo-di-yu.
Be	ge-se-sti.
Thy name	de-tsa-do-v-i.
Thy kingdom	tsa-go-wi-yu-hi-ge-so.
Come [make its appearance]	wi-ga-na-nu-gs-i.
Thy will	ha-da-no-te-sko.
Be done [take place] . . .	wi-ni-gi-li-sta.
[Here] on earth	a-hni e-lo-hi.
As it is done	na-ski-ya tsi-ni-ga-li-sti.

In heaven	ga-lo-la-di.
Our food	o-ga-li-sta-yo-di.
Daily	ni-da-do-da-qui-so.
Give to us	ski-v-si.
This day	go-hi-i-ga.
Forgive us	di-ge-ski-v-si-quo.
Our debts	de-ski-dw-go-i.
As we forgive	na-ski-ya-tsi-di-ga-yo-tsi-ne-ho.
Our debtors	tso-tsi-du-gi.
And do not	a-le-tle-sti.
Lead us into	wi-di-ski-ya-di-no-sta-no.
Temptation	u-da-le-na-sti-yi.
But deliver us from	ski-y-da-ḷe-gi-ske-ṣti-quo-shi-ni.
Evil	w-yo-ge-so-i.

I ought not to have used hyphens, as it makes the Cherokee seem to take much more room than fairly belongs to it. In printing in the Cherokee character, the Cherokee occupies much LESS space than the English in type of the same size; but if we used the Roman character, it would occupy much more, on account of its polysyllabic character. I doubt whether two dozen monasyllables can be found in the language.

345. (1.) Not very. (2.) See 344. (3.) There are no LABIALS except m, and that appears to be modern, w having been formerly used instead. The sound of j and of ch, are not expressed; as or ts instead. R is not used by the majority of Cherokees, though a rolling r seems to have been the original sound instead of l. Those who use r do not use l, except as dialects are confounded. V is not used, nor z; w and s instead. The number of consonant sounds is not great.

346. See 316. I cannot see ground in the Cherokee language for the suspicion expressed in 346.

VOCABULARIES.

VOCABULARIES.

I. ALGONQUIN GROUP.

ENGLISH.	OJIBWA OF ST. MARY'S. BY G. JOHNSTON.	OJIBWA OF GRAND TRAVERSE BAY. BY REV. P. DOUGHERTY.	OJIBWA OF SAGANAW. BY G. MORAN.	OJIBWA OF MICHILIMACKINAC. BY W. JOHNSTON.
God	Món é do	Mun e do	Ke sha maw ne to	Ke sha mon e do
Devil	Má che món é do	Muh je mun e do	Maw che maw ne to	Mitch e mon e do
Angel		Ish pe ming tuh zhe ah ne she nah ba	Maw ne to	Ke sha mon e do ske nig e nun (plu)
Man	In nín é	E ne ne	An nin nee	An nin ĕ
Woman	E kwaí	E qua	Anc quoy	E qua
Boy	Kwë we zais	Que we zans	Que wee senze	Que we san ce ce
Girl or maid	E kwä zais	E qua zans	Quoy zenze	E qua san ce ce
Virgin	Ke gong		O sche nee ke quoy	Ke gong
Infant or child	Ab é nó ché	Ah be no je	Be no chan	Au be no chin ge
Father, my	Nó sai (radix ös)	No sa	No ee	No sa
Mother, my	Nin gúh (radix guh)	Nin guh sha	Nee gush sha	Ne ing ga
Husband, my	Ni nau baim (radix nä' ba	Ne nah bam	Naw bame	Ne nau bame
Wife, my	Kwë' wë	Ne min de mo zhe mish	Nee wish	Ne min de mo a mish
Son, my	Nin gwís	Ning wis	Nee quiss	Ning gwis
Daughter, my	In dau nis	Ne daun	On daw niss	Nin dau niss
Brother, my	Ne si aí (elder)	Ne kah nis	Nee kah nah	Ne cau niss
Sister, my	Ne she mái (younger s. or b.)	Nin duh wa mah	Daw wa maw	Ne dong wa
An Indian	Un ish en á ba	Ah ne she nah ba	An ne shin aw bay	An nish e nau ba

A white man ...	Wäb ish kiz ze.....	Wah yah bish ke wad.....	Waw be a ske way jick.....	Wong au be ske wa de
Head	O shtíg wun	O ste gwŏn.....	O sthe gawn.....	Os teg gwan
Hair	We nís is (of the head).....	We ne sis	We ne sis sun	We ne sis
Face	Shkézh ig (ig. plu.).....	Dan gwi.....	A ne go-ko tay quo ack	Ta in khong
Scalp	We ni kwi.....	We ne qui	We no quoye	We ne quoy
Ear.....	Tó ug (tow).....	Tuh wug.....	Taw o gun.....	To wug
Eye	Shkézh ig (ig. plu.).....	Ske zhig	Ske zje gong	Skein zhick
Nose	Cháus	Jahzh.....	Chause	Jshaus
Mouth	Dŏn	Don.....	Tone.....	Dŏne
Tongue.....	Dái nun ieu.....	Da nuh nu	Ta ne new	Da non ieu
Tooth	Wĕ bĕ'd	We bid	Wee bit	We bid
Beard	Mĕ' zhé dŏn au gun.....	Me she do nah gun.....	Mee she te naw gun nan.....	Me ske doné au gun
Neck	Kaí gun.....	Qua gun	Quoy gan na ung.....	Qua gun
Arm	Nik.....	Nick	Nick	Nick
Shoulder.....	De ní e gun.....	De ne gun	Tin e maw gan	Din e mong gun
Back	Pĕk wun'.....	Pik qun.....	Pe quoy nong.....	Pe gun
Hand	Nindj.....	Ninj.....	Ninck.....	Win ge
Finger.....	Nindj' e gun.....	Ne be nah quon ning (plu.).....	Taw no o gaw ninck	We be nau quan o ning
Nail.....	Shkünzh.....	Skunzh.....	O skaw zah	Schunge
Breast.....	Tŏ tŏ'sh (female breast.— S.)	Kah kun (breast generally.— S.)....	Tus saw naw ka ung (breast gen.—S.).	Cau ke gun (breast gen.—S.)
Body	Ow.....	We yow.....	Wee ye o.....	We yough (yo)
Leg.....	Kaud	Kahd.....	Kaught	Cod (kaud)
Navel.....	Dis.....	Dis	O nawn	Dis
Thigh	Bwaum.....	Bwahm.....	Che gwin.....	Bawm
Knee	Jĕ'ng wun	Jin gwun	O kee tick.....	Chee gwon
Foot.....	Zid.....	Zid.....	O zit.....	Zid
Toe.....	.....	Ne be nah quon zid (plu.)	Wee be naw quawn o sit.....	Ne be nau quan o zid
Heel.....	Dŏ'nd un (Un In. plu.).....	Don dun	Tone dun.....	Dow ne dun
Bone.....	Kun.....	Kun.....	O kan	Cŭn (kun)
Heart	Dai.....	Da.....	O tay.....	Da
Liver.....	Koen	Quoon.....	O quoyn	Coon

ENGLISH.	OJIBWA OF ST. MARY'S.	OJIBWA OF GRAND TRAVERSE BAY.	OJIBWA OF SAGANAW.	OJIBWA OF MICHILIMACKINAC.
Windpipe		Kah kah o gun dah gun	Kaw kaw bun daw gun	Gown dau gun a aub
Stomach	Káu ke gun	Me she moot (bag.—S.)	Kah kan nung	Cau ke gun
Bladder	Mö di	She ge win	O shee ke win	Pe quoge
Blood	Mis'kwë	Mis que	Mis que	Mis quey
Vein	Us kwai aub	Tosh qua ōb	O toe squay ye aw	Tis qua aub
Sinew	At tis'	Ah tis	O che tut	Tis
Flesh	Wë os'	We os	We yeaws	We oss
Skin	Zhug i (human)	Nuh guh i (human)		Shug auh
Seat	Mis kwas úb	De ya	Tus saw mun	Mis qua sub
Ankle	Bë koó gun a	Ah ne kah we ging o zid	Puc co gah naw gan	Pan co gauh naw gun
Town	Dai' nuh	O da nah	O tay nung	O da nugh
House	Wa kï' e gun	Wah kah ye gun	Wee go woym (wigwam.—S.)	Wau cau e gun
Door	Ish kwón daim	Ish quōn dam	Squon dem	Ish quan dame
Lodge	Wëg' e wam	We ge wom	Maw ka ke o kah mic	We ge waun
Chief	O' gë mau	Nah gah ne zid	O kee maw	O ge nau
Warrior	Nain dó bun je gaid	Ma yáh o sad	Mong ku daws	Gitch e dau
Friend	Në' jï	Ne je	Nee kaw nis	Nitch ee
Enemy	Ná do wai' si	Nash ka nin gad		Me gau din no wau gun
Kettle	Ak ë'k	Ah kik	Ac kick	A kick
Arrow	Bëk wúk (blunt-headed)	Pe gwuk	Kee no waw koyn	Us sow waun
Bow	Mit ig wáub	Me te gwáub	Mee tee quab	Me tig waub
War-club	Pug u má gun	Puh guh mah gun	Puck kaw maw gan	Pau gau mau gan
Spear	A nit	Ah nit	An nit	Aush he mau gun
Axe	Wa gá kwut	Wah gah qut	Waw gah ko web	Wau gau cwud
Gun	Baush kiz' zi gun	Bosh ke ze gun	Pas ka ze kan	Pau kish e gun
Knife	Mö kö maun	Mo ko mon	Mo co mawn	Mo co maun
Flint	Pë wan uk	Pe wah nug	Ne waw nuc	Be waun ug
Boat	Na búg a chi maún (board canoe)	Puh ge che mon	Naw buck e che mawn	Me tig o maun
Ship	Ná bë kwon	Na so ke sing nah be quon	Naw bee koyn	Nau be quan
Sail	(Nin) gós si moon (my)	Nin gah se mon	Kaw see mon	Ning au se moon

Mast	(Nin) gos si moon auh (my sail-post)	Nen gah se mon ah tig	Kaw see mon nee nunk	Ning au se moon au tig
Oar	A zhaib′ e wi aun	Ah zha bwi yon	Sha boy ye aw	Sha bo yaun au tig
Paddle	Ab wë′	Ah bwe	Aw bu way	Aub wee
Shoe	Muk′ i zin	Mah ke zin	Moc ka sin	Mau kee sin
Legging	Më dos	Me tŏs	Wee tah sun	Me toss
Coat	Bub ëns′ ik aw aú gun	Pah nens kuh wah gun	Pis co waw gan	Beinze e cow au gun
Shirt	Bub bug′ i wi aun′	Pah puh ge wi yon	Puc e way ye awn	Bau bug e wau yaun
Breechcloth	A′ zi aun	Ah ze yon	Aw se ye awn	Aun ze zaun
Sash	Mis kö gaúd	Ge che pe ze win	Mis ca god	Gitch e pe zoon
Blanket	Waub e wi on		Wab i wi yawn	Wab e wy an
Head-dress		Puh ze qua be zo win		Bus e qua be so win
Pipe	Pwáu gun	Pwah gun	Po waw gan	O paw gun
Wampum	Me gis′	Me gis	Pee co mee kence	Meg is
Tobacco	Us ái mau	Ah sa mah	Say maw	Us sa mau
Shot-pouch	Pón da kud ai wain	Pen de se nah je gun	Pin tus se nah	Bein dau se nai ye gun
Sky	Gë′ zhik	Ge zhik		Ge zick
Heaven	Gë zhik oóng	Ish pe ming	Aw sphe ming	Ish pe ming
Sun	Gë′ zis	Ke sis	Kee zis	Ge sis ge zick e (day sun.—S.)
Moon	Dib′ ik gë′ zis (night sun)	Te be ke sis	De pe kee zis	Ge sis te bick (night sun.—S.)
Star	An oóng		Aw nung	Un ung
Day	Gë′ zhik ud		Kee ze gut	Ge she gud
Night	Díb ik ud	Te bik	Nee paw te pic	Te bick ud
Light	Wás ai au	Wah sa yah ze win	Kee ze kah tay	Was sa au
Darkness	Pesh ug ësh káu win	Gush ke te be ke ze win	Pash sah kish da be kut	Gau skee won
Morning	Kë′ gi shaib′	Guh ge zhab	Kah kee sha be	Ge ge sha be
Evening	Oon aú gwish ë	Nah gush	O naw go sha	O nan gwish ee
Mid-day	Nau wa kwai	Nah wah qua	Naw o quoy eg	Now wau qua
Midnight	A be ta dib ik	Ah bet tah te bik	Aw be taw tee pe kut	Ah be tau de be cod
Early	Kë′ gi shaib′ (vide morning)	Wah ye bah	Kah kee sha be	Bau gung
Late	Wé kau	Ish pe	Ush pee kee ze gut	Ish pe
Spring	Së′ gwun	Me no kuh me	Wee no co ming	Ze gwon

ENGLISH.	OJIBWA OF ST. MARY'S.	OJIBWA OF GRAND TRAVERSE BAY.	OJIBWA OF SAGANAW.	OJIBWA OF MICHILIMACKINAC.
Summer	Nē' bin	Ne bin	Nee bin	Ne bin
Autumn	Ta gwá gē	Tuh gwah ge	Toe go waw ga	Tau gwaw gee
Winter	Pē bön	Pe poon	Pee bone	Pe bone
Year	Ke nó no win	A ke no ne win	Nee go pe pone	Ke no no win
Wind	Nö' din	No din	No ting (it winds)	No din
Lightning	Wa wá sa mo	Wah wah suh me win	Was saw mon ke	Wau wau sa mo
Thunder	An' a mik ē'	Ah ne me ke	Wee mee kee	An ne me kee
Rain	Kim' e wun	Ge me wun	Kee mee ween	Ke me won
Snow	Kön	Gan	Aw kone	Koan
Hail	Sa sai' gun	Sa sa gun	Co quan awp	Sa sa gun
Fire	Shkö' da	Ish ko da	Scho tay	Ish co da
Water	Nē' bi	Ne be	Nee peesh	Ne bee
Ice	Mik' wum	Me qum	Maw quoym	Me quam
Earth	Ak ē	Ah ke	Aw kay	Ah kee
Sea	Git chig' o mē	Ge che guh me	Kee che kee che gah ma	Gitch e gum ee
Lake	Sa gi' e gan	Sah gi e gum	Kee che gah ma	Sau gie e gun
River	Sē bē	Se be	See bea	See bee
Spring	Mö kitch i wun	Mo ke je wun	Tack kee bea	Mo kitch ee won
Stream	Jē wun'	She buh we sha	See bea	See be wee saine
Valley		Po suh kuh kuh mig		Wiem bau com e gau
Hill	Ish pát e nau	Pe quh din	Kee tah ka	Ish pud e naw
Mountain	Wüd joó	Wuh jew	Puc quet e nung	Wudg jieu
Plain	Mush' ko dai	Mush ko da	Scho tam que	Mush co da
Forest		Kuh gah quah	No pee ming (in the woods.—S.)	Me tig wock o kee
Meadow	Mush' ko dai (vide Plain)	Me zhusk ko ke te gon	Waw be scho keng	Me sushk o win
Bog	Tö tö' gun	Pe to beg	Pee toe bee	To to bun
Island	Min is'	Min is	Maw nish shing	Me niss
Stone	Os sin'	Ah sin	As sin	As sin
Rock	A' zhe bik	Ah zhe bik	Kee che as sin (big stone.—S.)	Au she bick
Silver	Shö' ni au	Wah bish ke sho ne ah	Sho ne yaw	Wau be skee sho ne au (white metal)

Copper	Misk′ wau bik	Mis co pe wah bik	O saw waw pick (yellow metal.—S.)	Mis co wau bik (red metal.—S.)
Iron	Pë waú bik	Pe wah bik	Pee waw pick	Be wau bik
Lead	Ush kë kö maun	Mish ke ke mon	Sche co mawn	Ah skee co maun
Gold	O zá wau bik		O saw waw sho ne yaw (yel. silv.—S.)	O sow sho ne au
Maize or corn	Mon dá min	Nin dah min	Min dah min	Mun dau min
Wheat		Ma me ze wa me nuh guk	Mee zhe mee nence	Pau qua she gun (flour.—S.)
Oats	Mon ó min	Ah wuh kah ne me no min	Mo no min	Mun no min
Potatoe	O pín	O pin	O pin	O pin
Turnip	Chës	Chese	Cheese	Cheese
Pea	Un e je′ min	Ah ne je min	Wee chee min	Ah ne je min
Rye		Ma me zhe nuh guk	Mee zhe me nence	Mis e min
Bean	Mis ko dë′ si min	Nish ko de ce min	Scho tay sa min	Mis co de se min
Melon	Ö gwis′ i mun	Ash ke tuh mo	Esh ke tah mo	A skun don ing
Squash		O gwe se mon	Kus see mawn	O gwis e mon
Barley				Mis e min
Tree	Mit ig′	Me tig	Mee tic	Me tig
Log	Mud jësh′ a goosh	Go duh wŏn		Go dau waun
Limb		O dik qun	Tick quaw nim	Ah dick won
Wood	Mis sun′	Me tig (tree.—S.)	Mish sha	Me sun
Post	Suk ai taú gun	Suh kuh ah gun	Mit tick (tree.—S.)	Me tig (tree.—S.)
Stump		Kesh ke gi e gun	Chick kang	Ke she ah nuck cut
Pine	Shin gwoúk		Shin go wack	Shing wac
Oak	Mit ig ŏ mizh		Mee tee go mish	Me tig o mish
Ash	Wë sug auk (bitter wood)		Wee saw kanck	We saw gawk
Elm	Un ëb′	Ah neb	Neeb	Ah neeb
Basswood	Wë goob i mizh	We go be mish	Wee co pe mish	We go ab e mish
Shrub	Mit ig öns (dim. of tree)	Nwah ke ging	Mee zhe sconce	Me sa he nug once
Leaf	Un e bësh′	Ah ne besh	Aw nee peesh	Ah ne beesh
Bark	Wë gwas′ (birch bark)	Ah nuh gak	Nah ka ke	Won ah ga ke
Grass	Mush koos iew′	Me zhusk	Shaw os quash kone	Mesk ushk
Hay	Mush koós e wun	Me zhusk	Mee zhe sckone	Mush co se won

ENGLISH.	OJIBWA OF ST. MARY'S.	OJIBWA OF GRAND TRAVERSE BAY.	OJIBWA OF SAGANAW.	OJIBWA OF MICHILIMACKINAC.
Nettle	Muz am′	Muh zon		Mus zan
Thistle		Ge che muh zon	Sa kak ta pu way	Gitch e za gud da bwa
Weed		Me zhusk kons	Maw che mee zhe sckone	We nusk
Flower	Wá bi goon	Wah be gun	Waw waw sco nay	Wau be goon
Rose	Ö gë ni′ bug	O ge ne me nah gah wuzh wah be gun	Waw waw sco nay	O ge ne bug
Lily	O git ai bug			Ne ne we bug
Bread	Buk wai′ zhë gun	Buh qua zhe gun	Po quoy zhe kun	Puck wa zhe gun (see wheat—S.)
Indian meal		Min dah me ne buh qua zhe gun	Pees see co ge gan nuck	Mun dau me ne be se bo je gun
Flour	Buk wai′ zhë gun pai bë nai′ zid	Pah sah buh qua zhe gun	Naw pah nin	Pa be na zid puck wa zhe gun
Meat	Wë′ os	We os	Wee eauce	We oss
Fat	Wë′ nin	We nin	Wee nin	We nin
Beaver	A mik	Ah mik	Aw mick	Ah mick
Deer	Wa was ká shi (red deer)	Wah wash kash	Waw waw skesh	Wau wau ska she
Bison or buffalo	Pe zhik′ i	Mush ko da bezhe ke	Po cocke pee shee kay	Pe she kee
Bear	Muk′ wa	Muh quh	Mock quaw	Mack quah
Elk	Mush kös′	Me sha wa	Mee sha way	O mush coos
Moose	Möz	Mooze	Moose	Monze
Otter	Në gik′	Ne gig	Nee kick	Ne gig
Fox	Wa′ goosh	Wah gush	Waw gush	Wau goosh
Wolf	Më ën′ gun	Mi en gun	Maw e kan	Mah ing gun
Dog	An′ ë moosh	Ah ne moosh	Aw nee mouch	A ne moosh
Squirrel	A jë da′ mö		Sun ah go	Ad jid da moo
Hare	Wau bös	Wah bos	Waw po sonch	Wau pose
Lynx	Pizh iew′	Be zhu	Pee shoe	Pe shiw
Panther	Mis′ si bizh iew (great lynx)	Be zhu	Maw che pe shoe	Me she pe shiw
Muskrat	Wauzh ushk	Wuh zhushk	O shar cong	Wash ushk
Mink	Shong waish′	Shon gwa she	Shong ku wech	Shong waish
Fisher	O jëg′	O jeg	O cheek	O jeeg
Marten	Wa be zhais	Wah be zhash	Waw be schase	Wau ke shai she
Mole	Nó no pá jë ni kái si	Ah mik ko wah wah be ge no je	Aw mee co waw waw wau be kan o che	Na nau pau je ne ca see

Polecat	Shi kaug	She gog		She gaug
Hog	Kŏ kŏsh′	Ko kosh	Co kush	Co cosh
Horse	Pa bái zhi gó gau zhe	Ba ba zhe go gah zhe	Pa zhe co co sha	Pa pa she go gunsh ee
Cow	Pe zhik i (vide bison)	O ne jah ne be zhe ke	Pee zhe ka o ne jahn	E qua pe she kee
Sheep	Maú nish taú nish	Mah nish tah nish	Mah stah nish	Maun ish taw nish
Turtle or tortoise	Mik e nok	Me ke nok	Mee she kan	Me ke nock
Toad	O muk′ ak ie	Muh kuh ke	Ko kee sang	Bau big o man kau kee
Snake	Ke nái bik	Ke na bik	Pee nenh meng	Ghe na big
Lizard	O gë kuk an ang′ wai	Ke kah dah nong	To aw gah meng	O ge cud dan nong gwa
Worm		Mo sa	She kee nah wisk	She ge naw wis
Insect	Mon e tŏs′ (dim. of spirit)	Mun e do sa		Mon e donce
Fly	O jë′	Mun e dosh	O chee	O jee
Wasp	Mis is aúk		Saw waw mo	Mis sis awk
Ant	Aĭ′ ne go		Aw nee kouk	A ne go
Bird	Pë nai′ si	Pe na she	Pe naih sha	Pe na shei
Egg	Wá wun	Wah wun	Waw won	Wau won
Feather	Më′ gwun	Me gwun	Nee ko nin	Me gwon
Claw	Osh kunzh′	Osh kuzh	Ush kah sha	O gunsh
Beak	Ö közh	O konzh	Waw kee kon zesh	O coush
Wing		Nin gwe e gun	Nee hu wee kan	O ning we
Goose	Wai′ wai	Bish ke ze (domestic)	Pish e kan see	Wa wa
Duck	Shë shëb	She sheb	Shish shee be an	She sheeb
Swan	Wa bis si	Wah be ze		Wau be zee
Partridge	Pë nai′	Pe na	Pee ne ah	Pe nay
Pigeon	O më′ me	O me me	Mee mee	O me me
Plover	Chwë chwësh′ ke wai	Che chesh kuh wa	Che che ske wah	Che che skee wain
Woodcock	Mai′ mai	Ma ma	Paw tah skaw aunch	Gitch e ba dusk can nush
Turkey	Mis′ is sai	Me ze sa	Mee zis say	Me sis sa
Crow	On daig′	Kah gah ge	Kah kah ke schang	Aun daig
Raven	Kau gaú gi	Kah gah ge se	Un day go squang	Gau gau ge
Robin	O pë che	Pe che	Pee cha	O pitch e

ENGLISH.	OJIBWA OF ST. MARY'S.	OJIBWA OF GRAND TRAVERSE BAY.	OJIBWA OF SAGANAW.	OJIBWA OF MICHILIMACKINAC.
Eagle	Mig′ a zë	Ke nu	Kee new	Me gis ee
Hawk	Kai kaik′ (F. Columbarius)	Pe ge we sa	Pee neh see se	Ka ka ke
Snipe	(Vide Plover)	Puh push kuh se	Che che ske wen swee	Put dusk can unsh
Owl	Ö kö kö ö	Ko ko ko o	Wau wau ie gah no an	Co co co o
Woodpecker		Pah pah sa	Paw paw say	Pau pau sa
Fish	Kë′ gōe	Ke go		Ke gōe
Trout	Nam ai′ gwoos	Nuh ma gus	Nah neigh gous	Nau ma goos
Bass		Ah she gin	Ash shee kan	Ah she gun
Sturgeon	Nam ai′	Nuh ma	Naw neigh	Naugh may
Sunfish		Ah gwuh dah she	Ko tah sheng	Ah gwod au she
Pike	Ke nō zhai	Ke no zha	Kee no zenck	Ke no sha
Catfish	Miz ï′	Mah nuh mag	Mah ah meng	Wau se see
Perch	Us ai′ wai	Ah suh wa	Saw wence (little perch.—S.)	Os saw wa
Sucker	Nam ai′ bin	Nuh ma bin	Nah meigh pee neh	Nau ma bin
Minnow		Ka o wis	Kah kee woy bo ka sa	Ke gōe sance
Fin	Nin′ dji gun	O nin je gun	Nem kee ka sun	O ning e gun
Scale	Wan ug ï′	Nuh guh ans	O nah ken ens uck	O nug ah uhj
Roe		Wahk		Wack
White	Waub (radix)	Wah bish ke ze (an.)	Waw be skaw	Wan be skau (in.)
Black	Muk (ib.)	Muh kuh da we ze (an.)	Maw ko ta waw	Mau cud da wau
Red	Misk (ib.)	Mis quo ze (an.)	Mess squaw	Mis qua
Green	O zhau wush kwau	Zhah wush quo ze (an.)	O shaw o squaw	O shaw wush quaw
Blue	O zhau wush kwau	Kah zhe gwah zood (an.)	Ew bon deg	Ge zick ong a naw daije
Yellow	O zau (radix)	Zah we ze	Wa saw waw	O zaw waw
Great	Git chi (various terms gov. by object)	Ge che	Kee che	Gitch e
Small	Ug aú sa (for size) Pung ë (quantity)	A gah she e (an.)	Ah kah chin	Gau sau
Strong	Mush′ kow au (personal)	Mush kah we ze (an.)	Mush kah waw	Mush cau wau
Weak	Sha gwë′ wë (ib.)	Zha we ze (an.)	Sha wee zee	No cau
Old	Git iz′ ze (an old person)	Ka te ze (an.)	Ka taigh (in.)	Ka ta
Young	Oush′ ke	Osh ke ne ge (an.)	Ush kee nee ke (an.)	Os kee

Good	Min′ no (personal)	O ne zke she (an.)	O nish she shin′ (in.)	Ne she shin
Bad	Mud′ jë (ib.)	Muh je (an.)	Manch po quet (in.)	Mau nau dud
Handsome	Kwon audj′ (ib.)	Quh nah je we (an.)	Go nah chew win (an.)	Qun auge
Ugly	Goosh hun au (generic)	Kush ko nah go ze (an)	Gu squo nah go sa (an.)	Gosh cou au gwod
Alive	Pë maud′ iz ze	Pe mah de ze	Pee mah tee see	Be mau dud
Dead	Në′ bö (he (is) dead)	Ne bo	Ke mee poo	Ne poo
Life	Pe maud′ iz ze win	Pe mah de ze win	Pee mah tee see	Be mau de se win
Death	Në bö′ win	Ne be win	Nee poo (he died)	Ne poo win
Cold	Kis′ se nau (cold weather)	Ke se nah	Kees see nah	Ghe sin au
Hot	Kish′ e dá (personal)	Ke zhah ta	Kee zhe taih	Ghe she da
Sour	Shë wun′	She wun	See wan	She won
Sweet	Wësh koób	Wesh ko bun	Wee sco bim	Nish co bun
Pepper	Ka wë sug un (not bitter)	Wah suh gun	Was sah kun	Gau we sau gun
Salt	Shë wë tau′ gun	She we tah gun	See ut tah gan	She we tau gun
Bitter	We sug′ un	We suh gun	Was sah kah kun	Me sau gun
I	Nën	Neen	Neen	Neen
Thou	Kën	Keen	Keen	Keen
He	Wën	Ween	Ween	Ween
She	Wën	Ween	Ween	
They	Wën′ a wau	We nah wah	Keen o waw	Meen au wan
Ye	Kën′ a wau	Ke nah wah	Kee o waw	Keen (3d p. sing.—S.)
We (inclu.)	Wën′ o wind	Ke nuh wind	Kee nue wee	Neen a wind
We (exclu.)	Nen′ o wind	Ne nuh wind	Nee nue wee	Keen a wind
This (an.)	Maund′ a	Mah bah	Maw bah	Wau owh
This (in.)	Maund′ un	Mahn dun	Maw dah	O owh
That (an.)	A ow′	Ow	Maw bah	Au owh
That (in.)	E iew′	Eu	Man dah	E ewh
These (an.)	O goo′	O go	Wee no waw	O gowh
These (in.)	On iew′	O no	Ac con dah	O gow
Those (an.)	Ig iew′	E gu	Ac kee wee	Ah giw
Those (in.)	In iew′	E nu	Ac con dah	Ah giw

ENGLISH.	OJIBWA OF ST. MARY'S.	OJIBWA OF GRAND TRAVERSE BAY.	OJIBWA OF SAGANAW.	OJIBWA OF MICHILIMACKINAC.
All	Kuk in' a	Kuh ko nah	Kah ge nah	Kau kin au
Part	Buk ai' she wind (a part)	Ah nind	Aw nit	Au nind
Who	Wah ow	Wa nan	Wa nish	Wa naine
What		Wa go nan		Whah
What person	A wai nain	Wa nash ow	Wa nish o way	Ah wa naine
What thing	Wai go nain	Wa go nan ew	Wa go nish o way	Wa go nain e ewh
Which person	A nën' ah ou	Ah nen ow	Wa nish o way	Ah neen ah owh
Which thing	A nën' ëh iew	Ah nen ew	Wa go nish o way	Ah neen e ewh
Near	Bai shoo	Ba shu	Pesh shoe	Pa shoo
Far off	Waus' suh	Wah sah	Kee che wah sah	Was sau
To-day	Noong' um	Non gom	Noh go	Non gome
To-morrow	Wau' bunk	Wah bung	Waw bune	Wau bung
Yesterday	Pë chë naú go	Peh e nah go	Pee che noh go	Pe je nau go
By and by	Pa' ni ma	Pah ne mah	Paw mah noh kuch	Pau ne mau
Yes	Aih	Eh	Aunch	Anqh
No	Kau (ab. of Kau-wën)	Kah	Kah	Kau
Perhaps	Kun' a budj	Ko ne mah	Kah nah butch	Mau ge shaw
Never	Ka' wi kau	Kah we kah	Kah wee kah	Kau we caw
Forever		Kah ge nig	Mee go ah pah nah	Kau ge nig
Above	Ish pim ing (meteorologically)	Ish pe ming	Ah sphe mee	Ish pe ming (vide Heaven.—S.)
Under	Un aum (generic)	Ah nah mah ye e	Nah meng ing	Nau mah e ee
Within	Pënd ig (ib.)	Bin dig	Peen dick	Been dig a au e ee
Without	A gutch (ib.)	Ah gwuh je e	An ko chink	Ah gutch e au e ee
Something	Gaig' ö	Ga go	Ka go shish	Ga go
Nothing	Kau' gaig o (not something)	Kah ga go	Kah we ka go	Kau ga go
On	O gidj' (generic)	O ge je yuh e		O gitch
In	Pëndj (ib.)	Bin je yuh e		Peen dig
By	Chëg (ib.)	Chag		Cheek
Through	Shaub' ö (ib.)	Shah bi yuh e		Shaw bo
In the sky	Gë zhik oongk'	Ge zhe gong	Aw pe che ash sphe mee	Ge zick onge
On the tree	In au tig	Me te gong	Kee chee aw ing me tee gong	Me tig onge
In the house		Wah kah ye gun ing	Wee ko wawm pee dig	Wau cau e gun ing
By the shore	Chëg a bëg'	Te te ba en che ge beg	Tah tee pay	Te te baye
Through the water		Ne bing	Nah nee bing	Shaw bo ne beeng

To eat[1]	Wë sin	Che we se ning	Nee wee sin	Che we sin ing
To drink	Min e kwai'	Che me ne quang	Nee mee nee quoy	Che me ne qua inge
To laugh	Pau' pë (he)	Che bah ping	Pah pa	Che pau ping (participle.—S.)
To cry	Mow' ë (he)	Che mah wing	Mo way	Che mau wing (ib.)
To love	Saug (infinitive)	Che zah ge ung	Nee sah kah	Che saw ge id ing (ib.)
To burn	Chaug ë (ib.)	Che jah ge zong	U chaw kee	Che chau ge songe (ib.)
To walk	Pim ö sai' (he)	Che pe mo zang	Pe mus say	Che be mo sainge (ib.)
To run	Pim i but to (he)	Che be me but tong	Ah pah toe	Che pe me but tonge (ib.)
To see	Waub (radix)	Che e nah bing	Nee waw bun dawn	Che wau bing (ib.)
To hear	Nönd' um (he)	Che non duh ming	None doe waw	Che no dum ing (ib.)
To speak	Kë' gi do (he)	Che ge ge dong	Kee kee tone	Che ke ge dong (ib.)
To strike	Puk ud ai' (he)	Che puh ke ta e gang	Poc kee tay	Che pan ke ta e gunge (ib.)
To think	Aind um (radix)	Che ah ye nan duh ming	Dee neh dum	Che nau gud da waine dum ing
To wish		Che puh gwe sa ne mong	Bay tusk	Che nau dau wain dum ing (ib.)
To call	Nönd (radix)	Che nun don gang	Un dum	Che nau dom ing (ib.)
To live	Pë maud' iz ze	Che be malf de zing	Nee bee mah tis	Che be mau dis ing (ib.)
To go	Ma' ja	Che e zhong	A shawn	Che e jhong (ib.)
To sing	Nug' am oo (he)	Che nuh guh mong	Nah gum	Che nau gum onge (ib.)
To dance	Në' më (he)	Che ne ming	Nee mee	Che ne ming (ib.)
To die	Në' bö (he)	Che ne bong	Nee poo	Che ne bunge (ib.)
To tie	Ta koo bi dön (he ties him)	Che kush kah pe dong	Tah co pei tone	Che dau co be done donge (ib.)
To kill	Nis' sau (he)	Che ne she wang	Ken nee sah	Che ne she wainge (ib.)
To embark	Pö' zë (he)	Che po sing	Po sin	Che posing (ib.)
Eating	We sin ing	We se ning	Wee sin ing	We sin im
Drinking	Min e kaw aingk	Me ne quang	Ma mee quoy ing	Me ne quaim
Laughing	Pau pe wingk	Bah ping	Pah pee wock	Pau pim
Crying	Mau me wingk	Mah wing	Me way wock	Mau wim
To be, or exist	I au (he)	Che ah yong	Neen dow	Che au wing (he existing)
You are	Ke dï au		Kee tah yaw	Ke dow
He is	I au ë ë	Ah yah	I ah on	Aw wee
I am that I am	Nin dow ë au ï aungk		Neen dow owit en dow	In dew ewh in dow

[1] If there be no infinitive to verbs, insert the simplest concrete form here; as he eats, he drinks, &c.

ENGLISH.	MIAMI. BY CHARLES N. HANDY, IN. AGT.	MENOMONEE. BY MR. BRUCE, U. S. A. GREEN BAY.	SHAWNEE. BY MR. CUMMINGS, U. S. AGENT I. TER. W.	DELAWARE. BY MR. CUMMINGS, U. S. AGENT.
God	Ka she he we ah	Ke sha mo nay to	Ta pà la ma wà tah	Wel sèct mun èt
Devil	Ma cha ma na to	Ma chay a way tok	Màh chee mun ét o	Màhx tàn to
Angel		Ke sha mo nay to ne che on	Aìn jel cè*	En chel*
Man	La neah kea	E nain niew	Èe len cè	Lèn o
Woman	Me taim sah	Me ta mo	Èe kwài wah	X′ quài
Boy	Kwe we sah	Ah pay nee sha	Skee lah wài thèe tah	Pee làh a chìck
Girl or maid	Kwa nan swah	Kay kaw	Skwài tha thàh	X′ quai chick
Virgin	Wais the kwan	Shash kay shew	Shaìsh kee thee	Xo x′ wait
Infant or child	Pe lo sau	Ne che on	Àh pel ò thah	Meèm uns
Father, my	No sàw	Nonh nainh	Nò thah	N òx
Mother, my	Nin gea	Ne ke ah	Nee ke yah	N gax aìs
Husband, my	Na naw pa mah	Ne nanh pe on	Wài see yah	Neèt il òse
Wife, my	Ne we wah	Nay on	Nèe wàh	Nux àh o shum
Son, my	Nēn gwe sah	Ne keish	Nèe kwèe thah	N′ gwèes
Daughter, my	Ne taw nah	Nay tawn	Nee tàh na thàh	N′ dàh nes
Brother, my	Ne saw sah	Nainh nainh	N′tha thàh	Nux àns
Sister, my	Ne me sah	Ne ko shay manh	Ne mèe thah	Num èes
An Indian	Own zaw we le kea	Mah man chay towe	Len àh wai	Ah wàin huk ài
A white man	She mal san	Way we ah quo nett	Tuk ò see yàh	Shu wùn uk
Head	Nta pe ka ma	Maish	Wèe sèe	Weel
Hair	Weel sa ma	May nay nunn	Wèe la thàh	Mee laxk
Face		Osh kay shay ko	Èe ya lek wàh pa chee	Wush king wh′
Scalp		Me nainh quon	Weél tuk wée	Xai sàn dup
Ear	Tau waw kea	May tah woc	O′ tah wàh kàh	Whit àh wuk
Eye	Ken ge kwe	Maish kay shaick	O skeès a kwèe	Wush king wh′
Nose	Ke waw ne	May che osh	O′ chàh see	Whee keè e yùn
Mouth	Taw na ma	May tone	O′ donè e	Wh′ dòne
Tongue	We law ne	May tain non niew	Wèe lah nee	Wee lan o
Tooth	We pe ta	May pet	Weèb u chee	Wee peet

Beard	Me se taw naw kaw naw kea	May nay to nank kon nuck	Wèe to nah wàh lec	Wèe to nàh e
Neck	Kwa kaw na	May ke ee kon	O′ kwài kuk àh	X′ qua kùng un
Arm	Ne che waw	May nainh	O′ nèx kee	Tel la mùng un
Shoulder	Ta la eah	Oh pay ke ko nainh kum	O tèl yah	Op pèe kun
Back	Paw kaw me ma	Oh painh quon	O′ pàx kàh mee	Op pùx kun
Hand	Na ke ma	Oh nainh kon non	O′ la tchee	Nòxk
Finger		Oh tain noh ay kon	O′ là tchah	Tel lùndge
Nail	Kaw she ma	Mesh kansh con	Osh kah shàh	Wìk kush
Breast		Oh paun	O′ pàh la	X′ tol hahe
Body		May e ow	Yah	Ok kàhe
Leg	Kaw ne ma	May kaut	O′ kâh chee	Wik kàhd
Navel		Oh tah she oh	O′ chìl wèe	Weel whee
Thigh	Po me ma	Oh po awm	Ob wàh me	Pàn me
Knee	Ke te que ah	Me che quon	Ok ò tuk wàh	Gut òke
Foot	Kaw te ma	May shait	Oth èe chèe	O zèet
Toe		May shay tay shay	O thèt ah	Qua sèet
Heel	Ton daw na	Wah quo on	Ok wàn ee	Ong on
Bone	Kaw ne	Oh kone	Ok àn ee	X kan
Heart	Ta he ma	May tah	O′ dài ee	Wh tài
Liver	Haw ko ne	Oh kōne	O kòne ee	X′ kun
Windpipe	Kōn daw kaw ne	May ko tah kon	O′ ko tàh kàh	Guòn dàh kun
Stomach	Mo a cha ma	Oh main putt	O′ pèx k′wàh tàh	Moot àhe
Bladder	Pe kwi a	Oni coh	O′ shàk èe wà	Shkèe yun
Blood	Ne pe kon we	Mainh kee	Misk wèe	M′ kon
Vein	Mah ko ma mawh	Oh kah shay me ah	M′ shks mah	Num ò o kùm
Sinew	Ches che	Oh tah	Ah tai thèe	Hat ses
Flesh	We en sa ma	May che main shawe	Wee yàh o thee	Wee yùse
Skin	Lo kia	Oh pay shash o kom	Ah thàh yàh	X′ àis
Seat		Me she e kon	O no wài tel yàh kah	Ah sèe seè
Ankle	Gwo ne ma	Oh pain ke kan nah ah kon	Àn kah wee kàh na wa	An o quèe kan
Town	Me no te ne	Me ne e kon	O′ tài wài	O tai nàhe

ENGLISH.	MIAMI.	MENOMONEE.	SHAWNEE.	DELAWARE.
House	We ke aw me	O way ah quo nay waick	Wèe kee wàh	Weèk wam
Door	Kwawn ta me	Ish quo tem	Shkwàh ta	Skon déhe
Lodge		Way ke wum	O' la kàik wèe kah	Len nee kàh on
Chief	Ke mawh	Oh kay mowe	O' kee màh	Sah kèe mah
Warrior	Ma me kaw kea	Nainh now way towe	Na nàh ta	E lah
Friend	Ne kaw no	Nay mut	Neè kah nàh	Nee tcès
Enemy		Kon kay moh ten	Ma ta la mèe wa tàh	Shin gàh leet
Kettle		Oh kame	Kòke wah	Hos
Arrow	We pe ma	Maip	La nàhl we	Neep
Bow	Na te aw pe maw	Mainh to quo op	Èe la wàh kwee	Ah tap pèe
War-club		Ah kansh	Pùk a sèe	Pax kas kìng qua heèg an
Spear		Shay maun	Chee thee thah	Tùn ah meèk un
Axe	Taw kaw ka nah	Ay nainh nash pay we	Tèk ah kàh	Tùm ah heèg an
Gun	Pe kwun e	Posh ke che she kon	M' tâ'k wah	Pah yax heeg an
Knife	Mawl se	Ah shay kon	Màh na thee	K' sheèg an
Flint	We pe ta	Oh manh non	Shàh koo kah	Màhx lus
Boat	M so la	Manh pah kosh	O' làh ka see	Mux hòl
Ship		Nah bee quon	Ka chèe pee lah hàh kee o lah kà see	Mux hòle
Sail		Kah tay ne mo on	Kee nàh kàh	Taitunghakwhqueeyahnahhahseekmuxhole
Mast		Kah tay ne mo on ah taick	Kee nàh kàh	Taitunghakwhqueeyahnahhahseekmuxhole
Oar		Ah shay ah pee on	Cho màh lee	Gee màh kun
Paddle		Pee	Cho màh lee	Gee màh kun
Shoe	Ke se ne	Mah tek moh kah shen	Neèm heek wàh tho wa	Shu wùn ux òk sun
Legging	Taw sa ma	Me teesh shon	Mùt a tàh	Kah kon
Coat	Ke no kwaw na	Pay shah ko kon	O' skèe chee pee tèn ee kah	Shah kò quee yùn
Shirt	Che kwo kwaw ne	Pay pah kay way on	Pe tèn ee kàh	Hêm bes
Breechcloth	Kwo ta me	Ah she eon	O ko ta pèe tho wà	Sùk o tàh kun
Sash		Main quo nup	Kut ùp ö thò wa	Kil ah màh pes òn
Head-dress		Poh shain ke peon	Pah nax kwài ho wa	Ahl o quèp pee
Pipe	Pwaw kaw naw	Nainh nay wah woh kah	K' wàh gah	O' pàho kun

Wampum	.....	Pay shay may kock	Pèts wah	Kalk wh
Tobacco	Sa a maw	Nainh nay mowe	K' thài mah	Ko shàh tàhe
Shot-pouch	Pwaw kaw ne mo ti eaw	Pe tah shaw nun	Peè tal wah	Al òn zee no tàhe
Sky	Ke she kwe eah	Kay shaick	Men kwàt wee	Kum òk wh'
Heaven	Pa min geah	Kay shah mon nay to waick	Men kwàt o kee	Hok ùng wh'
Sun	Keel swaw	Kay shoh	Kee sàhth wah	Keèsh ko nèe kee shòxk wh'
Moon	Pe kōn da keel swaw	Tay painh kay shoh	Tup ex kee keèth wah	Peès ka wà nèe kee shòxh wh'
Star	Lōn gwawh	Ah nanh kock (stars)	Ah làhk wah	Al làng wh'
Day	Kaw ke kwa	Kay shay kots	Keè sa kèc	Keèsh ko
Night	Pe kōn da we	Wah ne to pay koh	Tùp ex kee	Peès kaik
Light	O sa ke we	Wah she nah quot	Wah tha yah	Op pùng
Darkness	.....	Kesh kon ne te pain kot	Pa pa kee chah kee	Pees kaik
Morning	Si e pow we	Meep	K'wa lah wah pàh kee	Àl lah pah wùn ee è
Evening	Lan kwe kea	Nainh kaw	Wa làhk wèe kee	Lo quòn ee è
Mid-day	Mi aw kwa we	Nanh wah kick	Làh wee kee sà kee	Pax àh qua
Midnight	Paup seet te pāp kwa	Ah pay tah tay pay kot	Lah we tùp ex kee	Lah eè tup ò ko
Early	Si e pow wa	Ish pain tain wick	Ko lah wàh pàn wee	Sùt up òk
Late	.....	Nanh wawe	O lahk wèe thee	Lo quòn u wèe e
Spring	Ne pe no we	She e quon	Mul ò kum èe	Seek ong
Summer	Ma lo kaw ma we	Nay pen	Pel àh wee	Neep ing
Autumn	Ta kaw ke we	Tah quo ah quo awe	Tuk wàh kee	Tah kòx ko
Winter	Pe pon we	Painh poh	Pep òne wee	Lo wùngu
Year	Ngo ta pe po nah	Ne quo to kom meck	Kut ò	Kalt ing
Wind	Sam thain we	Noh wah nen	Mes èe k' kùk ee	Kalsh xing
Lightning	Po pon da wah	Wah wah nah wen	Pa pùk ee	Sàh pl lèx lahk
Thunder	Cin gwe ah	E nay main kiew	Nu num kèe won wèe	Palt huk ò wh'
Rain	Pe te lon we	Ke may won	Keèm ee wòn wee	Soòk el ang
Snow	Non a two	Koon	Ko nah	Koon
Hail	Me ze kwaw	Mainquommaykayshayshaoshpawepaychay	K' wàn a lahn wee	M' hoò kum à
Fire	Ko ta we	Ish ko tawe	Sh'ko tai	Tun dàhc

ENGLISH.	MIAMI.	MENOMONEE.	SHAWNEE.	DELAWARE.
Water	Na pe	Nay pay we	Nùp ee	M' be
Ice	I sho kwo ne	Mainh quom	Muk wàh màh	Koon
Earth	Ele kwo kwom ke ke	Ah kawe	Ah sis kèe	Huk èe
Sea	Wah kaw pe kaw ma ke ne pe	Kah kay chay kum	K chìk um èe	Xing wèe m' bé
Lake	Ne pe se	Kah chay kum	M skèe yaik wèe	M' nup aìk wh'
River	Se pe we	Shay pay we	Thee eèp ee	Sèé po
Spring	Taw kēng gaw me	Monh ke che mon	Tùk ee kùm ee	Tup aìk wh'
Stream		Pay may chay won	Thèe po a thèe	Seé pò tùb
Valley		Nonh she manh kiew	Na tèk o gŭee	Shing aìk
Hill	Wa la paw tin gea	Ish pah kiew	Tek èe	Pai màhx ting
Mountain	Paw paw tēng we	Wah chay ew	Wàh chee wèe	Ox cho
Plain		Te pah tah kew	Làh tah o shkò ta	M' guk aìk
Forest	Taw wo naw ke we	Ke kah ke kew	Puk wàh chee	Tài kun àh
Meadow		Oh she kon neish e kiew	M' shish keè we kut ùk ah	Skeèk wee hee hàh kee hàk un
Bog	No kom ke we	Toh toh ken	M' skaìk o pùk ee	Skub àh gai aìg
Island		May nainsh	Mĕn a thèe	Mun àh tàhe
Stone	Sa ne	Ah shen	Seèg o nah	Ah sùn tut
Rock	Sa ne	Ah shay pah	Seèg o nah	Ah sun
Silver	Sho le	Sho ne an	Mò na	Mùn ee*
Copper	O zaw ke kwa	Oh shah wah pah	O thah wàhk wah	Màhxk ah sun
Iron	Ke pe kot twe	Oh ko maun	M' kò pel aik wèe	Sùg àh sun
Lead	Lon se	May shaw pay	Ahl wee	Al lùns
Gold	On za we sho la	Oh shaw wah sho ne an	O' thah wèe mò na	Gool*
Maize or corn	Min ge pe	Wah pay may nuck	Tàh mee	X' has quèen
Wheat	Saw lo me na	Pah ke she kon	Kah wàshk wee	Weet*
Oats		Pain she ko kan sha we may no may.	M' sha wà wee kah wàshk wee	Òtzè*
Potatoe	Pan aw	Oh pan cock	Mèe ah seèth ah	Òp pun eès
Turnip	Ma kwe che pe ke we	Cheesh	Wàh wee ya pèn yah	Tàh nap eès*
Pea	Ko che saw ke	Oh nainh chay men	Mun èt o wee mèe nah	Mun èt o wah làxk wh' seèt
Rye		Me shay ke may nah kay sha we	Wàh yàh wisk eèk yaik eè kah wishk wee	

Bean	Ko che saw ke	Mansh ko che shock	M′ sko cheè thah	Mah làxk wh′ seèt
Melon	A ke taw min geah	Osh ke may kwōn	Yes keè tah màik ee	Es keè tum ìng
Squash	A me kwaw ne	We nay may quōn	Lin ee wàh bik wèe	Len èsk wund àhk
Barley		Me sha ke may nah kay sha we moyay shet		
Tree	Taw waw ne	Me an shah	M′ tùk wee	Hit toke w′
Log	Pe me tawk se nah	Ko tah warn me an shay	O′ taik wèe	Xìng xòke w′
Limb	Ah kwo naw kaw ke	Oh tah quon	Pa ka yàhk week èe	Tux xùn
Wood	M′ saw	Mah teck	Note kò num èe	Tàhx xan
Post		Mah teck chah yay po teck	Wax là mah tà kee	Nip pàx taik
Stump	Che kwe	Te man quo ay kan	Ox keek wèe	Chox kàht
Pine		Osh kah	Wa làh qú thàh keè tah	Pùk o òxk wes
Oak	O we pin gwaw kaw twe	Main tay ko may	M′ tuk o meè shee	Lin àhk w′
Ash		Ah ke me ah	Mee yah làhk wah	Meex àhk won àhk w
Elm	Ko se aw ne ko paw	Ah nayp	A neèp ee	Làh kan ah hùndge a
Basswood		Ah shaw tee	Weè keep mèe see	Lah nèck pee
Shrub	Ke pin saw kwe	May to quo shuck	M′ tùk o nah ee	Hit qùot tut
Leaf	Ke paw kwaw	Ah ne pe ah kon	M′ sìsk ee	Kum bùk w
Bark	Lah ke kwa	Wah nanh kawe	O′ lah kà kwee	Ho kàis
Grass	Mot taw kot twaw	May nash kah shewe	Mut ùshk wee	Max task w′
Hay	Mot taw kot twaw	A shay kah non	M′ sushk ee	Skèe kàho
Nettle	I so show we aw ke	Mah tansh kow	Ma thàh nah	Sal àrn o wài
Thistle			Kàh wee	Kàh u wùndge
Weed	Kaw ke anz shaw	Way nosh kot	Skip wàh wee	Skeèk wh
Flower	Pa kot ta ke	Wah shah quo no way ton	Pa pa keè wa	O tah ais
Rose	Pa kot ta ke		Pàh yah pèx kee kee	O tàh ai cèg
Lily	Pa kot ta ke		Pàh yah pèx kee kee	
Bread	Waw wa naw kaw ne	Pah ke she kon	Tuk whàh	Ahk pàwn
Indian meal	Ta kwaw min ge	Wah pay may nanh po	O′ thàh wee lah kàh nah	Xask weèm en eè scl ò gut
Flour	No ke me na	Pah ke she kon pay kee ash e non ko shet	Lok hàh nah	Lo gùt
Meat	We o sa	May chay may sha	Wee yah o′ thee	Wee yas
Fat	We lin we	Pay may	Pa mèe	Pem èe

ENGLISH.	MIAMI.	MENOMONEE.	SHAWNEE.	DELAWARE.
Beaver	Mah kwaw	Nah main	A mèxk wah	Tum àhk wa
Deer	Mo swaw	Ah pay shosh	P′ sèk see	Àhx to
Bison or buffalo.	No naw waw ke la non zwaw	Mosh ko tawe pe shain kiew	Puk wàh chee m′ tho tho	Seè see leè ya
Bear	Mo kwaw	Ah way sha	M′ kwàh	Mahx w′
Elk	She we aw	Oh mansh kash	Wàh pet cè	Nos
Moose		Monsh	Mos	
Otter	Saw kwi aw	May kaick	Ke dàt a	Quòn em òxk w′
Fox	Paw pung gaw mo	Wah ko	Wàh ko chà thee	Òk wus
Wolf	Wha wawk	Manh wawe	M′ wài wah	Tùm ma
Dog	Lām wah	Ah naim	Wis see	Mo wài kun nà
Squirrel	Ne kwawh	Oh nah wah nick	An cèk wàh	Xan cèk wh′
Hare	Waw pun zawh	Wah pash	P′ tuk â nai thee	Nex keè lek chèe mùm es
Lynx		Pay shay ew		
Panther	La now waw ke pen ge wah	Mainch pay shay ew	M′ seè push èe	Qua neèshk won ài
Muskrat		Oh shosh	O′ thùsh wah	Tum àsk wos
Mink		Shaw kee	Sèk o′ thàh	Wee ning wes
Fisher		Oh cheek	O′ chài kah	
Marten		Wah pah sheah	Wà wap seè tha	O′ làhl o wai
Mole	Pa pe che na kea	Pah pe ke ko shawe	Ko cheèk wai theè	Mone ùlk ai
Polecat	Se kaw kwaw	Shay kock	Suk àhk wah	Shkàhk wh′
Hog	Ko ko shaw	Ko kosh	Kùsh ko	Quòsh quòsh
Horse	Na ka ta kaw shaw	Pay she ko kosh ew	M′ shài wai	Na nàh on àise
Cow	La non zwaw	Pe shain kiew oh kōo	M′ thòth wah	Wèsh um wèes
Sheep	Waw pe moo sa	Man nish tah nish	Mai kèe thah	Mek eès
Turtle or tortoise	We ne chaw	May kain nanh	Kàhx kee la	Tax kòx
Toad	Mo maw ke se aw	Pah pe quoh kah	Màhx kal àh to	Chàx kal
Snake	Ke na pe kwoh	Ke no peek	Mun èt o	X′ hoke
Lizard		Oh tah wah ko maink	Kahx kàh tal àhk wah	K′ kàh tah le àhk w′
Worm	Mo se awh	Ah wain to kay shock	Mun èt o thi thah	Mox wàis
Insect		Ah wain to kay shock	Wen thàh thik ee mun èt o la shàh kee	Mox wài tut

Fly	O che aw	Oh chee u	O′ cha	O′ chài
Wasp	Ka kan we kon ea	Ah mo wock māy nay mo wock	Ka kàh nee kah tà thee	Quà kah nò te yàs
Ant	A le kwaw	Ah wain to kay shock	Shah kàh lo aìth ee	Ai leèk wos
Bird	Wis sew e saw	Waish kay nonh	Wìs kee lòth ah	Cho lùns
Egg	Waw we	Wah won	O′ wàh wee	Ah òl
Feather	Saw waw gaw te aw	Pay wah way ock	Meèk o nàh	Mèek won
Claw	Kaw kon we na ke wah	Mesh kosh	Osh kàh shah	Whìk ush
Beak	Ken we ko le waw		O′ chàh see	Wh′ keè yun
Wing	Lan gwon nawh	Wah nanh kah quon	O lèk wah	Wul òng wun
Goose	Wo pe pe la waw	May kauk	Ah peèch ka thàh	Mùl luk
Duck	To paw se aw ke	Shay shep	Seè seè bah	Queek wìng um
Swan	Waw pun ge ah	Wah pay shay ew	Wàh pa theè	Ob so wèe lai
Partridge	Po kwo se se ah	Pay nawew	Ko ko làh soth àh	Po pòke wosh
Pigeon	Ma me ah (a dove)	Me me	Pah wèeth ah	Ah mèe mèe
Plover		Toh teeshk	Che chìs kee wà thee	Quèn chah làh tut
Woodcock		Chay naish kay wawe	Pesk thà to	Sho′ wah nìx la
Turkey	Na non waw ke pe la waw	Mainh shay nawe	Pa la wàh	Cheèk un ùm
Crow	An da kwaw	Ah nanh teck	Kàh kàhk ee	Hah hàhs
Raven		Kah kah kawe	Ah taìk wah	Wìng ee yòx qua
Robin		Pah pah nayew	Paik wh′ cha	Chìsh o kòse
Eagle		Pe nain sen	Pel àl thee	Quee yàm wees
Hawk		Pah kah chay kawe	M′ shkol àh nee	Quà nahl àn a
Snipe		Chay naish kay wawe	Muk eè chee chìskee waith ee	Quèn chah làht
Owl	Meen de quaw	Mean niew	Mee àth wa	Kòk hose
Woodpecker		Pah pah neh	Kwàhk wah thèe	Quàix quais
Fish	Ke ko na saw	Nah maish	Nùm a thàh	Num aì is
Trout		Nah main ko shock	Wa thàh wa theè tàhk no sài	
Bass		Ah shay kon	Seè kah	Pak chàix quais
Sturgeon		Nah mawe	La mùtch tha wah màig wah	Wee sàho seed
Sunfish		Nah ko tee	Pa pàh tho	O′ lai làxk ees
Pike		Ke non shew	Ken ò sa	Wee sàho seed qua kòn ko là

ENGLISH.	MIAMI.	MENOMONEE.	SHAWNEE.	DELAWARE.
Catfish	Mea lon wa kwoh	Wah shayew	Mee àh lah màig wah	Wèe sah màig wh'
Perch		Ay shaw way shaw	Meskèe tel ài	Ma ma pùk wee pak chàix quais
Sucker		Nah mainh pen	M' skwèe kah wàh	En ai pèel
Minnow		Nah main shay shock	Nùm ath cèth ah	Num ài tut
Fin		Oh nain chay kon	Nùm ath cè cho màh tee	An seèk o ah
Scale		May shay ock	Ol hah kàh	O lax àxk àhe
Roe		Wah ko shock	Waik wàh kee	'O o làh a àh taik
White	Waw pe ke	Wah pish kiew	Wàxk an ahk yah	Op pài
Black	Mah kot ta we haw ko ke	Ah pe shew	Mùk ut ài wah	Sùk ai
Red	Na pe kow gea	Mainh kiew	M' shwàh wee	Mòxk ai
Green	E ke paw king gea	Osh kay po kawe	Usk ibùk yah	As kask wai
Blue	E ke paw kaw low ta ke	Ka sha kash e no quaw	Pà ta wà nah tàh kee	Ah o nài
Yellow	Ow zaw wa king gea	Oh shah way ew	O sàh wah	Wee sàh ai
Great	Me che ke lo	Katch	M' shàh wee	Xìng wee
Small	A pe le ke	Nah hain nay	Màhch quah thèe	Tang et to
Strong	Seen ze la wa we	Tah toh kay shin	Wish kàn wee	Chèe tun ai
Weak	Zaw kwe kaw neh	Nainh nee nah mah	Mèk wah tòth ee	Chip u wài
Old	Naw kaw ne naw kot twe	Keesh keen	K' yài tah	Xo wài
Young	Wah ke ne ke taw	Wash ke nee neek	O' skee	Wus kèe
Good	Pah kot we	Waish kay wot	O' wès sah	Wùl lùt
Bad	La wot we	Kon waish kay wot	Much àhth ee	Max cheèk wee
Handsome	Pah kot we	Wain nay	O' wès sah	Wùl lùt
Ugly	Ma la u se we	Mah taet	Mat àth cèth ee	Max cheèk wee
Alive	To sa ne o we	Pay manh tay shay ew	Lèn o wài wee	Pum àho so
Dead	Ne po we	Nee poo ah	Nùp wah	Òng ul
Life	To sen e we o na	Pay manh tay shin	Lèn o wài wee wà	Pum àho so wàh kun
Death	Ne pa o na	Ne poo an	Nùp o wài	Òng ul o wàh kun
Cold	Ne pon we	Kah shay ew	Wàip ee	Tal ox
Hot	Ke she ta we	Ke she ah nah tay ew	K' sit a	K' shùt ai ox
Sour	We kaw pon we	Shay won	P skìp an wèe	Shu wùn

Sweet	Wee kaw pon we	Me non po quot	Weèg an wee	Wìng an
Pepper	We se kaw kaw ne	Way shah kon	Wee thàhk kah chìk àh	Pep pl*
Salt	Weh ke paw ka na	Shay way tah kon	Nùp ee pèm ee	Seek hàhc
Bitter	We saw kon we	Shàh ke po quot	Wee thàhk an wee	Wis sàh kuu
I	Ne law	Nay nanh	Neèl ah	Nee
Thou	Ke law	Kay nanh	Keèl ah	Kee
He	E naw	Way nanh	Weel ah	Nai kah
She	E naw	Ay nanh	Weel ah	Nai kah
They	Weel waw	Wa no nanh	Weèl ah wàh	Naig eèk
Ye	Keel waw	Keen wo ah	Keèl ah wàh	Naìg um àho
We (inclu.)	Ke lo naw	Kay nanh	Neèl ah wai	Neèl one àh
We (exclu.)	Ne lo naw	Osh nee shay ah	Necl ah wai	Neèl one nàh
This (an.)	O naw naw	Ay ah tm	Yah màh len àh wai	Wàhx a wam
This (in.)	O ne	Yohm	Yo mah	Yòne ee
That (an.)	E naw	Ay ay nonh	E nàh len àh wai	Nàhx a wàin
That (in.)	E ne ne	Ay naih	E nèe wee yài ee	Nàn un nêe
These (an.)	O ne ke	Ay ah kom	Yox ko màh len àh waik eè	Yoùk ah wàin eek
These (in.)	O ne auh	Ay ah nom	Yòx lo màh wee èxkee	Yoùl ai
Those (an.)	On da ke	Ah ko mainh	Nex keèl en àh wèx kee	Nài kah wàin eek
Those (in.)	E ne au le kaw haw	Ay ah ne nonh	Nil eè weex èx kee	Nàil ka kòne ee
All	Cha ke	Mah wawe	Chah yàx kee	Wai mèe
Part	An lin daw	Potch kah	Nàh let ah	Al lùn dai
Who	O wa naw	Ah wah nay	Naith o wai	A wàin
What	Ka twe	Wainh kee	Nài kee wai	Kèk o
What person	O wa naw na naw	Ah wah ay nonh	Nàith o wài	A wàin
What thing	Ke at we ne nah	Ah wah shay ken	Nài kee wài	Kèko hètch
Which person	Taw ne ta taw waw	Ah wah ay ah wet	Tah nàh wai	Tàh nee a wàin
Which thing	Taw ne aw no nea	Tah ay nay	Tàh nà wèe wee yèx kee	Kèk one hètch
Near	Ke che	Kah chay	Màh lahk wàh kee	Paix òch a
Far off	Peel we	Wah nawe	Pel o whee	Òx lum mà
To-day	Kaw ke kwa	Oh manh nayew osh kay shay kah	E no keè kah sa keè kee	Yoòg waik eèshk week

ENGLISH.	MIAMI.	MENOMONEE.	SHAWNEE.	DELAWARE.
To-morrow	Si a paw	Wah pah	Wah pùk yai	Al lup pàh
Yesterday	An law kea	Oh nanh ko	Wo làh ko	Làhk o wài
By and by	Naw maw kaw ke kea	Kah nay ew	Pee lò chai keè	Pèx o
Yes	E he	Ay ay	Ah'	Kò hon
No	Ne she	Kawn	Màh tàh	Tùk o
Perhaps	Ma ma kwaw	Nanh way nansh	Mèn o wàh hee	Tàm sa
Never	On ze kea	Kon nay ko to	Tel àhk wàsh ee	Tàh hàh shee
Forever		Ah pain nay ew	Kok wèl ahk wàh shee	Àhp chee
Above	Pa ming gon ja	Ish paim miew	Spùm uk ee	O qùa yung
Under	Taw kon ja	Chee kah kiew	See pàh chee	Lah mùng wai
Within	Law min gon ja	Pee teck	Lah mài kee	Week wàh ming
Without	Keen gon ja	Ah quaw chee	Thah gètch ee	Ko chùm ing
Something	Ke ko	Kay koh	Wee yài hee	Kèk o
Nothing	Ka twe kaw	Kon ko tawe	Mat àh wee yài hee	Tùk o kék o
On	An que sau ta we	Wah kaitch	Os keè chee	X' qu chee
In	Law min gea	Pee teek euw	Peè tuk a	Lah mùng wai
By	Pe pe au wa	Kaish pay monh niew	Pèm tha	Pùm ìsk ai
Through	Nēs zau po sah	Shah pee nen	Shàhb wee	Ai shee
In the sky		Kay shay koh	E nee pàsk wah keè kee	Kum òxk ung
On the tree	Taw wawn ne geh	Me anh shah koh	M' tùk ò hee	Hit kung
In the house	Law min ge she	Way ke wom mày	Peè tuk à weékee wàh buk eè	Weèk wah mìng
By the shore	Pe pe ou wa se pe un gea	Chee ke she tay may ay nah kah	Skwàh be yài kee	Ap ai ee
Through the water	Kan pa sheen waw	Oh nanh me pe ah pay may chay mawe	E nèe nùb a kee	Pum ee pòke
To eat	Me che o ne	Mee te shin	Weè then ee	Meech wàh kun
To drink		May naan	Men wàh	Mèn ai yò kun
To laugh		Ah y ah nen	Ah yài lee	Kul èks o wàh kun
To cry		Ash monh	Wee thàh qua	Là puk o wàh kun
To love		Mee ne nay may	Ahxk wài la teè wái	Ah hòl to wàh kun
To burn		Kee she shin	Thùk a tai	Lo so wàh kun
To walk		Pay monh nen	Pèm tha	Pùm es ka yò kun

To run	Kah chay ton	Mem à quee	Shah ma la yo kun
To see	Ash nay may	Nen a mài	Nèk o so wàh kun
To hear	Ash nōnh tōn	No tàh	Pen dùm wa yò kun
To speak	Kee ke twon	Kàh la wee	Lò wa yò kun
To strike	Ash pah kah kāy	P'kee ta heèk ya	Pàx kàhm wa yò kun
To think	Ash ay nainh nāy to mainh	Mem à ken eèt à hài	Leè ta ha yò kun
To wish	Nawsh	Shkàh tah	Kah tàim wa yò kun
To call	Osh naw toh kee	Weèx kok yà	N' domè wa yò kun
To live	Osh pay manh tay shay	Len o wài wèe	Mah swàh yò kun
To go	Osh manh chce ah	Waìb tha	Al ùmps ka yò kun
To sing	Osh nay kāh me	Nùg um ò	Ah sò wàh kun
To dance	Osh nē me	Men yà lo wài	Kun to kai yò kun
To die	Osh nay pay	Nùp o wài	Ong èl o wàh kun
To tie	Osh kah pay on	Chìb ùt ai	Kàx pee seèk
To kill	Osh nainh nay	N' sèe wai	N' xìlt o wàh kun
To embark	Osh poh shay	Ahm ok wèe	Pò so wàh kun
Eating	Osh mainh me tee sheet	Wèe then ùp ee	Mèet sah teèn
Drinking	Maink meen wah	Men ùp pee	Men ax teèn
Laughing	Maink ah y ah nen	Ah yài lup pèe	Kul èks ah seèn
Crying	Maink mowe	Wèe thah qùa pee	Làh puk hàh teen
To be, or exist	Ah shaw wek		
You are	Ash tah shay yeck	Keè lah yòu	Keek
He is	Ay nay ain she ket	Wèe lah you	Nèk um ah
I am that I am	Ay shay ken chee wah way on nay taw wem	Nèe lah e nèe nee làh	

* Words marked with an asterisk (*) are adopted by the Delawares, with a peculiar pronunciation, from the English.—S.

II. IROQUOIS GROUP.

ENGLISH.	MOHAWK. BY REV. ADAM ELLIOT, CANADA.	ONEIDA. BY YOUNG SKENANDO, ONEIDA CASTLE.	CAYUGA. BY REV. ADAM ELLIOT.	ONONDAGA. BY ABRAHAM LE FORT.
God	Ni yoh	Lo nee	Ni yoh	Ha wa ne uh
Devil	O ne soh ro no	O nish uh lo nuh	O ne soo no	O nish onk na in nuk
Angel		Klu ne o lux (bad angel)		
Man	Rong we	Long wee	Na ji na	Haing wee
Woman	Yong we	Yong wee	Kon hegh tie	Wa thoon wix sus
Boy	Rax aa	Lakt sah yek sah	Ak saa	Hux sa ha
Girl or maid	Kax aa	Lakt sah yek sah	Ex aa	Ix e sa ha
Virgin				
Infant or child	Ex aa	Kun neix sa da	Ex aa	
Father, my	Ra ken i ha	Lake nee ha	I ha ni	Kne hah
Mother, my	Is te a ha	Ak han ol ha	Ik no ha	Uk no hah
Husband, my	Tey a ken i te ro	Lo na	I onk nin ia go	Haiw nah
Wife, my	Tey a ken i te ro	Teh ned lon	I ong ia his ko	Teh ne taiw (wife)
Son, my	I ye a ha	Loy a nah (his)	I hi ha wog	Ho ha wa (his)
Daughter, my	Ke ye a ha	Sa go yeh his	Ik he ha wog	Sa go ha wa (his)
Brother, my	Ak ya tat cke a ha	Teh iah da non dal	I tek ya teh non te	Tai ak e ad a non da (bro.) (f.)
Sister, my	Ac ya tat o se a ha	O na da da gunh	Ke ke a ha	Tai o he ad a non da (sister) "
An Indian	Ong we how e	Ong wa hon we	Ong we howe	Un gwa hon gwa
A white man				
Head	O nont si	O nondj	O no waa	O non wa
Hair	O nonk wis	O nok wish	O non kia	O non kwi eh
Face	O kon sa	Ye goonks na	O kon sa	O gook sah

Scalp	O no ra	Ti un dah lon dak we	O no ha	O noo ah
Ear	O hon ta	On hun tah	Hon ta	O hooh tah
Eye	O ka ra	O gah	O kagh ha	O ga hah
Nose	On yoh sa	O neu hs	On yoh sia	O ni u sah
Mouth	Jir a sak a ron te	Tshe sug a lun	Sis ha ka ent	Oh sah
Tongue	A wean agh sa	O wu nas	A we an agh sa	O nah sah
Tooth	O na wi	O no wee	O no jia	O no tia
Beard	O ke as te a ra	O goos ta	O ko ste aa	O noos ka
Neck	On ya ra	O ni awl	On yaa	O ni a ah
Arm	O nont sa	O nunts	O ne ant sa	O nen at sha
Shoulder	Ogh ne ah sa	O nunxt	Ogh ne sia	O neh sah
Back	Ogh na gea	Yee shoonht	Esh ogh ne	Oh sunk wah
Hand	Os no sa	Yee snoon ga	Esh ogh ta ge	Oh ni a
Finger	Os no sa	Yoont sa da (fore)	O nia	
Nail	O ji e ra	O je ail	O je igh ta	O a ta
Breast	A ons kwe na	Ont sah qua	O ah sia	O ah sah
Body	O ye ron ta	O ye o loon dah	O ye on ta	Oi a tah
Leg	Ogh si na	Oh se nah	Ogh se na	O non tah
Navel	O ne rit sta	On le tah	Kat she tot	Ot gu a tah
Thigh	Ogh nit sa	Oh neet sah	On hos ka	Oh neet shah
Knee	O kwit sa	Ya goont shah ga	O kont sha	O kah e nah
Foot	Ogh si ta	O see tah	O shi ta	Oh see tah
Toe	Ogh yak we	O ne ug we lah	Ogh ya kwea	O he ag wi a
Heel	O ra ta	Ye lah da ne	I yat a ge	O a tah
Bone	O sti ea	Os tia	Os ti en da	Os ti an tah
Heart	A we ri	Ah wa leh	Ka wi agh sa	Ah wai a sa
Liver	O twe ah sa	Ost wan sah	Got we sia	O nah kwa
Windpipe	Ra tor yeh ta	O hoong wah	O ho wa	O hun wa
Stomach	O nek e re an ta	Ye ya da gooh (insides)	On ne kre an da	O yon wah
Bladder	O nit he agh ka ta	O din ha duk	On he ha	In hah a kwuh
Blood	O neg we a sa	O neg wuh suh	Ot gwe a sa	Ot kwai seh

ENGLISH.	MOHAWK.	ONEIDA.	CAYUGA.	ONONDAGA.
Vein	O gi noh yagh tough	O ge noh yah tun	O jin oh ya da	Ott she nu li a ta
Sinew	O gi noh yagh tough	O ge noh yah tun	O jin oh ya da	Ott she nu li a ta
Flesh	O wa rough	O wah lan	O wa ho	Wei un ta
Skin	Ogh na	O nah gwa lah	O gon egh wa	Ko nih wa
Seat	O nits kwa ra		On di a dak wa	O oh nat sa
Ankle	O sin e go ta		O jih oug wa	
Town	Ka na ta	Ku na diah	Ka ne tae	Kun a dai a
House	Ka no sa	Ka nu su da	Ka no si od	Kun o sai a
Door	Kan ho ho		Kan ho ha	
Lodge	Tey e tas ta	Ya go dus kwa he le	Tey e tas ta	Wus kwa ka
Chief	Rak o wa na	Lo ai nil	Agh se an e wa ne	Hoh se no wahn
Warrior	Ros ke ahr a geh te	Lus kan la ge te	Os ge ag eh ta	
Friend	At e ar os e ra	Hun a dan lu	A te rot se ra	Unt shee
Enemy	Sha gos we ase	A al e os ka	On da tes waes	Kih un i ag wa sa
Kettle	On ta	O on dak	Ka nad sia	Kun a tia
Arrow	Ka yonk we re	Ki o wil la	Ka noh	Ka hais ka
Bow	A e ana	Ha uh nu	A do ta	Ah ain da
War-club	Ye an te ri yoh tak an yoh	Yun le oh ta qua gan hi uh	Ka jih wa o dri oh ta	Ka jeeh kwa
Spear	A ghsik we	Ho sha gweh	Kagh sig wa	A ju dish tah
Axe	A to kea	A do gun	A to kea	As kwa sa
Gun	Ka ga ore		Ka o ta	
Knife	A sare	Ha sha le	Ka in a tra	Ha sha
Flint	Kahn hia		A tra kwen da	
Boat	Ka ho we ya	Ka hoon we ia	Ka o wa	Kun e a e tah
Ship	Ka ho we ya ko wa	Ka hoon we ia goon	Ka o wag o wa	Ka hoon i sa nah
Sail				
Mast				
Oar				
Paddle				
Shoe	Agh ta	Ah ta	A tagh kwa	A tah kwa

Legging	Ka ris	Ka lis	Ka is ra	Kais
Coat	At ya ta wit	A di a da weht	At ya ta wi tra	A dai da weht sa
Shirt	On ya ta ra a at ya ta wit	Ka ni ya ga ha dus	Ni ka he ha	Ka gah ha
Breechcloth	Ka ha re	O jun ka	Ka tro taa	A je nuh kah kwa
Sash	At ya tan ha	O dun kwun ha	Te at ni ag wis tris ta	Ka gai tah
Head-dress	O no wa ro ri	O la oon qua	Ti od naa won has ta	Kais to wah
Pipe	Ka no na wea	Ko nan a wuh	At si ok wagh ta	Ko non a weh ta
Wampum	O ne gor ha		Ot ko a	
Tobacco	O ye ang wa	Ka lo nia	O ye an gwa	O yai kwa
Shot-pouch				
Sky	Ot sha ta	Ka ko nia	Ot sha ta	Ka ai wi a
Heaven	Ka rongh ya ge	Ko kon hi a gee	Ka oh ya ge	Ka ai wi a ga
Sun	Ka raghk wa	Woh ne da	Ka agh kwa	A nik ha
Moon	Egh ni ta	Woh ne da	So hegh ka ka agh kwa	As so he ka
Star	O gis tok	Yu gis to kwa	O jis hon da	O jis tan ah kwa
Day	Egh ni se ra	Kwon da gi	O nis ra te	Wun da da
Night	Agh se an tea ne	Kwa sun de gi	A so he	As soh wa
Light	Tey os wa the	Wan da	Tey o ha te	Te oh ah i aih
Darkness	Ty o ka ras	Ted hu gal las	Ti yot son ta ge	Te o kaus
Morning	Oh rhon ke ne	Os tih tshee	Se det si ha	Hai gahtsh cek
Evening	Yo ko rask ha	U gall os nih	O ka a sa	O gai sah
Mid-day				
Midnight				
Early				
Late				
Spring	Ke ank we te ne	Kung we da heh	Kag we ti ji ha	Kug we deh kee
Summer	A ke an ha ge	Gwa gun ha ge	Ka ken ha ge	Kug en ha gee
Autumn	Ka non a ge	Run un a gih	Ka nan a ge ne	Kun un ah kee
Winter	Kogh se ra ge	Roh sla gih	Kohs regh ne	Koh sah gih
Year				
Wind	O we ra	U we lon do	Ka wa on des	O ah

ENGLISH.	MOHAWK.	ONEIDA.	CAYUGA.	ONONDAGA.
Lightning	Te we an e re ka ra was	Ta won li kal a was	Te we an i hos	Ta won neh wus
Thunder	Ka we ras	Gas a gi un da	Ka we an o ta ti as	Ka wun do ta te
Rain	Yo ke an o rough	O kan o lah seeh	O sta on di on	Osh ta
Snow	O ni yeh te	O ne ah ta	O nie ye	O kah
Hail	Yo i son tie	Wa wiz on de	O id ri on dio	O we soon di ix
Fire	Yot ek ha	O djis ta	O jis ta	O djis tah
Water	Ogh ne ka nos	Oh na gon noos	O nik a nos	Oh nag o noos
Ice	Oise*	Hoo wis see	Oi tre	O wee soo
Earth	O when sia	O gwun je ah	O e an ja	O whain je ah
Sea	Kan yat e ra ke ko wa	Ka ne a dal a oko a	Kan ya te o wa negh ne	Ra ne ad a e wah
Lake	Kan yat a re	Ka ne a dal ahk	Kan ya ta e ni	Kun e a da
River	Ka ih ogh ha	Ke ho ad' a dee	Ki ha de	Ki u ad a dee
Spring	Yoh na we ron te		Ogh na wa ot	
Stream	Yoh yo hon to	Ku nig i o ha a	Ogh ye an to	Ne ka yun wa hia
Valley	Tey oh ro we	O oh ni awkh	Tey os to wen to	Ku gus we nu sa
Hill	Yo non te	Yu non doos	O non te a	Ru na do ta
Mountain	Yo nen te ko wa	Yo nond	O non to wa ne a	O nun do wahn nah
Plain	Ka he an ta	Rul ha dahk	Ka he an tac	O dug wun zhi ag wi o shoo
Forest	Kar ha go	Kul ho an	Ka ha go	Kuh ha go
Meadow	Yeh e an ty yk ta	Yu gun ig il e aht	O ston dri ak ta	Ston da ok tah
Bog	Yon an a wea	Kun a wuk h	O we an ja na we	Kun a wa konh
Island	Ka we no te	Kah wa nood	Ka wegh no a	Kah wa na o
Stone	O neh ya	O nia	Kas kwa	O nia
Rock	Ot ste a ra	Ots ta	O ste a ha	Ush ta ha
Silver	Ka ris ta no ra	Kah wish to no lung	Ka wis ta noo	Kah wish to nooh
Copper	O gin ig war kar is ta ji	Kwe nis	O gwen i da	Ok wa neet
Iron	Ka ris ta ji	Ka lis tutch	Ka ni a wa sa	O tak at shah
Lead	Ka wis tan a wis	Ko wish ton a wuhs	Ka nik a na wis	O ni o nus
Gold				
Maize or corn	O ne as ti	O nust	O ne ha	O na hah

Wheat	E an ek e ri		O na ji a	O na dia
Oats	Yo no hon te	Yu na hoont	Oats (adopted)	O na dia
Potatoe	Ogh ne an a ta	Oh nun naht	O na ta	O non uh kwa
Turnip				
Pea				
Rye				
Bean				
Melon				
Squash				
Barley				
Tree	Khe rite	Kel heet	Krael	Kai un ta
Log				
Limb				
Wood	O ye an te	O yunt	O ye an da	We an dah
Post				
Stump				
Pine	Ogh neh ta	Oh nait	Os taa	O naih tah
Oak	To ke a ha	O tok uh ha	Ka ka ta	Ki on da ga
Ash	Egh sa	Ku milh	Ko ho we ya	Ko niew
Elm	A ka ra ji	O gun lawsh	Osh kra	Ka yut kwa
Basswood	O hos e ra	O oo za	O ho tra	Ho ho sa
Shrub	Ni kak we ra sa	O gwi le	O hon da	O hun ta
Leaf	O ne ragh te	O on lat	O u ragh ta	O nai tah
Bark	O wa jis te	As koont	O wa jis ta	Ka soon tah
Grass	O hon	O ne kee	O wen ogh kra	O win o ka
Hay	Ohr hes			
Nettle		Ol hooht	O whes tra	O nuh kwah sa
Thistle				
Weed	Ka hon tax a	O nag in i es hoo	O wen o kra sod	O we nuh ka soo eh
Flower	O ji jia	Yud ji oont	O we ha	O tait sa
Rose				

ENGLISH.	MOHAWK.	ONEIDA.	CAYUGA.	ONONDAGA.
Lily				
Bread	Ka nat a rok	Ka a da rook	O na da	O hak wuh
Indian meal	O ne as ti oth e se ra	O gwah u wen e ho tai jee	O ne ha o te tra	Tshe kwi gos ta its
Flour	O the se ra		O te tra	
Meat	O wa rough	O wal hoo	O wa hon	O wa heh
Fat	Yo re se a		O se a	
Beaver	Jon i tough	Tsh o neeht	A kan i a go	O na ka yah ke
Deer	Os kon e an tia	Us ko nont	Wa hon tes	Skan o do
Bison or buffalo				
Bear	Ogh kwa ri	O kwa e	Yek wai	Oh waie
Elk				
Moose				
Otter	Ta wi ne	To ween	Ju te dro	Skwa ai e a
Fox	Jit sho	Sku nux	Ish ai e	Shah nux a
Wolf	Okwa ho	O ta hune	Tah i o ni	Hoh yo ne
Dog	Ehr har	Ail hol	Sho as	Tsh ech ha
Squirrel	A ro se a	Tsh uk we loh	Jo nis kro	Tsh uk a ta kee
Hare	Ta hon ta ne ge a	Tsh on kol lo	To u ta end	O goon whah
Lynx				
Panther				
Muskrat	A nok ye a	No gi	Te o ut	O no ji
Mink				
Fisher				
Marten				
Mole				
Polecat	Ta kos ko wa	O ne dus	Ka ne wa ge ha	Ne dush
Hog	Kwis kwis	Kus kus	Kwis kwis	Kwēas kwēas
Horse	Ya gos a te as	Ya go sa dus	Ka on da nen kwi	Ko sa dus
Cow	Ka non ta	Gwun da dak was	Ti dos kwa o ut	Te un hos kwi
Sheep	Tey o tin a kar on to ha	Tau de na ga lun tun ha	Tey o din e ka on do a	Te o di nak ai un ta

Turtle or tortoise	A no wa ra	U no wul	Ka ni agh ten go wa	U no whahl
Toad	Jigh na na tah	Tsh u nis ka gwa lond	Nas kwa ga on ta	Noos kwa kwi au to
Snake	On ya re	Otk	O sa is ta	O shaish ta
Lizard				
Worm				
Insect	Os te nown	Ot she noo	Ot sin o wa	
Fly				
Wasp				
Ant				
Bird	Jit e a ha	Tsh e da	Jit e ae	Ka yu hah
Egg	On hon sa	On hush	On hon si a	On hus ka
Feather	Os to se ra	Os to ze	Os to tra	O nah kwa
Claw	Ot ji e ra	O je ail	Ot si ouh ta	O dih tah
Beak	O jik e wey e an ta	O we und	Ka ni an ta sa	O e un ta
Wing	O wey a	O we a hoonts	Ka wa on tes	O e a ta
Goose	O nas a ke a ra	O la sag un lat	Hon kah	Koonk
Duck	So ra	Dul lon goo	O he a o	Soak
Swan				
Partridge	Oghk we se a	Ok wais	Ka we se a	On e ag ie he
Pigeon	O ritc	O leek	Ja ko wa	Tsh u ha
Plover				
Woodcock				
Turkey	Ska we ro we ne	Sko we lo wah	So ho ut	Ne tah ain chwa
Crow	Jo ka we	Ka ga	Kagh ka	Kah kah
Raven				
Robin	Jis ko ko		Jis ko ko	
Eagle	O te an ye a	A do ni ud	Na ta on go wa	Skau je din nah
Hawk	Kar ha ko ha	Ku lug hoo	Tek a ya tak wa	Tag i ah tah kwah
Snipe	Ta wis ta wis	Ka we un dus ko	Ta wis te wi	Ta wish ta wish
Owl	O ho wa	Ska nun da no	O wa	Ka kho a
Woodpecker	Kwa ra re	O jee stok wol a noo	Kwa a	

ENGLISH.	MOHAWK.	ONEIDA.	CAYUGA.	ONONDAGA.
Fish	Ke ants ie a	Kunt she	Ot si on da	
Trout	Ty ot yak te a	Do di ah to	Ti ad at se a	
Bass	O jik ak wa ra	Ah wadj	O nok sa	
Sturgeon	Nik e an ji ak o wa	Run je a goch	Ka jhis ta	
Sunfish				
Pike	Jik on sis	Sku gah lux	Ji kon sis	
Catfish				
Perch				
Sucker				
Minnow				
Fin	O da re	O wen a hoonts	O wa i a	
Scale	Ots ta	Yut staht	Ots ta	
Roe				
White	Ke ar a ke a	O wis ka	Ke a an ke a	O wik aish ta
Black	Ka hon ji	As waht	Swe an da e a	O sun tah
Red	O neg we an ta re	O neg wa ta	Ot kwen ji a	Tut kwa ih ta
Green	O hon te	O won lh (la)	Drah ta e a	Tsheet kwa
Blue	O ron ya	O looh	Drin a e a	O wi uh hea
Yellow	O gin ig wur	O jeen kwulh	Jit kwa	O ti a ain da
Great	Ko wa ne a	Kwan	Ko wa ne a	Kuan
Small	Ni wa a	Kun e wuh	Ni wa a	Ne wu ah
Strong	Kash ats te	Kats hutst	Kas hats te	Kah whee sea
Weak	Yo yat ak e ah e ye a		O ya ta ke ah ye o	
Old	Ok ste a ha	A gi	Os te a	O ga yoon ghe
Young	Nit yo ye a ha	O do ee	Ong we ta se a	Us twa sah
Good	Yo ya we re	Yu yon leh	O yan ri	Yan lee
Bad	Wah et ke a	Wlah eet h	Wa et ge a	We hait kee
Handsome	Yo ra se	Yu yust tung	O yan ri	A gon le
Ugly	Wah et ke a	Wa heel kh (bad)	Wa et ke a	Wa hait ka
Alive	Yon he	Loon ha	Oh he	O on ha (life)

Dead	Ya we ah e ye a	La wan ha yun	A we ah e ye a	O wa hai oo
Life	Yon he	Yun ha	On he	Hain ha
Death	Ke ah e ye a	Ya wuh a yah	Ke ah e ye a	O wah ai yut
Cold	Yo to re	Ya tho la	O to wi	U tho we
Hot	Yo tar i he a	Yu ta le han	O tai ho	O dae hah
Sour	Tey oh yo jis	Ya yo yo gis	Tey oh yo jis	Ot she wa ga
Sweet	Ya we ko	Ya wa gon	O ka o	Win i wain dah
Pepper				
Salt				
Bitter	Yots ka ra	Yut ska lot	Od ji wa ge	Us kast
I	Iih	Ee	I	E eh
Thou	Ise	Ee sa	I se	Ee sah he
He	Ra on ha	La oon ha	A o ha	Hourh
She	A on ha	A oon ha	Ka o ha	Ow kah
They	Ro non ha	La noh ah	O no ha	O nun ha ge
Ye	Ji yo ha	E esa	Joh ha	Is ka hug wuh
We (inclu.)				
We (exclu.)				
This (an.)				
This (in.)				
That (an.)				
That (in.)				
These (an.)				
These (in.)				
Those (an.)				
Those (in.)				
All	Ag we gon	A gu a kon	Gwe gon	Ug wa he
Part				
Who	On ka	Hon ka	So na ot	
What				
What person				

ENGLISH.	MOHAWK.	ONEIDA.	CAYUGA.	ONONDAGA.
What thing				
Which person				
Which thing				
Near	Ni yo re a	A e tah	Ni yo e a	Tus ka ha
Far off	I no	E non	Ee noo	Ee noo
To-day	Ke a we an te	Ka wan a da		
To-morrow	E ay hor he a ne	A yul ha na	Ior ha na	Ior ha na
Yesterday		Ta tan	Te de a	
By and by	O wag e has e a ha		Swe ge ha	
Yes	Ea	H	E ghe a	
No	Yah te a	Yah ten	Te ah	Jach te
Perhaps	To kul	To ga no nah	To kat gi sa	
Never				
Forever				
Above	En e ge a	A nah kan	Ket ge a	
Under	O na gon		Na gon	
Within	O na go un non ga	Na gon	Na gong wa di	
Without	At ste non ga ti	Ats ta	As teg wa di	
Something	On he no	O tho kno ho ta	Ti ka we a ni yoh	
Nothing	Yag ho the no	Yah a ta non	Te ask o ut e a	
On	E thogh	Ka hale	E thogh	
In				
By				
Through				
In the sky				
On the tree				
In the house				
By the shore				
Through the water				
To eat	Te a yonts ka hou	Yon ta ke non ne	E yon di ko ni	

To drink	E a yeh ne ki ra	Yah na kee lah	E yeh ni ki ha	
To laugh				
To cry				
To love	E a yen ta ten o ronk we	E en ǫ lon qua	Te yon dat noonk	Schun ga ras ten chol
To burn	E a wat sha	U dek ha	E wat si a	
To walk	E a yon te an ti	E e yun	E yoh te an ti	
To run	Te a yor agh ta te	Ya dak na	Te sen tal	
To see	E a yont kagh tho	Wa ont kot	I yont kagh to	
To hear	E a yo ronk he	Ya got hon da	A yoh onk	
To speak	E a yon ta ti	Ya god ha la	I yegh ta e	
To strike	E a ye ye an ti	Wa a gon lek	E yeg o heg	
To think				
To wish				
To call				
To live				
To go	E a yon te ant	Wa hon ta de	E yon te an di	Ago ha wis sa re
To sing	E a yon te re an o te a	Ka lon no ta	E yon tre a no te	Jo ru eh wach qua
To dance	Te a yen on yak we	Tă yunt qua	Te yont kwa	
To die	E a ya igh he ye	Wa a ee ha ya	I ya ih he	
To lie				
To kill	E a yon ta te ri yo	Wa gon wa lew	E yon da tri yo	
To embark				
Eating				
Drinking				
Laughing				
Crying				
To be, or exist	Egh no yo te a	Ya gon ha	Ne tho nan yoh to ha ag	
You are				
He is				
I am that I am				

MISCELLANEOUS VOCABULARIES.

ENGLISH.	NÄUNI, OR COMANCHEE. (TEXAS.) BY R. S. NEIGHBORS, ESQ.	SATSIKA, OR BLACKFEET. (UP. MO.) BY J. B. MONCROVIE.	COSTANOS. (CALIFORNIA.) BY PEDRO ALCANTARA.	CUSHNA. (SACRAMENTO R.) JOHNSON, U. S. AGT.
God	Tah a pee	Kinnan, or my father	[1] Notes	[1] Notes
Devil		Gäcopeé natos	[1] "	[1] "
Angel			[1] "	[1] "
Man	Too a vish chee	Mata pé	Im hen	Wooly, or woo le
Woman	Wy a pee	A quié	Ra tich ma	Mohala
Boy	Too a nick pee	Sa co ma pé	She nees muc	Li ke
Girl or maid	Wy a pee chee	Aqué cou an	Ca tra	Cu le
Virgin			Su leek	Pusse min
Infant or child	Too ä chee	Gaka	O cloosh cush	Li eh
Father, my	Ner ak pee	Kinnan	Ah pah	Nick a
Mother, my	Ner bee ah	No christ	Ah nah	Munie
Husband, my	Ner co mak pee	Cou ma	Mah ko	
Wife, my	Ner quer	Ni to ke man	Hah wah	Cul le
Son, my	Ner too ah	No cousé	Een ne suc	Esly
Daughter, my	Ner pa tah	Na que couan	Cah ni men	
Brother, my	Ner tä ma	Ni nog po pi	Tah cah	Nic ta
Sister, my	Ner pa chee	Ni sís	Ol chane	
An Indian	Ah tah witchee	Sic si cou	Uc o ta nic ma	Me dick
A white man	To shop ty' voo	Na pi couan	Las car men	Woo le
Head	Pa' aph	Otocan	Oo lee	Chole
Hair	Par pee	Otocan	Oo lee	O no
Face	Ko veh	Otochris		Lah cool

Scalp	Par pee	C'Otokan	Oo lee	[2] Notes
Ear	Na hark	Oto kis	Tu o rus	Bo no
Eye	Na chich	Wa pes pi	Re hin	Hin
Nose	Mo o pee	Mocquisis	O os	Coil
Mouth	Tèp pa	Na o ié	Wer per	Tche nim
Tongue	Ah a ko	Natsini	Tas seck	Enn
Tooth	Tah nee	Nog pe ki	Se eet	Tcha wa
Beard	Mo or cho	Mon gat si	Oo lee	Mosus, or muss sauce
Neck	To yock	Nog quo quini	La ni	Tchu chock
Arm	Mo wa	Ott tis	Rs su	Yim, or mush a wah
Shoulder		Cat si quin	O losh	Dad dac
Back	Qua he	O ka quin	Che ke	Bo cot
Hand	Mo wa	Ott tis		Mah, or bee che
Finger	Mo wa	Ina qui quitsi	To noch ra	Mal
Nail	Noo reah	Téo ten oquits	To or	Pitch r, or bet chee "tche be"
Breast	To ko	O qui qui ni	Rt tec	Too too
Body	Wahk chee	Stomi	Wah rah	
Leg	Ah to ko	O sic si na	Po mee[2]	Lool, or "put teck"
Navel	Peesh po	Oton vís	Lo put	Pul lock
Thigh	To ho	Otoé sina		Hoy
Knee	Tun nop	Ol to quis	Ma cas	Tchu im, or "bo cat to"
Foot	Na hap	O cat si	Co lo	Pi, or s'pi
Toe	Na hap	Lui quitsi		Beach e or bee tche
Heel	Na hap	Cat si	Hah tah	"Pi jock sho"
Bone	Tso nip	O sic si	Tri ee	Boom
Heart	Pee he	Squi chi po pi	Me ne	
Liver	Ten a wa	Qui na quin	Se rah	
Windpipe				
Stomach	Shah ap	O quin	Me ne	
Bladder	Peesh po	Squi si		
Blood	Peesh pah	A pa ní	Pay an	Shed deck

ENGLISH.	NÄUNI, OR COMANCHEE. (TEXAS.)	SATSIKA, OR BLACKFEET. (UP. MO.)	COSTANOS. (CALIFORNIA.)	CUSHNA. (SACRAMENTO R.)
Vein	Peesh pah	Ots sa si	E nan	Puc hi
Sinew	To nu	As si pis	Hu rake	
Flesh	Toh ko	A orse	Rees	[3] Notes
Skin	Pesh	Oto quis	Pah tah	Tche la
Seat	Que ta	O o sé	O plus	Nos reet[4]
Ankle		Si na	Lee eek men[3]	Loo, or spil
Town	Ka nu ke		Yu na hi a	
House	Ka nu ke	Napi ou yis	Ree wah	Hoh
Door	Ka nu ke	Mi not si	In ho	
Lodge	Ka nu ke	Mou yé si		Es hu
Chief	Ta quin e waph	Ni na	Me tush	Ish
Warrior	Too a vitche	Ma ni ca pé	Re chu uc	
Friend	Haartch	Nap pé	Ah cho	Me rol
Enemy	Ah ta witche	Caj te me na	Hah rom	
Kettle	Wit wa	Is ka		
Arrow	Pa' ark	Ab sés	Pah wis	Pan num
Bow	Ho a a te	Nam ma	Pa nu ka	Pan duc
War-club		Ma ni qua pé cac sa qué	Pa por	[5] Notes
Spear	Cheak	Sa pa pis tats		
Axe	Ho him na	Cac sa qué		
Gun	Pe i a' te	Na ma		Copat ta
Knife	Weith	Stou an	Te pah[4]	Ca chel ler
Flint	Na dah carte	Oc co toe	I rake	[6] Notes
Boat	Wo we po ko	Oj quié oj sacs	Wah lee[5]	[6] "
Ship				[6] "
Sail		Na pis ti oj quié oj sacs		[6] "
Mast				[6] "
Oar		Oj quié oj sacs mis tis		[6] "
Paddle		Oj quié oj sacs mis tis	He u ki a	Spre ic
Shoe	Ma a pe	At si kin	[6] Notes	

Legging	Koo sha	At sics	[6] Notes	
Coat	Qua sho	Ni na a so quas	[6] "	Ca po ta
Shirt	Qua sho	Aso quas	[6] "	Cam e sa
Breechcloth	War weith pa ra	Osi can ne pis ti	Po tah	[7] Notes
Sash		Mi si pi sa		Pah hah
Head-dress	Wiste war wop	Osi mo can		Sol
Pipe	To ish	Ta cou e ni man	Ru coom	Col la
Wampum	Tshe nip			
Tobacco	Pa ha mo	Pis ta can	O ya	Span
Shot-pouch	Nar ah to ko	Wag so pan ou		
Sky			Re ne mè	We doc
Heaven			Oo sel	
Sun	Tah arp	Na tos	Ish men	Ok pi and su eie
Moon	Mush	Na tos cou cou i	Col ma	Pambo, or Pam bo cans
Star	Ta' arch	Ca ca tos	Ag weh[7]	Elal[8]
Day	Tah arp	A pi na coush	Pu he	
Night	Too ka na	Cou cou i	Mo or	Toc lus
Light		Chisticoui apinacoush	Pu he	
Darkness	Yeir	Christicoui cou cou i	Mo or	
Morning	Pua arth ca	A pi na coush	Hu shis tuc	Yeo co
Evening	Yur hum ma	Coucoui	U e car ne	Buh how
Mid-day		Ecoui api na coush		Eck ee
Midnight		Ecoui cou cou i		
Early		Pris ti coui api na coush	U yuc	
Late		Pristi coui cou cou i	Wah rap[8]	
Spring	Tane har ro		[9] Notes	
Summer	Ta arch		[9] "	
Autumn	Yer wa ne	Stou ie'	[9] "	
Winter	To hane	Stou ie'	[9] "	
Year		Stou ie'	Ar shish	
Wind		Sou pou i	Pu ya re	Mono, or bul la

ENGLISH.	NÄUNI, OR COMANCHEE. (TEXAS.)	SATSIKA, OR BLACKFEET. (UP. MO.)	COSTANOS. (CALIFORNIA.)	CUSHNA. (SACRAMENTO R.)
Lightning			Wilca wah rap	
Thunder		Chris ti coom	Pu rah	
Rain	Er mah	Og quié	Ah anau	Bi ca
Snow	Tah kan	Pou tand	Pu ut	Coh
Hail		Pou tand o co toc	Wa can	
Fire	Koo o na	S ti	Rore ta on	Him
Water	Pah ar	Oc quié	Se ee	Man an de, or mau mee
Ice		Oco tos co	Pur chu	
Earth		Ots cou yé	Wah rep[10]	
Sea	Pah hap pe a	Ecoui o mac si qui mi	Se ee	
Lake		O mac si qui mi	Se ee	
River	Ho nope	Ne he ta tan	O rush	Ot lo
Spring	Pah a cho pe		O rush	
Stream			O rush	
Valley				
Hill	To yar vit	Mis tac	Hoo ak	
Mountain		Mis ta qui	Hu yah	
Plain		Sats cou yé	Pah tuc	
Forest	Ho o carte		Yu kish	Co pes tcha
Meadow				
Bog	Yo ho car te			
Island				
Stone	Terp	So co co tosc	E reck	Oh
Rock		So co co tosc	Ah ní	
Silver	To shop po he wis ta	Mics quim	[11] Notes	Plut ta, or "sla i"
Copper		Mics quim	[11] "	
Iron	Po he wis ta	Mics quim	[11] "	
Lead	Na wok	Wae so pan	[11] "	Wal da
Gold	O ha we po he wis ta		[11] "	Oro, or tche bum
Maize or corn	Har ne wis ta	Bes ca tte	[12] "	

Wheat			[13] Notes	
Oats			[13] "	
Potatoe			[13] "	Pap os
Turnip			[13] "	
Pea	Pa hu te		[13] "	
Rye			[13] "	
Bean			[13] "	
Melon	Pe he na		[13] "	
Squash	Nah kosh		[13] "	
Barley			[13] "	
Tree	Ha pe te	Mis tis	Hu yah	
Log		Mis tis		
Limb		Mis tis	Ah ra ne	
Wood	Koo o ne	Mis tis		
Post		Mis tis		
Stump		Mis tis		
Pine				Tcha
Oak				
Ash				Har lin cha
Elm				
Basswood				
Shrub				
Leaf		Ca ca si ni		Bock
Bark		Mis tis o to quis	She mee	Te dah
Grass	Sho nip	Ma tou yés	Yah wah	
Hay	Par shop sho nip	Ma tou yés		
Nettle				
Thistle				
Weed				
Flower			Tee wish	
Rose			Pee wish mo mac wah	

ENGLISH.	NÄUNI, OR COMANCHEE. (TEXAS.)	SATSIKA, OR BLACKFEET. (UP. MO.)	COSTANOS. (CALIFORNIA.)	CUSHNA. (SACRAMENTO R.)
Lily				
Bread	Ta e shar tar	Ga ni ne	Shet nen [14]	Pan, or lis pan
Indian meal		Ga ni ne		
Flour		Ga ni ne		
Meat	Ta e kop	Ca yé	Ah rish	Co chu, or "co te"
Fat	Yoo	Pou mis	Sah wah	Hoot
Beaver	Hăr nēes	Kits ta qui		
Deer	Ar ra ker	A woc kass	Po tah	Doo pay
Bison or buffalo	Koo che	Stamie (male) ini oua (female)		
Bear	To o nah	Kui a go		Cup pa
Elk		Gó no ka		
Moose		Si qui ti so		
Otter	Pat cu kee	A mo ni se		
Fox		Ota ton yé		
Wolf	Ish	Apis	My al	
Dog	Shar dè	I mi té	Pu ku	[9] Notes
Squirrel				Tchum bo
Hare			Wah ren	Buoy
Lynx		Ga ca pe squi chi po pi		
Panther	To yar do ko	Ma qua ta yo		
Muskrat		Mi soupes qui	Yah neu a	
Mink				
Fisher				
Marten				
Mole				
Polecat		A pi qua i	Yah wee	
Hog	Co che na	Cou cou sh		[10] Notes
Horse	Te he yar	Pono ca mi té	Lak ah [15]	[10] "
Cow	Pe mo ro	Ini oua		[11] "
Sheep	Qua ha de	Oma qui qui na		

Turtle or tortoise			A u nish mau	
Toad				Tu tom
Snake	No he er	Pi sic si na omar con	Pres un frah	So lah (rattlesnake)
Lizard				Pitch ard
Worm				
Insect				
Fly			Mo mu a	Em e loo loo
Wasp				Ep o ny
Ant				Pussy oc lo
Bird	Ho cho	Pic si	We nâh mon	Ror te te ra
Egg		Wou a ou		
Feather	She ah		Swah rah	
Claw		Téo ten oquits		
Beak				
Wing		Mac sa po	Re te mu a	Wah che wa
Goose		Sé hé		
Duck		Inac se he	Ot cha	
Swan		Omar cou sé hé		
Partridge				
Pigeon				
Plover				
Woodcock				
Turkey	Ko yo ne tie			
Crow		Mas to ié	O te lish	Coh
Raven				
Robin				
Eagle	Ne e to	Pic si		
Hawk				
Snipe				
Owl	Mo pie			
Woodpecker				Pen nock

ENGLISH.	NÄUNI, OR COMANCHEE. (TEXAS.)	SATSIKA, OR BLACKFEET. (UP. MO.)	COSTANOS. (CALIFORNIA.)	CUSHNA. (SACRAMENTO R.)
Fish	Pă gue	Ma mic		Mac coy e
Trout		Ma mic	Che ric (salmon)	
Bass		Ma mic		
Sturgeon		Ma mic		
Sunfish		Ma mic		
Pike		Ma mic		
Catfish		Ma mic mou yat si		
Perch		Ma mic		
Sucker		Ma mic		
Minnow		Ma mic		
Fin		Ma mic		
Scale		Ma mic		
Roe		Ma mic coo se		
White	To shop (an. and in.)	Chris couie	Las cah min	Cuc cuc
Black	To hop (an. and in.)	Sic si nat si	Shol co te	Pea body and pea bote
Red	A kop te	Assa né	Chit co te	Chip puc
Green	A whipt	Ots ca		Spon o
Blue		Si ca		Qu een
Yellow	O hopt	Lui ou		Co ches
Great	Pe op	Omac sim	Ah nih	Muck, or costal
Small	Yer titch	I na cou tis	O chis chush	Tu tu, or see reete
Strong	Kea tŭh	Cou na tap sé	Cah mic mish	Lus lus
Weak		Machi couna tapsé	Po tos te	Ca du dus
Old	Cho ko pie	Napieu	Un tach	El mano
Young	Ir ka hun	Ma ni ca pé	O chis chush	
Good	Cha ar ne	Ax ces	Hor shah	Win nem
Bad		Pa cap sé	Ec te	Was sum [12]
Handsome	Cha nar boo ny	Ax ces	Hor shah	
Ugly		Ma chap sé	Ec te	
Alive		Ta po wa was ka	Ish ah	

Dead	Tur yar	Ini	Hur wis ta	Mul u
Life	Na une	Ta po wa was ka		
Death		Ini	Hur wee	
Cold	Urtch ate	Stouyé	Cah wee	Put
Hot	Ur ate	Ca í stou yé	Lah wi	Cuc o
Sour			Su ta	
Sweet		Na pi ni	O e chu	
Pepper	Mo hartch			
Salt	O nae vit er		Ah wish	
Bitter	Hartch ko nee		Ec te	
I	Nur	Nis toa	Cah nah	"Nick e"
Thou	Un	Cris toa	Me ne	"Min ke"
He	Sho ku	Hu mé	Wah che	
She		Hu mé	Wah che	
They	Pun che	Hu me	Ne cum sah	
Ye			Ma cum	
We (inclu.)		Nis to nan	Hah che	
We (exclu.)				
This (an.)			Na pah oo tich ne na moo	
This (in.)			Na pah in tro ka	
That (an.)				
That (in.)				
These (an.)			Ne cum ma kak	
These (in.)				
Those (an.)				
Those (in.)				
All	O yet	Et si ni ca	Ke te	
Part			Tup te na mun (half)	
Who		Ta ka	Ma to	
What		Ax sats	Hin to	
What person		Sé ma	Ma to pi sah	

ENGLISH.	NÄUNI, OR COMANCHEE. (TEXAS.)	SATSIKA, OR BLACKFEET. (UP. MO.)	COSTANOS. (CALIFORNIA.)	CUSHNA. (SACRAMENTO R.)
What thing			Hinto pi sah	
Which person				
Which thing				
Near	Mà tich	Ma chi pio	Ne o ki	"Her ro da"
Far off	Ma nar ke	Pi og	Nu hu en	Lah hoo
To-day		A nouk	Tah ah te	
To-morrow	Pa arch qua	Api na coush	Us rish	Tu chin o
Yesterday	Kirt	Matoun ni	Us rish tuc	Bul e
By and by			Ya wash	
Yes	Hă	Ha	He ah	
No	Ka	Sa	Ak wee	
Perhaps	Wo har ka ne		Yah wa carne	
Never			Ah kwa carne	
Forever				
Above			Re ne moo	Wo tah
Under			Oo ram	Wak e tee
Within			Me we too	
Without			Ca re	
Something			Te tra tec	
Nothing	Ka atch		Ah quĩn tra	
On			Pe shah	
In				
By				
Through				
In the sky			No shah re ne moo	
On the tree				
In the house			No shah ru wah	
By the shore			No shah wish tuc	
Through the water				
To eat	Tu kar roo	A og si ni	Ah mush	Pah

To drink	He be to	A si nis	O wah to	Moh
To laugh	Ya ha net	Ig mi	O ma mo shem	Ky ah
To cry	Yah kee	A wa sa né	A ta mah cah	Wah
To love	Kum mar kee	Ta co mi chi man		
To burn	Wă he app		A ta mah kee	
To walk	Her mumsh		A ta mah pa	E ah
To run	No ka ark		A cam to ha	Dock
To see	Nar boo ne	A pa sa mis	A tem hi mah	Hin, or chin e
To hear	Nar cut	Ta yog to	A tem tu he	Tu ca
To speak	Ta quon	Té pou ié	A tem shir le	"Cas ti ca"
To strike	Wár pur	Ta wa ya quiou	A tem as ter	Yah, or "yoh"
To think	Mis sho wine		A tem shal a hin tus	
To wish				
To call	Mu re marne		Hi ye	
To live			U e to	
To go	Ne er		I e ni	O yah
To sing	Ho be er		Har wee	Soll
To dance	Ne er ker		Ir shah	Yo mo sha, or "Cum e"
To die	Tur yah	Té ini	Huor wi ne	
To tie	Wyth er mun		He tah	
To kill	Ma wa kun	I ni ta	Me me	
To embark				
Eating	Ta ko pen ne	A og si ni	Ah mi	
Drinking	Ha va gun te	Asi ma tate		
Laughing	Yah ha kate	Ig mi		
Crying	Yah kate	A wa sa né		
To be, or exist				
You are			Mes ne	
He is				
I am that I am			Cah nah	

NOTES TO VOCABULARIES.

COSTANOS.

THE tribes of Indians upon the Bay of San Francisco, and who were, after its establishment, under the supervision of the mission of Dolores, were five in number: the *Ah-wash-tes*, *Ol-hones*, (called, in Spanish, Costanos, or Indians of the Coast,) *Al-tah-mos*, *Ro-mo-nans*, and *Tu-lo-mos*. There were, in addition to these, a few small tribes, but all upon the land extending from the entrance to the head of San Francisco Bay, spoke the same language.

At the time of the establishment of the mission these tribes were quite numerous.

The information contained in this was obtained from an aged Indian at the mission of Dolores, named Pedro Alcantara. He is a native of the Romonan tribe, and was a boy when the mission was founded; which, according to Humbolt, was in 1776. The language of these Indians appears to be entirely irregular, and governed by no rules or analogies.

[1] They had no name for any of these, knew nothing of their origin, nor had they any tradition in regard to it. They knew only they were born, and that they would die.

[2] The shin, or lower part of the leg. [3] All the bones of the foot are thus named.

[4] Knife made of stone.

[5] A sort of raft made of "tule," or rush; the only boats used by these Indians.

[6] The only clothing worn by these tribes was the breech-clout; usually made of rabbit or muskrat skins.

[7] The "large stars," or planets; the small and nebulous stars were called Mooch-mooch-miss.

[8] Literally, sun-set. [9] For the seasons there were no names. [10] She-ka—Dust.

[11] All the metals were called by the name of E-reck—Stone. [12] Had none.

[13] These Indians knew nothing of agriculture, but subsisted by hunting and fishing.

[14] Bread made of acorns.

[15] The establishment of the missions, in which these Indians have been taught the Spanish language, is sufficient reason why the names of animals introduced by the missionaries should be only known by the Indians in Spanish.

CUSHNA.

This language was obtained, in general, from the tribe "*Cush-na*," on the mountains of the South Yuba. It is, however, common to most of the tribes inhabiting the upper portion of the Sacramento Valley.

I have found great difficulty in getting at the true meaning of many of the words. For instance, in speaking of the arm—they call it "yim" or mus-e-wah—it is difficult to ascertain whether they mean the whole arm by one of the terms; if so, which term, or whether they mean the upper or lower part of the arm: so with the leg, fingers, &c. I have never found an interpreter who understood much more than enough of their language to trade with them or do common business with them. I have found several who professed to understand the language, but none who really did. I have therefore had to obtain this language as I best could, and of course expect some of it is imperfect. I have some blanks, and shall endeavor to correct any errors in this as rapidly as possible.

WORDS AND SENTENCES.

Eyewinkers	"Bok bok"	Food	Sum mack
Eyebrow	Wis con	To gamble	"Ha li"
Little boy	Hu e no	Dead	"Mul u"
To sweat	Loop kit	To cut	"Ho o na"
Forehead	Tchim	To shoot	"Darco," or "Nar wa hah"
Elbow	"Puc cus cus"	This	Hed dam
Belly	"Cur de"	This place	Hed da da
Shawl	Lau ce	Where	Hah mo de
Smoke	"Shook"	What is it	Hes hah
Stone-coal	"Cot"	What do you say	Ha zem
Wild onion	"Woh ro"	Give	Wa ma
Pine seed	"Ton e"	Give it to me, or hand it to me	To pe
Peppermint	"Hesh ah"	Take it	Mip
Lean	"Do lah"	Come here	O lep pa
Raccoon	"Och"	To buy	Pec al de
Mouse	"O ossay"	Lazy	Buck i
Stink	"Toc taw"	Dirt	Pitch e
To sleep	"Au ee"		

Expressions of surprise or astonishment ..... "Ah me" and "Solam copam"
To labor, travel, or any effort or exertion ..... "Tows hal"

The following must be words of recent formation, as they could not have known any thing about the articles to which they are applied until recently.

Coat	Capota	Paper	Pap pile
Gun	Co patta	Vest	Char lac co
Powder	Pul pul	Shirt	Cam e sa
Candle	Man ta ka	Hat	Somliel
Boards	Top la	Saw	Har se
Bucket	Su wat le	Ox horn	Mo
Beads	Hoite		

NUMBERS.

This is the extent to which many of the tribes can count. After this they count by tens. If they wish to count fifty, they count five tens; if one hundred, ten tens, &c.

One	Wic tem	Six	Tum bum
Two	Pan im	Seven	Tap u im
Three	Sap u im	Eight	Pent chim
Four	Tchu im	Nine	Pel lom
Five	Mark um	Ten	Match im

PROPER NAMES OF A FEW INDIVIDUALS OF THE TRIBE "CUSHNA."

Colla, their chief	Ma lu ce	Osh da	In accs
Cam mu la	Coa che pe	Pan tu	Mon ac e no
Hock la	Put sha	She col	Com o lin

Wo mo te	Wis e ma	Lu wassie	Mat tuck
Sar rap pa	Hom pella	Whee lock	On em po lo
Yap pa	Penne wate	Draper	Oc can no
Mo a wa i	Ca bote lum	Ya chu no	Will yo
Shen do			

[1] In none of the tribes of the Sacramento have I found a single individual who seems to have the least idea of either God, angel, or Devil.

[2] Know nothing about it; do not scalp their slain.

[3] Penis, "Tche lem;" Testicles, "Su-ig," or "Su wig;" Female's penis, "Pus sey;" the act of connexion, "In wock;" Female's Breast or Teats, "Min ney."

[4] To sit down.

[5] Know nothing about it.

[6] Nothing known of these things in the Indian language.

[7] The females alone wear them. The males are entirely naked, unless where foreigners have come around them and given them old shirts, &c.

[8] The whole of the stars, "Pu cu li les ta."

[9] In some tribes "Shu," others "Shu shu," and others Coyote.

[10] Had neither hog nor horse in California before the establishment of the missions.

[11] No cows, but milk is "Lee chee."

NOTE.—The vocabularies of the various groups of tribes in the United States are in an advanced state of preparation; and their publication will be resumed in succeeding volumes, and continued until they are complete.

X. STATE OF INDIAN ART. A.

SYNOPSIS.

I. Ancient Art. (Vide Antiquities, vol. I, p. 70.

II. Modern Art.

a. Existing Handicraft Skill.

1. Pipe Sculpture.
2. Ornamented Pipe-stems.
3. Canoes of Bark.
4. War-clubs and Hatchets.
5. Cradle.
6. Musical Instruments.
7. Various Domestic Arts.
8. Apecun.
9. Muskrat Spear.
10. Dressing Skins.
11. Forest Embroidered Sheaths and Cases.
12. Wooden Implements: Ball Sticks.

II. MODERN ART.

a. EXISTING HANDICRAFT SKILL.

1. Pipe Sculpture.

Art, in the Indian mind, appears to have had its germ in the peculiar species of sculpture which is evinced in the stone carvings of their ancient smoking pipes. The ancient forms of these are shown by the disclosures of their graves and altar-mounds in the West, to have been very elaborate. The specimens figured by Mr. Squier from the Scioto Valley, evince a very close observation of the peculiar and distinguishing traits of various species of carnivorous birds, quadrupeds, and reptiles. The imitative faculty appears to be very strong in the Indian, in all periods of his history, and has been brought out with much skill, in connexion with this very striking habit. We observe a similar, but not, in this instance, a superior degree of skill, to have existed among the Toltecs, Aztecs, and native Peruvians. Their ardor seems to have been drawn off, in a measure, from the pipe-sculpture, to pottery, architecture, picture-writing, and perhaps pure hieroglyphics, while the United States tribes continued to devote their highest skill to pipe-sculpture.

Mr. Ewbank[1] has opened the discussion of the existence of ancient art on this continent, in a manner that carries us backward to the earliest traces of mechanical skill in the human family; at the same time we are led to perceive from his investigations, how scanty and inadequate our materials are upon the subject. The distaff is apparently of the same early age as the potters' wheel, the art of cutting gems by whirling disks of stone, and the reed blow-pipe, without the last of which, it is impossible to conceive of the art of soldering, or any branch of antique metallurgy. These three processes are, manifestly, antediluvian arts, being directly or indirectly

[1] Patent Office Report for 1850. Washington, 1851.

mentioned in Genesis, and they would be reproduced, at the earliest periods, among the Noachian arts.

We expect to illustrate, in the progress of this work, the manner in which the Moquis and Navahoes form the thread for their processes of weaving, and to detail the arts which are employed by the females of our barbaric western and northern tribes, in making their peculiar fabrics.

We have figured in the preceding volume several antiquities, collected from a wide range of territory; which denote, at the same time, the art of the natives in several fabrics, and the existence of an extensive branch of exchange. First among these fabrics in the ancient and modern period, is the art of Pipe Sculpture. For this purpose the western tribes employ various species of soft and fissile stones, such as serpentines, steatites, gypsum, gritstone, &c. The red stratified mineral deposit, found at the Coteau des Prairie, and on the Red-cedar fork of the Chippewa river, which is popularly known as "pipe-stone," is extensively used by the Indians of the present day for this purpose. This mineral has been analyzed by Dr. Jackson, and called catlinite. Figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9, Plate 69, exhibit various forms of this article, which have been observed among the Dacotas. In Plate 70, Figures 1, 2, 3, we observe the same capacity of imitation in the tribes of California. No. 1 is, however, a group in wood, brought from that coast by the United States Exploring Expedition. Figures 4 and 5 are Cherokee, 6 Seminole, and 7 Chippewa.

2. Ornamented Pipe-Stems.

The Indian pipe has a flat wooden stem, about three feet and a half long, which is elaborately and tastefully ornamented with native pigments, dyed porcupine-quills, birds' feathers, colored hair, or pendent feathers. Specimens of these are exhibited in Plate 71, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. In figure 6, which is a plain flat stem, the object is to excite wonder how the pith of the wood should not interfere with the quadrangular perforations. This is accomplished by tracing a waving channel on two corresponding thin, flat pieces, which are afterwards glued together, and the line of junction concealed with paint. Sometimes, however, this stem is made from a single piece, having a crooked pith.

No. 10 represents the Chippewa and Dacota pipe-stem, ornamented with the scalp of the male duck's head, and having five pendent feathers, with the quill ornamented with thin splits, worked with porcupine. This is called the peace pipe. No. 11 is the simplest kind of stem.

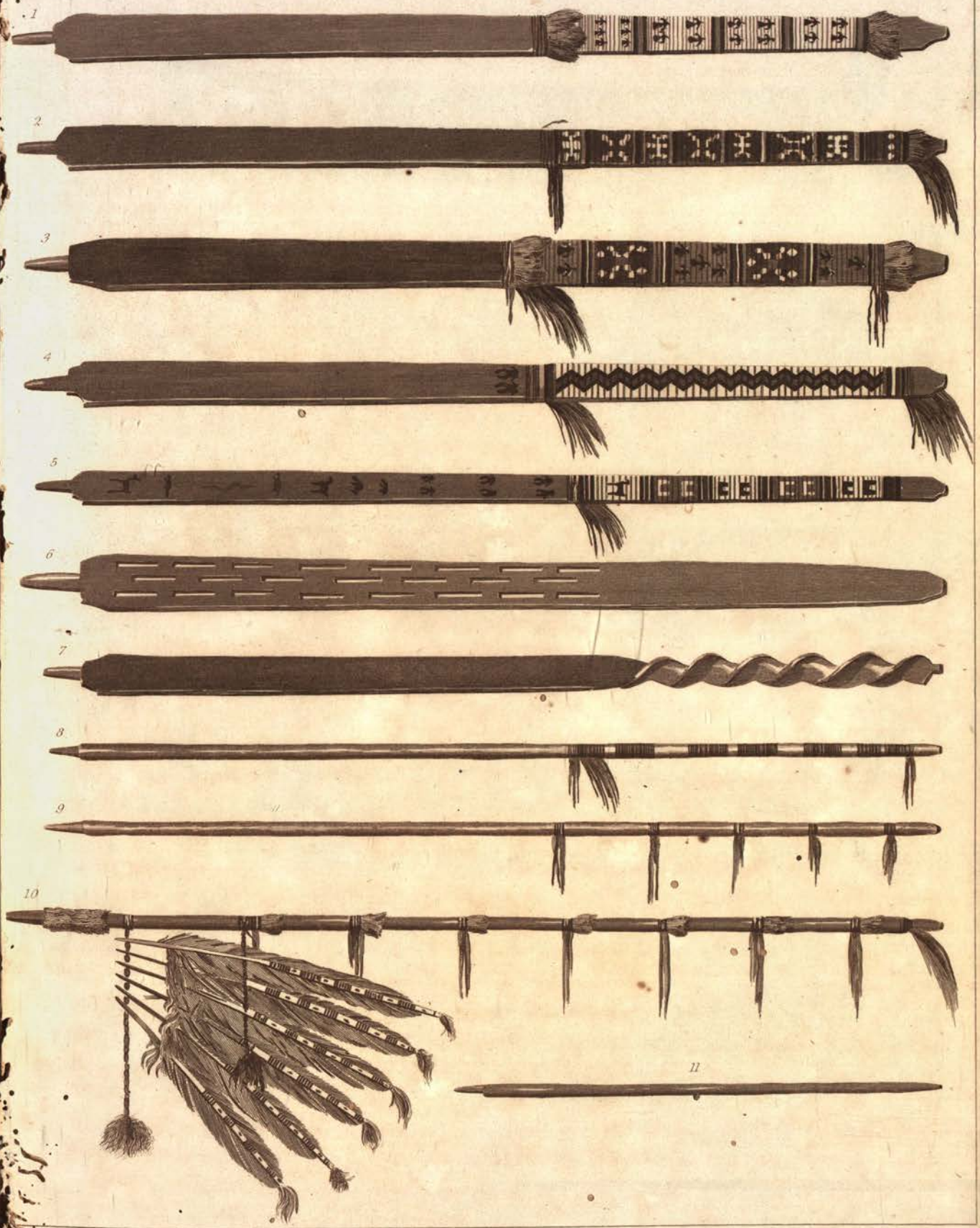
3. Canoes of Bark.

Another object which has stimulated the ingenuity of the northern Indians, is bark canoes. These are made from the rind of the betula papyracea, from which it is

Drawn by Capt. S. Eastman U.S. Army from the originals

DACOTA PIPES

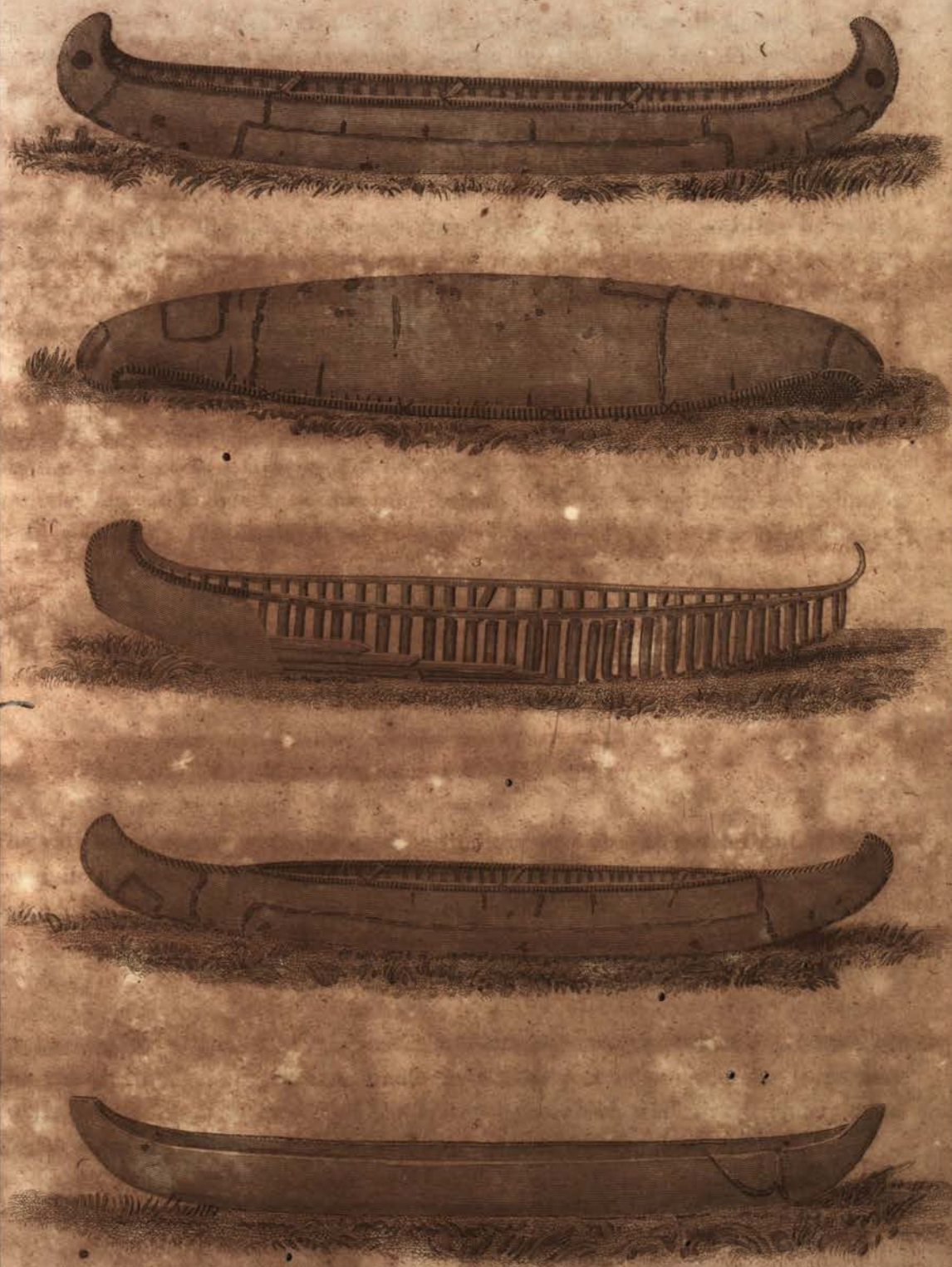
3 feet 4 inches



Drawn from the originals by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army.

PIPE STEMS

1.2.3 & 4. Chippewa.



5. Dakota

Drawn from the originals by Capt. J. Eastman, U.S. Army.

CANOES.

peeled in large rolls. These rolls are brought to the place where the canoe is to be constructed. A frame, which is called gabarie by the Canadian French, is then suspended by four stout posts. This indicates the inner form and length of the vessel. Gunwales are then constructed of cedar wood, which sustain ribs of the same material, that are arranged closely from its bows to its stern. (Fig. 3, Plate 72.) The next process is to sheathe the ribs with thin, flat, and flexible pieces of cedar, placed longitudinally. The sheathing of bark is then adjusted, and sewed together by means of a square-bladed awl, and thread composed of the fibrous roots of the cedar, called watab, which are soaked in hot water. The seams are then pitched with boiled and prepared gum, from the pitch pine, which is payed on with a small swab. The bow and stern, which are recurved, are usually decorated with figures of animals, or other pictographic devices. This art of canoe-building of bark is peculiar to the Algonquins, who evince skill and taste in the construction. There are canoes of all lengths, from a hunting canoe of two fathoms (12 feet), managed by two persons, to the *canot de maitre*, the largest known to the fur trade, which is thirty-six feet long, and requires fourteen paddles. The lightness of this vessel is one of its peculiar properties — a canoe of the former kind being readily carried by one person.

Figures 1, 2, 3, 4, Plate 72, exhibit this fabric in various positions and conditions. Fig. 5 exhibits the ordinary wooden canoe, made from an entire trunk, such as is employed by the more southerly and westerly tribes.

4. War-Clubs and Hatchets.

The various species of war-clubs used by the western tribes at the present time, are depicted in Figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, Plate 73; and 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, Plate 74. Figs. 3 and 4 exhibit the forms of two species of hatchet.

5. Cradle.

The construction of the Indian cradle is the subject of considerable care and ingenuity. The object is to spread the spine of the child, while it is tender, on a stout flat surface, and enclose it with wrappings, to prevent hurt or accident in a forest life, subject to perpetual danger. To do this, the child is deprived of all motion. It is bound down with a band, and its head protected by a wooden hoop, Fig. 2, Plate 15; and it thus learns its first lesson of that endurance inseparable from the hunter and warrior life. This subject has been mentioned under the head of Manners and Customs, and is re-introduced here to exhibit the mode in which the skull is distorted. Figures 3, 4, Plate 15.

6. Musical Instruments.

Plate 75 exhibits the various musical instruments of our western Indians. Nos. 1, 2, 3, depict the heavy and light drums used in war, religious ceremonies, and amusements. The gourd-rattle, the she-she-gwun of the Algonquins, is shown in Figs. 5, 6, 7, 8, the latter of which is distinguished as the turtle-shell rattle.[1] In No. 7. the war-dance rattle is shown, which is made by angular pieces of deers' hoofs, suspended to a stick.

The pib-be-gwun, or pipe, (8 and 9,) consists of semi-cylindrical pieces of cedar, glued together. Often they are further bound together by rings of pewter. The Chippewas frequently draw a snake's skin over the cedar tube. It is blown as a flageolet, and has five, six, or seven key-holes.[2]

In keeping time in their songs and dances, a point in which the Indians are very precise, a notched stick is sometimes drawn on a resisting medium, being supported by a reversed pan (Fig. 11, Plate 75) or the shell of a gourd.

7. Various Domestic Arts.

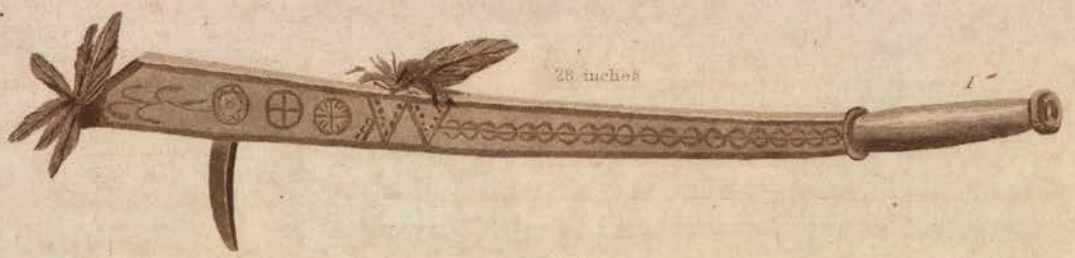
In the adaptation of implements to the state of the forest-arts, the Indians exhibit much ingenuity. Bone, horn, stone, and native copper, which in the ancient state of the tribes were relied on to give point and edge to implements requiring hardness, have been superseded uniformly among all the tribes on the frontiers by the use of iron. Knives, spears, axes, awls, needles, looking-glasses, tweezers, and a variety of useful fabrics, are as well known to the trade, with even the remotest tribes, as guns, traps, kettles, flints, and gunpowder. The tendency of opinion in the entire race, as a race, is to resist the introduction of any European arts which require conformity with plans of civic labor. We now see some adaptations very ingeniously made to facilitate the forest-arts, which were laboriously or clumsily performed at the discovery of America. The currier's knife and block are not introduced in dressing skins, but a species of adze (Figs. 6, 7, 8, Plate 76) is resorted to for removing the hair. The ice-chisel (Fig. 11, idem) is a vast improvement for the application of manual strength and efficiency on the native AISHKUN, which it supplants. Even the whip, where horses are possessed by the prairie tribes, is modified to a lash adjusted to the Indian arm, as in Figs. 1, 2, 3, Plate 77.

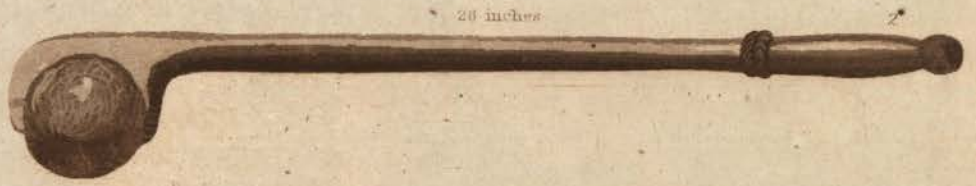
[1] This rattle is fastened to the leg just below the knee. The motion of the dancer causes it to rattle.

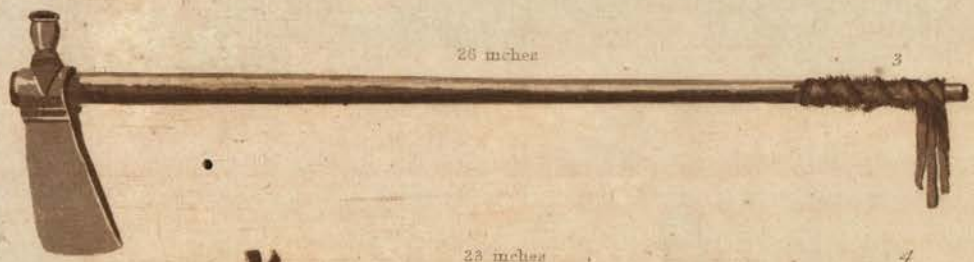
[2] The Dacotas make this instrument from a single piece.

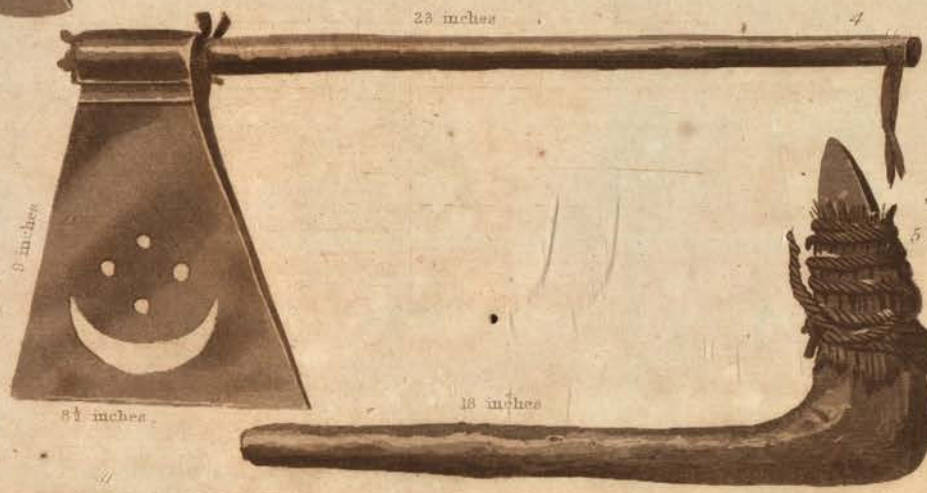
Drawn from the original by Captain Zalinski, U.S. Army

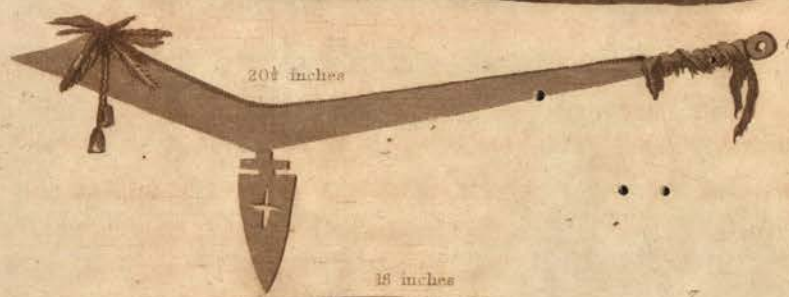
WAR CLUBS.











Drawn from the originals by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army

WAR CLUBS.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO. PHILADA

Drums

Chord Rattle

Turtle shell
Foot rattle

18 inches long

Flutes

8. Apecun.

Horses, which are observed to be an element of civilization in all the tribes where they are introduced, have not become so general in any of the more favored bands as to relieve woman from her toils by the ancient APECUN, or carrying strap. This badge of a degraded state, the test of barbarism, is still common among them, particularly as respects the forest tribes. Fig. 10, Plate 76.

9. Muskrat Spear.

(Figs. 1 and 2, Plate 76,) are strong iron spears, used in the winter season for spearing muskrats, (see Plate 5, Figs. 3, 4, 5, and 9,) varying somewhat from the fish-spear used by the north-western tribes. Figs. 3 and 4 are used for spearing fish from a canoe; see Plate 8. Fig. 5 is a short spear used for spearing fish in winter through a hole in the ice; see Plate 6. Fig. 9 has a very slender spear, usually a fish-hook straightened out, attached to an arrow. This is fastened to the bow by a string. Boys and young men shoot this arrow into the fish, through holes in the ice, or along the shore, (see Plate 7,) and draw them in by means of the string attached to the bow.

10. Dressing Skins.

All the native arts depending on the dressed skins of the bison or deer, are practised with a degree of ingenuity which demonstrates that woman, however long she may have been parted from civilized society, and subjected to hardship and degradation, retains many of the domestic arts, even in her lowest state, and is prone to rise to her original dignity. She provides the hunter, who has determined her condition in woods and forests, with many little conveniences which serve to reconcile him to want and hardship, and do much to make amends to him for his dreary lot.

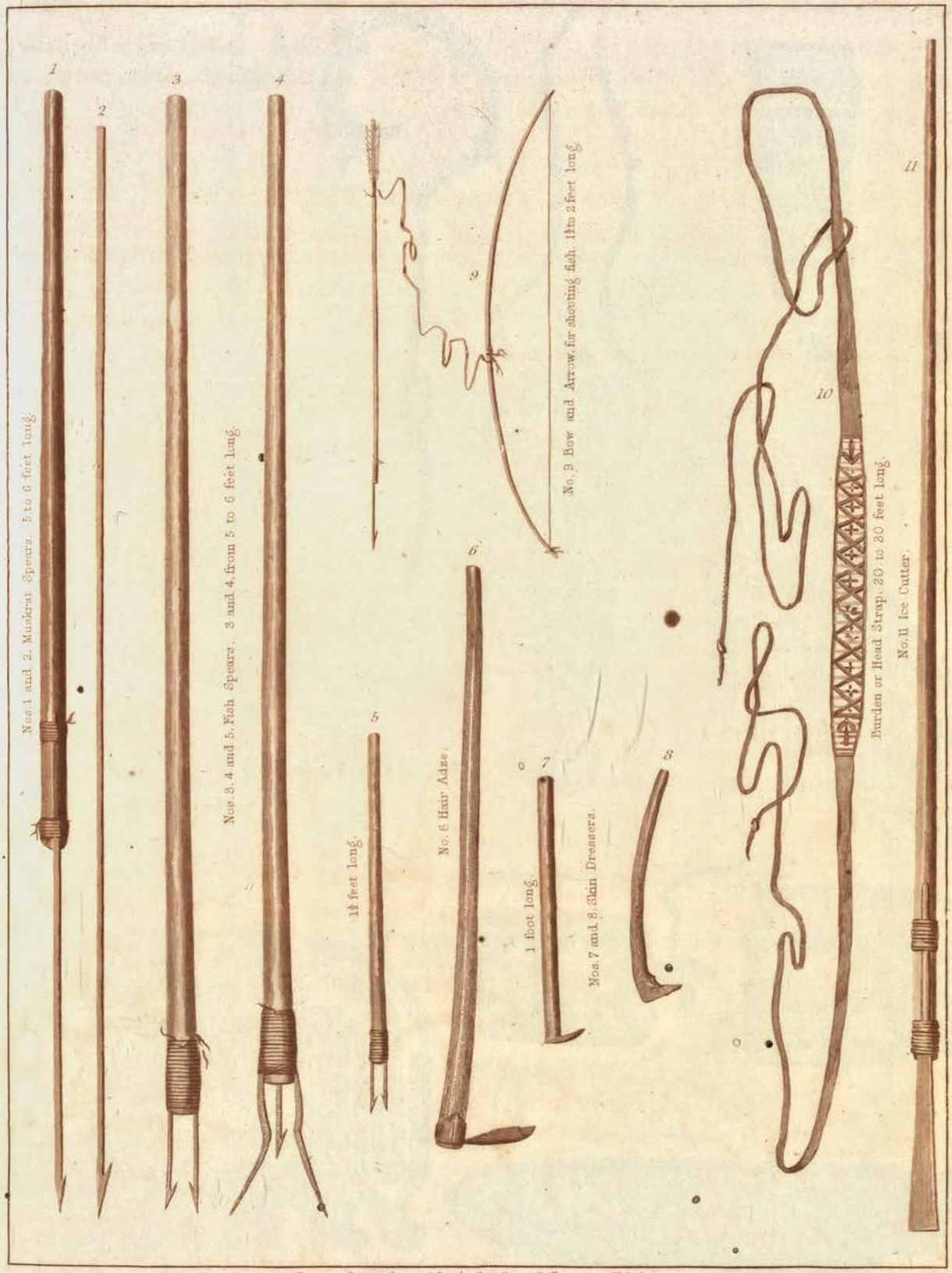
11. Forest Embroidered Sheaths and Cases.

His knife-sheath, (Figs. 4, 5, 6, Plate 77,) is ingeniously ornamented. His looking-glass (Fig. 7) is imbedded in wood, and provided with a sheath, to carry it conveniently with his personal paraphernalia. His choice feather of honor is furnished with a wooden case, (Fig. 9,) and his garments provided with fringes and beads, by the use of a little hand-loom, (Fig. 8, idem,) which appears to be the unforgotten germ of the

weaver's art, in a former state of society. This contrivance is formed by the knife from a solid piece of wood. It embraces a reed of eighteen strands, which permits a small shuttle to be passed between the warp and woof.

12. Wooden Implements: Ball Sticks.

The ordinary domestic implements which are fabricated from wood are depicted in Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, Plate 78. Figs. 8 and 9 are instruments employed by youth in playing a game on the snow which is supposed to represent the motions of the serpent. Nos. 10 and 11 are ball sticks.



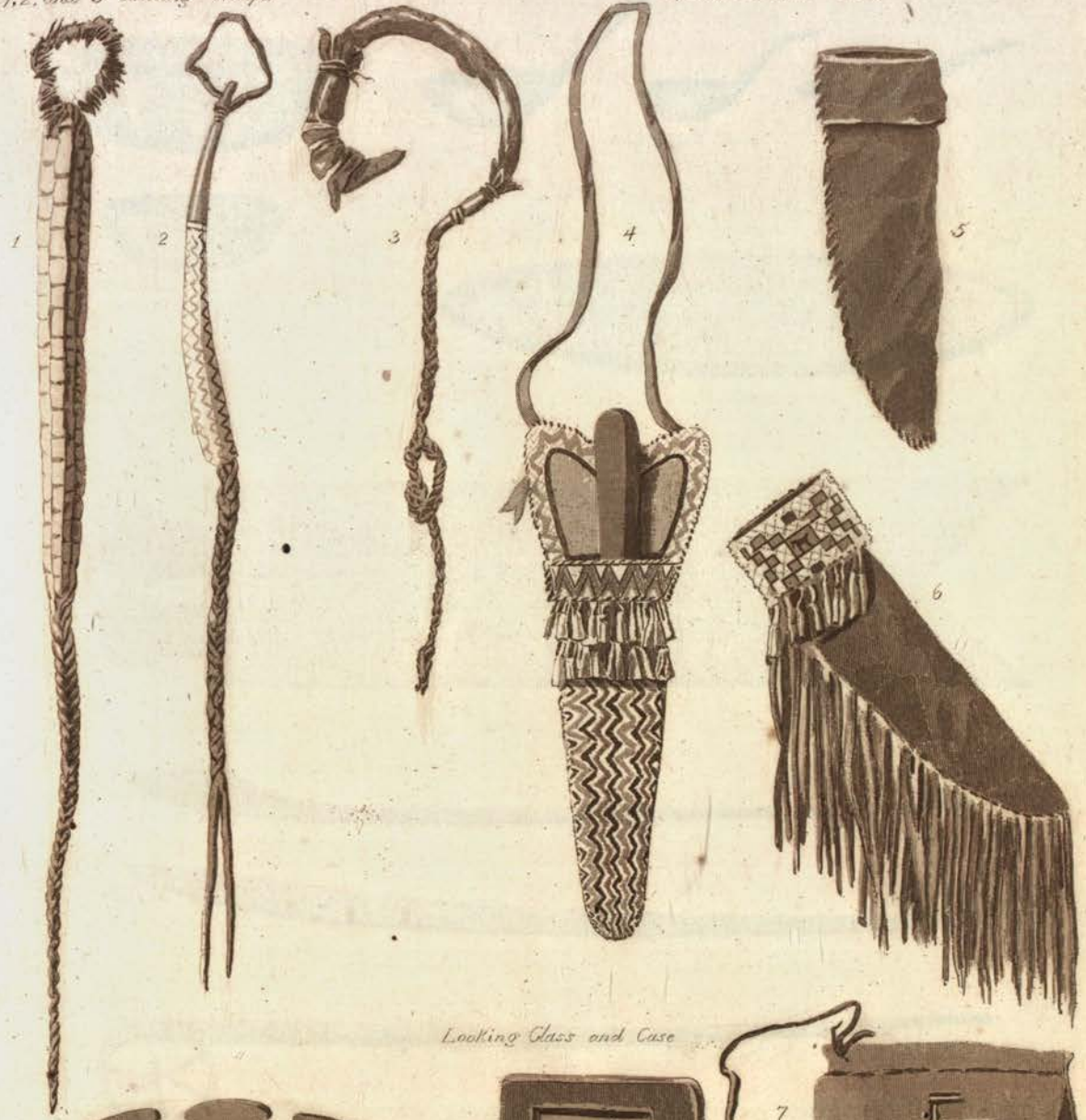
Drawn from the originals, by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army.

FISH SPEARS, HAIR ADZE, SKIN DRESSERS, ICE CUTTER AND BURDEN STRAP.

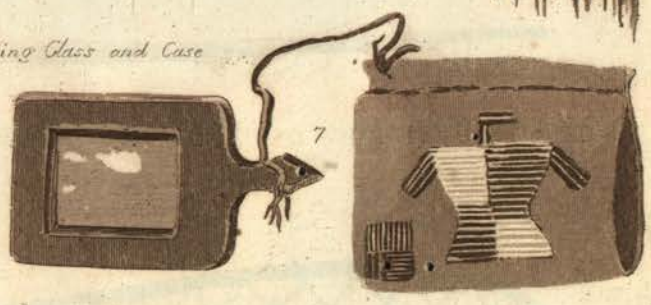
PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO PHILADA

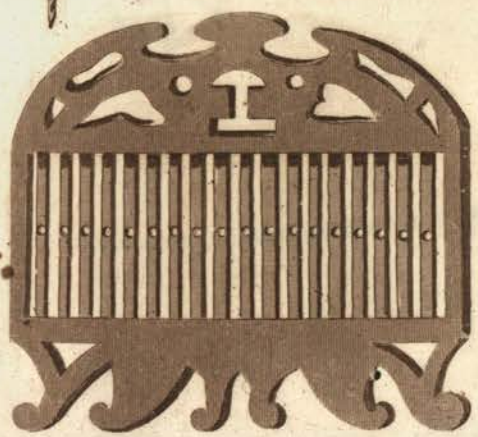
1, 2, and 3 Riding Whips

4, 5 and 6 Knife cases

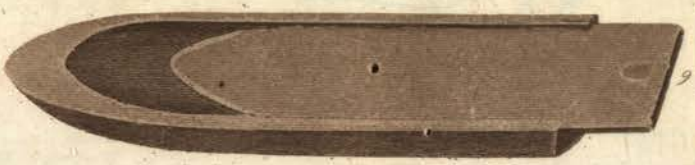


Looking Glass and Case





Box for Ornaments



Drawn by Capt. S Eastman U S Army from the originals

IMPLEMENTS.

1

Bowls

2

3

4

5

Ladles and Spoon

6

Tobacco Cutting Board

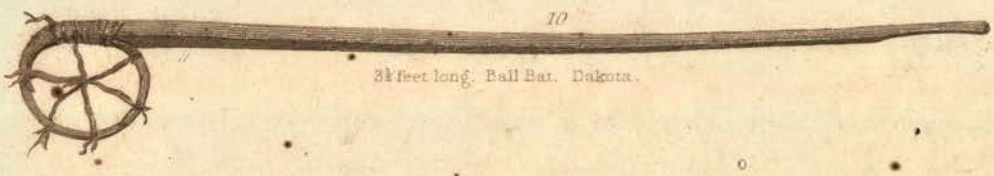
7

Cutting Board

8

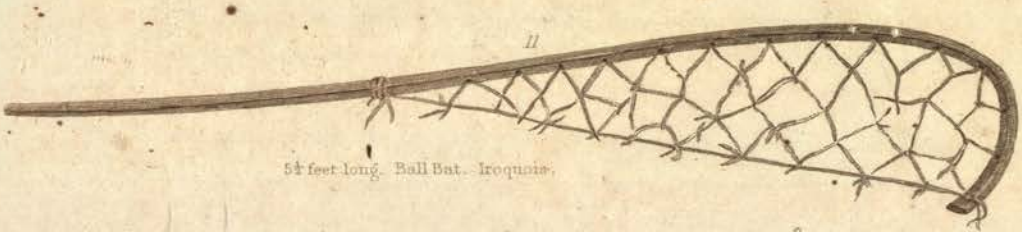
Snow Snake

9



10

3½ feet long. Ball Bat. Dakota.



11

5½ feet long. Ball Bat. Iroquois.

Drawn from the originals by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army.

IMPLEMENTS.

XI. FUTURE PROSPECTS. A.

FUTURE PROSPECTS.

SYNOPSIS.

I. Importance of the Pastoral State on Races of Men. By H. R. Schoolcraft.
II. Means of Melioration. By John Johnston, Esq.
III. Moral Questions relative to Practical Plans for Educating and Civilizing the Aborigines. By Rev. D. Lowry.
IV. Present Geographical Position, Number, and Means of the Iroquois. By W. P. Angel, Esq.

1. IMPORTANCE OF THE PASTORAL STATE ON RACES OF MEN.

The condition and future prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States present questions of the highest moral interest to the government and people. In many respects the man and his prospects are alike peculiar. The history of the world has not had its exact parallel.

Other races of hunter-men, brought into civilization, had an intermediate type, namely, the pastoral, between the hunter and the civil state. The wildest Arab tribes, the nomades of Asia, had the camel, horse, cow, goat or sheep; but our Indian tribes had no domestic animals when the continent was discovered. They had formed no manners resulting from such cares and discriminating duties; and the ferocity of their character was not in the least meliorated by this important class of rights and duties. Nor, so far as tradition extends, does it appear to have been thus meliorated in the remotest times gone by.

The Indian's golden age has ever been the age of hunting. To this period all the reminiscences of the elders point as the age of aboriginal prosperity and superlative happiness.

Agriculture was recognised in the cultivation of limited fields of the zea maize; but this was not a reputable labor, and the supply of food relied on, from all sources, was so essentially of spontaneous growth, that it repressed the power of reproduction. At

any rate, a very sparse population spread over immense areas renowned for their natural fertility and resources. There is reason to believe that the native population but little exceeded half a million on the same area that has now twenty-two millions of the descendants of a European race. But the question of numbers has little to do in ascertaining the great duties before us. It has been well said, in an official paper, "These remnants of the people who preceded us in the occupation of this country, and who have yielded to our destiny and their own, although greatly reduced in their numbers, have yet claims upon the United States which their citizens seem disposed neither to deny or conceal. Differences of opinion exist concerning the extent and nature of the aid which shall be offered to them, and of the interference it is proper to exert in their conduct and affairs: and it is not easy to foresee how these difficulties are to be reconciled, nor to devise a plan which shall neither attempt too much nor too little, but which shall preserve a practical medium between their habits and circumstances, and political state of improvement, of which we furnish them an example. These difficulties are inherent in the subject itself. The situation of the Indians, and the operation of the settlement and improvement of the country upon them, are without a parallel in the progress of human society."[1]

Within the last half century, and since our population has been freely poured into the Mississippi Valley, from the eastern banks of which, as a consequence, they have been displaced, these difficulties have, in part, received a solution. Hunting, which, before the discovery of America, was pursued as a means of manly and adventurous amusement, while it supplied them, essentially, food and raiment, has entirely failed in relation to these portions of the ceded country. The wide areas which were required to support an Indian in a state of nature, left the tribes with immense surplus territories, which, when game failed, were no longer valuable for hunting, and which they could not, by any means, if ever so industrious, employ for agriculture. The consequence was the cession of these surplus and exhausted areas to the government for annuities, while the tribes retained only enough arable land to answer the purposes of cultivation, or retired into remoter regions, where the chase could still be followed. A contest of races now ensued. The struggle between civilization and barbarism, which had existed, from the first, eastward of the Alleghanies, was renewed on a wider field west. Habits so utterly opposed as the European and the Indian, produced a condition of society full of difficulties, and adverse to each. History is replete with such conflicts of manners and opinions; but the result, however protracted, is seen to be the same.

The higher type of race is sure ever to prevail, and the history of America has disclosed no new fact on the subject. Labor, law, and arts, must triumph, and they have triumphed in America as in Europe. This conclusion has been vindicated by the settlement of the Mississippi Valley. The Indian tribes, quailing before the higher

[1] Doc. 117, House of Rep., 2d session, 20th Congress.

type of race, have separated themselves into two distinct classes, founded on the adoption or neglect of the principles of labor and letters. Those who have embraced labor have already been colonized, in large masses, where the industrial arts and freedom from conflicting laws could be most advantageously followed, and submitted to the superior claims of civilization; and they may be regarded as reclaimed tribes. The uncolonized tribes are still nomadic, and pursue the business of hunting, with little or no permanent advantage from the long years of civic precepts and examples which have surrounded them. While, to every rational man who regards the wonderful problem of their stubborn resistance to civilization, the only question, while this resistance lasts, is one purely relative to the time of their destruction and extermination. If the pastoral state could be introduced among the prairie tribes, and they could be kept at peace, the best results might be anticipated.

It must be evident that the policy which is appropriate to the hunter tribes, requires modifications, when it comes to be applied to the industrial and partially educated and reclaimed tribes, who have frames of government, and codes of laws, adapted to nascent communities, to rely on.

Important questions, respecting their numbers, annuities, and the expenses of managing Indian affairs, cost and sale of lands, &c., for a series of years, are exhibited under the head of Statistics and Population in the present volume. Attention is invited to these details, and particularly to the fact that out of upwards of eighty-five millions of dollars awarded to them in treaties, since the organization of the present constitution, but little over two millions has been retained and vested in public funds, and this is exclusively the property of the colonized tribes.

2. MEANS OF AMELIORATION.

THE following letters were addressed by Mr. Johnston to the late Colonel Trimble, United States Senator from the State of Ohio, — a gentleman of the most elevated views and feelings, who felt a great interest in the condition and future prospects of the Indian tribes, and who intended to use his official influence in proposing some plan for their improvement. For the purpose of the better learning their condition, he visited the scenes of their principal residence, in the area of the Lakes, in the year 1821, and extended his visit to the *Sault*, or Falls of St. Mary's, at the foot of Lake Superior.

The writer of the sketches had become intimately acquainted with their manners and customs, condition, and languages, having allied himself to the daughter of one of their most influential chiefs, and resided a great many years among them, at that remote point. His knowledge of their condition was founded wholly on the basis of actual observation and experience, and his judgment upon the points he brings into discussion is unimpeachable. He does not take too severe a view of the evils of intoxication, as existing at the actual points on the frontiers, where the civilized and savage state come into immediate contact, nor of the evil tendencies of the Canadian and mixed blood population, who are without the restraining influences of law and religion.

With all this advantage of observation, the remedy which he holds out, namely, "missions and schools," recommends itself to the judgment of all judicious observers; and the suggestion he makes of appealing to the popular election of chiefs, with the view of setting up the framework of a native government, under the tutelage and protection of Great Britain and the United States, denotes that he had contemplated the problem of the deep evils and anarchy of the savage state and its remedy, with the eye of an enlightened philanthropist. H. R. S.

LETTER I.

St. Mary's Falls, Jan. 24, 1822.

SIR: — As you did me the honor of desiring I should write to you on the subject of Indian amelioration, I sit down with pleasure to obey your commands, though not without hesitation, from a sense of my inability to throw any new light on a subject you have already so thoroughly investigated. From my long residence in this place,

I have acquired some knowledge of Indian life and manners, their habits and propensities, and their susceptibility to improvement and instruction. Within these thirty years, there has been a great falling off in the industry, integrity, and hospitality of the Indians, which I impute chiefly to the facility with which they procure the means of intoxication. After spending four or five months in one continued scene of the most brutal excess, they become so enervated as not to be able to pursue their winter avocations of hunting and fishing, so that many of them die from disease and want, and many more in the midst of their revels. And yet so inveterate is the propensity, that neither the prospect of starvation, nor the example of the numerous deaths that take place every summer, can in the least deter them. So far from it, they make the death of their friends an excuse for plunging deeper into crime. Therefore I deem it impossible to reclaim them unless every species of spirituous liquor is completely shut out from them, both by your government and ours, and that so effectually that no evasion can take place, nor no subterfuge screen the transgressors of the law from infamy.

The late Earl of Selkirk put a string of questions to me, when in London in 1810, nearly similar to those you did me the honor of making last September, and I remember having answered his Lordship nearly in the same manner I am now doing. But unfortunately for the cause of humanity, the interest of the then North-west Company prevailed, and the measure was given up.

If now that the most friendly understanding has taken place between the British government and that of the United States, they were jointly to enact laws to the utter exclusion of spirituous liquors from these outskirts of their dominions, and unite in establishing missions and schools along a line that must ever remain in some degree indefinite, from the nature of the country and the impossibility of fixing the Indians to any given spot on a territory they so naturally and justly think all their own, I have the presumption to think it would redound to the interest and honor of both nations, and would be less than the dust in the balance compared to the expense of disputing the right or even drawing the lines through a barren wilderness and inhospitable clime.

The Indians, when young, are gay, sprightly, and acute, and are perfectly capable of being instructed, and consequently improved; and their parents, whose natural affections are now sometimes drowned in the stupor of brutifying excess, would soon be taught to exult in the elevation of their offspring, from the misery and helplessness of the savage state (as it now is) to that of civilized man.

But when once enlightened by the faintest ray from the fountain of light, truth and love, what would be their raptures in contemplating that happiness here, and the assurance of its continuance and increase to all eternity?

The beaver and other furred animals are no longer so numerous in this country as to furnish the Indians the necessaries of life; but were they even partially to cultivate

the spots of land capable of it, habits of industry and frugality would, (when once established,) ensure their continuance, from their good effects; nor are they so stupid as not to appreciate the comforts of life, when once instructed in the means of obtaining them.

The Canadians and half-bloods all over the country are very numerous, and from want of instruction are, if possible, more the slaves of sensuality than the Indians themselves. In fact they know not what is meant by morality or religion, and from the idea that they are good Catholics, would make the task of reforming them arduous indeed, for the prejudices attendant on ignorance are ever the most difficult to be conquered.

In case you follow up the truly judicious and humane plan you were so good as to sketch to me last Autumn, I beg leave to offer every assistance in my power, and as the first object of a missionary must be the acquirement of the language, I can promise for my wife and children, that they will cheerfully facilitate his efforts to the utmost of their abilities.

I received from his excellency, Governor Cass, a printed list of queries respecting the Indians, which I regret much not having yet been able to answer, owing to the deplorable ill state of my eldest daughter's health, as on her perfect knowledge of the language I must chiefly rely for correct information.

My family are deeply interested in your success, and join me in sincere good wishes for your health and happiness, whilst I have the honor to remain,

Most respectfully,

Your very humble and obedient servant.

JOHN JOHNSTON.

LETTER II.

St. Mary's Falls, Feb. 3d, 1822.

SIR: — The more I reflect on the present state of the Indian population of this country, the more am I convinced, that as long as they remain in their present uncivilized and insubordinate condition, it will be a work of great difficulty and labor to excite any number of them to listen to the truths of the gospel, or become so far stationary as to cultivate the soil to any substantial purpose or effect. I therefore most humbly submit to those who have the power and inclination to assist them, and the information and knowledge requisite to legislate in an affair of such extreme delicacy, and where the greatest prudence and precaution must be taken, not to appear to infringe on their natural rights; that a council should be held in the summer, when the assembled tribe is the most numerous, and every means of persuasion employed to induce them to freely elect a chief or civil magistrate, to whom the now nominal chiefs would be subordinate, and who, holding his power from the general suffrage, could neither be opposed or displaced, but by the power of those by whom he was

nominated: that a few clear and explicit rules should be laid down for their civil polity, in their new and emancipated state, and whenever their ancient manners or customs are found to have a pure moral for their base, that they should be incorporated into the new code, as far as practicable, which would be a strong inducement to their adoption of the constitution contemplated: the United States to confer honors and rewards on the magistrate, as holding his rank and power under their guarantee and protection, and according to his firmness and integrity in office; also affording him the means of rewarding the minor chiefs or head-men, according to merit.

Could this plan be even partially accomplished, we might look forward with hope and confidence that finally the religion of truth, order, and peace, would be adopted, and its promoters receive the sweet consolation of having, by Divine permission, conferred the greatest gift that heaven has, as yet, bestowed on mortals, or that man can grant his fellow-man — civil and religious liberty.

I trust this farther intrusion on your time and patience will find excuse in the motive; for, though the scheme should be considered as altogether utopian, my ardent wishes for the improvement and happiness of the Indians must ever be the same: and my hope that, through the medium of religion and humanity, the bands of confidence and friendship might be every day drawn closer between two nations so worthy of taking the lead in every thing that is great and good.

I have the honor to remain your very humble and obedient servant,

JOHN JOHNSTON.

3. MORAL QUESTIONS RELATIVE TO PRACTICAL PLANS FOR EDUCATING AND CIVILIZING THE ABORIGINES.

BY REV. D. LOWRY.

WINNEBAGO SCHOOL, *Feb.* 15*th*, 1848.

SIR: — You have herewith a partial reply to your call in July last for information respecting the aborigines of our country. I shall continue my remarks on other questions propounded as the claims of other duties will permit, and transmit them from time to time.

I regret that this communication has been delayed so long, but my daily duties in school, in connection with the labor of preparing to preach every Sabbath, covers nearly the whole of my time.

Most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

D. LOWRY.

INDIAN TRADE.

95. That our commerce with the Indian tribes has at least in some degree tended to promote the cause of improvement, is unquestionable; for through this medium chiefly have they become acquainted with and attached to many of those articles consumed by the whites as necessaries of life, which are at first to the Indian luxuries which he is enabled with his surplus skins or money to purchase, and his attention is readily drawn to the habits which procure those luxuries in abundance. And the more of the articles of food, clothing, &c., consumed by the whites we can introduce among the Indians, excepting of course those whose tendency is debasing, the more readily can we convince them of the propriety and benefit of a corresponding change in their habits.

That a well-regulated commerce has this effect cannot be doubted; and though our trade with them may and does throw obstacles in the way of Indian civilization in some instances, yet these counteracting influences can be easily removed, and our government is doing much at this moment to obliterate them.

The trade for the skins and furs is very simple in its operation. The Indian takes

his pack after returning from a hunt to the trader with whom he is accustomed to deal, and is paid for them in goods or credited on account, if he should owe a debt to his trader, at their value in the fur-market, less say fifteen per cent., the expense of taking them to the market.

As a general thing, the only criterion of the present value of furs is the latest intelligence he may have received of a sale in London, where furs are offered for sale on a certain day in each month, or perhaps not so often; for the value of furs is seldom affected except on one or two articles, by the consumption in this country. The markets of New York, Philadelphia, &c., can be supplied by the skin-traders in the Eastern States, so that the Indian trader has to depend upon selling his furs for the most part in London; and there the sale of skins is controlled by a monopoly, so that the business is at best a precarious one.

One year the trader who has a large amount of furs may realize ten thousand dollars beyond his expectation, and the next year lose that amount, according as their value may have in the spring, when he gets them to market, advanced beyond or depreciated below the rates indicated by the sales in the fall previous.

The principal trading-posts with the Winnebagoes are near their sub-agency on the neutral ground. As to the chances of profit or loss, judging from the number who enter and leave the trade every year, we may fairly infer that it is not of late years as profitable as it may have been formerly. This change has been brought about by a variety of causes, but they are chiefly to be found in the confirmed habits of drinking among the Indians, in consequence of which they do not pursue their hunts with their former industry, and are less scrupulous about paying their debts. The whiskey-dealer on the line reaps a rich harvest from their improvidence and dissipation; but the licenced trade in the interior of their country is far less profitable than formerly.

96. The Indians are shrewd close traders, so far as a comparison of prices is concerned. For instance, they will dispute about the price of an article, while at the same time they will purchase five times as much as they can make use of, or need. They would be generally honest and prompt in paying their debts but for the excesses they are tempted to run into by their wasteful and intemperate habits, and a too numerous competition in the trade. An Indian gets a credit of his trader, and goes to his hunt or field, and at his return to the agency, especially about the time of the annuity payments, he meets some ten or twenty new traders, all flattering the Indian, and giving him unlimited amounts of credit. The Indian knows that these men do not intend to remain (at any rate a large majority of them) during the year, takes the goods that are so temptingly and urgently offered him on credit, often to a much larger amount than that of their hunts and annuities combined, and consequently must cheat. Some of his creditors, and it is almost uniformly those upon whom he expects to draw for favors in future, may be paid, and the new trade is

neglected. This state of things renders the trade so precarious, that the Indians themselves are often the sufferers, being unable to get trusted for supplies when they are in times of the greatest need.

The Indians waste their skins and money, when they have them in their possession, buying articles that are useless or worse, until they are all gone, and are often, two days after an annuity-payment, as entirely destitute of the means of living through the year as they were previous to the payment.

A prudent trader, even when he is certain of meeting no obstacle in collecting, will not credit an Indian for an article which he has reason to believe will be of no service to him or that he does not need. A whiskey-trader on the line never trusts an Indian for a pint of whiskey, and licensed traders in their country do not trust them for trinkets or wampum, unless for some extraordinary or ceremonial occasion.

In view of the above facts, it is inferred that a system of trade that would protect a sufficient amount of trading-capital for the district to secure to the Indians a certainty of assistance in time of want, at a fair profit, would be most beneficial.

The Indian trade, it may be urged, will, like any other, correct its own evils. It will do so, so far as the traders are concerned, but without reference to the good of the Indians. The trade will be reduced to a cash one entirely, and the Indians, tempted by the cheapness of goods resulting from a numerous competition and urged by their own notorious improvidence, will squander their money for ornaments or whiskey, and suffer for the remainder of the year. The traders withdraw their capital into other branches of business, until another annuity-payment rolls round, or if one or two remain with the Indians, they are deterred from assisting them in time of want; and the consequence is that many of them beg, starve, and steal, through the winter.

The Indian trade, it is true, is less expensive and more safe, carried on in this way, than any other; but is far less beneficial to the Indians than it might be rendered.

98. The trader who lives permanently near the Indians is taxed heavily for objects of charity. When an Indian dies, who has dealt principally at his house, he is expected to furnish a shroud, and often the goods or a portion of them for the funeral ceremony.

100. The different races of animals, of course, are diminished by the hunter. In the Winnebago country, the beaver is found nearer civilized habitations than the buffalo, though they are not far apart, and it is believed that this is the case elsewhere.

101. Indian lands, when stripped of their furs, are of course of little value to the Indians so long as they remain in the savage state; but in connexion with this subject arises the question as to their ultimate destruction — for it is evident that in a few

years they will exhaust the country of game, and in less than ten years there will not remain unoccupied country between the two oceans sufficient to subsist our present Indian population; and they must before that time adopt the habits of the civilized man or perish. It is, of course, too late now to correct the error, if one has been committed by our government, inasmuch as the Indians are all now moved west of the Mississippi river, and will soon meet the tide rolling eastward from the Pacific.

That oft-repeated and gloomy prophecy, that they are a doomed people, will be fulfilled, or they must be civilized. Then do we not hasten their supposed *destiny* by driving them from the heart of civilization, and keeping them upon the frontier. The philanthropist and missionary find, in this system of continually changing the location of the Indians from year to year as our frontier advances westward, obstacles insurmountable to human efforts.

The temptation to the Indian, even if he should have made some progress in improvement, and been "*almost persuaded*" to be a civilized man, after his old location had failed to afford him subsistence by the chase — at his new home universally abandons his semi-formed habits, and yields to the temptation offered by a fresh hunting-country to return to a hunter's life. And the missionary or agent of the government not only loses the assistance given him in his benevolent and arduous task, by the example of that good order which reigns in the older settlements, resulting from the operation of wholesome laws, but the dark mind of his pupil is brought in contact with, and under the mighty influence of all the vice and depravity of that filthy scum of civilization which everywhere floats upon its border. Disheartening and hopeless is his task, so long as we keep the Indians moving — place them beyond this influence as far as we will, and like hungry wolves upon the path of the wearied fawn, it will follow them up.

In keeping the Indians continually in a new country, we do but perpetuate their savage habits and hasten their doom, by rendering them an easy prey to the avarice and cupidity of a pack of rapacious wolves, who, unfit to live in orderly communities, and outcasts from every society where law is known, hover upon the Indian line.

Facts are believed to be the most reliable arguments on this point, and they exhibit to us examples of the best farmers in the State of New York, among the Indian tribes who have been suffered to remain at their old homes, while the corrupting, and to the red man especially, destructive vices of the frontier floated out beyond them; and uniformly, where the efforts to civilize Indians have been successful, they have been surrounded and aided by the influence and example of Bible and law observing communities.

Habits rooted for centuries, and environed by that iron wall of darkness and superstition, cannot be changed, except by necessity. Mere instruction or argument will never demolish it. Necessity must do it. Keep the Indians then on their old

worn-out hunting-grounds — surround them by settlements, and we furnish philanthropy with this great lever: the savage hunter is forced to become a tiller of the soil, and the way is opened to the introduction of the arts and sciences. The benign influences of Christianity are brought to bear upon him, and the superstitious savage becomes an enlightened man and a Christian.

But, as remarked above, the Indians who still retain their wild habits, are all removed west of the Mississippi, and all that remains for our government to do, is now being done. The withering influence that keeps pace with the border line, must be counteracted and restrained by the presence of energetic laws.

That foe to which the Indian so soon capitulates, must be conquered and driven from their country, and the red man's *doom* may yet be averted, and he take a position with intelligent beings, assigned by heaven.

104. The moral and physical evils resulting from the trade with the Indians, which is sanctioned by our present laws, have been referred to in the answer to (95.) The evils of the WHISKEY trade are notorious, and are incalculable. Every other obstacle to Indian improvement is in some manner connected with this one, and it is indeed the most potent and effectual instrument of woe and destruction that diabolical ingenuity could invent. The physical evils flowing from the licensed trade, as it has been permitted heretofore, are to be found, for the most part, in the suffering and want produced by the encouragement which it gives to the prodigality and improvidence of the savage, who, not able to spend his money when he is in need, is tempted to squander the whole of it within twenty-four hours after its reception upon toys and useless trinkets. The risk is too great for the trader to trust him for goods or provisions when he needs them, and he and his family must starve or steal, while he has ample means coming to him from the government, if they could be judiciously anticipated by him, to subsist and clothe them comfortably through the year. And to this cause — want — may be referred a large majority of the depredations upon the stock of the frontier farms, of which complaints are every year made to the government.

It is believed that the introduction of gunpowder and fire-arms among the Indians has produced the same result that it has been found to produce upon civilized warfare, rendering it less frequent and bloody.

It is not known that any definite influence upon their civilization can be traced to its introduction.

"Finally, can this trade be placed upon better principles, and what are they?"

It may appear presumptuous to suggest an entire change in the laws which have been adopted for the government of the Indian trade. But the errors which have crept into those laws are such as time and experience alone could point out, and it is impossible for the wisest legislation to foresee the effects that may result among a people so little understood from a law good in its operation upon society elsewhere.

It is intended, no doubt, in passing laws for the protection of the ignorant savage, and for the regulation of our Indian trade and intercourse, to exclude all improper persons from any connexion with the Indians; and that the persons carrying on the trade, as well as the manner in which it is conducted, should, so far as practicable, be rendered auxiliary to the cause of civilization and moral improvement. The errors in the present system have been attended to above, and it has been shown that it fails to render that assistance to the Indians which might be rendered.

To suffer the Indians to anticipate their annuities upon the national (tribal) credit, without any check upon either the trader or the Indians, has been found to open wide the door to fraud and corruption, and it has been very properly prohibited by law.

The Indians, having no accountant themselves, may be imposed upon as to the amount of their debt; and even if the chiefs were aware of the fraud, they may be induced in many instances to become parties in the imposition upon their own people. Though the Indians were by this system often enabled to supply their wants in anticipation of their coming annuities, and thus have less money to spend for whiskey, the system was a bad one, and it needed correction.

The alternative adopted has been to distribute the annuity pro rata to individuals or families, paying no regard to any debts that may have been incurred or obligations entered into by the chiefs of the tribe; and it is confidently believed that this system may be so modified as to make the annuities from the government comfortably clothe and feed the Indians through the year, and render them as efficient an instrument of happiness and improvement as the misuse now made of them is the cause of woe and degradation and destruction.

A modification of the present Indian regulations, something like the following, is suggested by many years' observation and intimate connexion with the Indians of the north: —

The agents or sub-agents should nominate to the Indian Department such persons of unexceptionable moral character as may apply for license to trade with the Indians, until a sufficient number are licensed to satisfy the wants of the trade, with sufficient capital to carry it on and *no more.*

It should be made the duty of each person to whom license is granted to do every thing in his power to forward the efforts making by the government to civilize the Indians, and likewise to use every effort to prevent the introduction or traffic in ardent spirits in the tribe.

Each trader should receive his license to trade at such points in the tribe or tribes, within the agency or sub-agency, as the agent or sub-agent should designate, upon condition of his paying five hundred dollars, which sum should go to constitute a *national contingent fund* for the benefit of the tribe or tribes included in the agency or sub-agency.

In addition to paying the sum above mentioned, the applicant for license should be

required to give bond, as heretofore, with security approved by the judge of the district where he may have resided. And any act in violation of the regulations of the Indian Department, or in any manner directly or indirectly opposing the efforts to civilize the Indians and promote the cause of education among them, should subject him to a forfeiture of license and a penalty of two thousand dollars; and any act of this nature, by agent or employée, or of any other person, by direction of a trader, should subject him to the same consequences as though the act were done by himself.

The agent or sub-agent should be required to take a correct roll of the Indians within his agency or sub-agency at the commencement of their fiscal year, getting the names of the heads as well as the number of each family, so as to ascertain the precise distributive share of each individual of the money due the tribe from the government at the next payment.

The agent or sub-agent, either alone or in connexion with two of the army-officers of the nearest military post, who may be detailed for this object by the commanding officer, should form a council to examine the traders' invoices, and fix upon them a tariff of prices at which the goods should be sold to the Indians. A copy and list of prices should be kept by the agent, and a copy given by him to the traders; and any violation of said tariff should subject the trader to a forfeiture of his license upon conviction before the authority empowered to revoke licenses.

It should be the duty of the agent, when an Indian needs any article, to give him an order which should be payable, by either of the traders to whom the Indian should choose to take it, in the article or articles specified; and the agent or sub-agent should by no means be authorized to give an Indian or family such orders to an amount exceeding that of the distributive share belonging to him or them of the annuities due from the government at the first ensuing payment, as shown on the roll.

The agent or sub-agent should keep a correct account with the individual Indians or heads of families of the orders thus given, so that he may be able to tell, at any time, how much of his annuity each may have taken up in this way.

The traders shall be required to fill such orders of the agent or sub-agent when presented by the *Indians in favor of whom they may be drawn*, and keep an accurate account of their own, corresponding with the one kept by the agent; and upon his presenting these orders at the annuity payment, they shall be paid by the Indian disbursing officer out of the amounts due the several Indians from the government, and the balance shall be paid to the Indians severally in hand, provided that the agent or sub-agent shall by no means cancel these orders when presented by any one other than a licensed trader within his agency or sub-agency.

The agent or sub-agent shall be permitted to select and appoint a person suitable for a clerk, to assist him in keeping the Indian accounts, who should be paid $600 out of the national contingent fund provided as above.

The balance of said contingent fund should be applicable to any national purpose

desired by the chiefs and approved of by the agent of the tribe, and the balance that might remain on hand at the end of the year should be added to the education funds for the tribe.

The objects which it is confidently believed would be attained by a change in the Indian laws in unison with the above suggestions, are the following:—

The Indians would be amply provided for, both in food and clothing, throughout the year, and, getting their supplies at times when they need them, would not be apt to dispose of them for whiskey, and having used up their annuities, would have but little money to spend in this way. The whiskey-traders, getting no money in exchange for their liquor, would be compelled, in a great measure, to abandon the business, for they could not even buy their old blankets and trinkets with the prospect of turning them back again upon the Indians for cash.

At present, a large business is carried on in this way. When the Indian has no money, he leaves a blanket or other article, to three or four times the amount of the whiskey, until he can bring the money, and redeem it after the annuity payment.

The temptation to commit depredations upon the settlements will be removed in proportion as the wants of the Indians are supplied, and thus a fruitful cause of difficulties upon the frontier will be removed.

The Indians, no longer goaded by hunger to pursue the deer for subsistence, will gradually abandon their roving habits, and settle down in permanent villages near their agency, where the efforts to improve them can be more effectually employed; and that very prodigality and thoughtlessness of the future may be so guarded by this system as to induce them to purchase agricultural implements and household furniture as they may happen to need these articles during the year: for it is known, to any one acquainted with the trade, that an Indian will purchase anything that may serve his convenience or pleasure at the moment, if he can do it on credit; and it is believed that, if the Indians could anticipate their annuities, ploughs, wagons, harnesses, and, where they are permanently settled, household furniture, &c., &c., would take the place of wampum, beads, and tinsel trinkets, for which they now squander their money.

It will be seen that the plan suggested is similar to the one in operation in the army, so far as the security for the trader's debts, as well as the check upon his prices, are concerned.

There is no influence exerted among the Indians so potent and universal as that wielded by the Indian traders; but the operation of the plan suggested would not only curtail their number, but would wrest that influence from them by making the Indians immediately dependent upon the government officer for favors in time of need. And here lies the whole secret of the trader's mighty influence, viz., in his ability to relieve the Indian when he is in want.

Instead of the Indians and traders being both arrayed against the government, as heretofore, we shall have them both dependent, the one for protection, and the other

for assistance, upon the government, and it will be rendered the interest of both to yield to its wishes.

It is believed that from the success of this scheme there would result a willingness, on the part of the Indians, to receive goods in exchange for lands which may be purchased hereafter, and gradually that the Indians may be induced to change those treaties already made, so as to receive goods instead of money. No argument of the government or its officers can ever have the same weight with the prejudiced mind of the Indian as tangible facts, and the operation of the plan alluded to cannot fail to demonstrate the advantage of receiving goods judiciously selected, and at such times as they are needed.

The change suggested would render the duties of the agents and sub-agents more arduous, but it is believed that a graduation of the amounts paid to them at present would sufficiently remunerate them. Under existing laws, the agents receive $1500 annually, and the sub-agents, though they have the same duties, and, in some instances, more, receive but $750. The salaries of each should be fixed at $1200.

It is urged, in conclusion, that the trade, modified as above suggested, will, it is most confidently believed, promote the happiness of the Indians, and instead of distracting their minds, and arraying them against every effort to benefit or improve them, that it may be converted into a most potent auxiliary to the humane efforts of the government to elevate their condition.

Present Condition And Future Prospects.

258. The fact that our use of iron, articles of food, manner of cooking, wearing apparel, &c., &c., have, to a considerable extent, been introduced among the Indians with whom we have had intercourse, proves that their original manners, customs, and opinions, "have been greatly modified" since their acquaintance with the whites. These changes have all been witnessed among the Winnebagoes, with many others equally beneficial.

In efforts to improve the condition of the aborigines of our country the same "modes of treatment and policy" which would be necessary for *us* in their situation should be adopted for them—for they are human beings like ourselves, and liable to be affected by the same causes which operate upon us. To the Christian religion, the influence of schools and colleges, and common industry, *we* are indebted for our national character: no other causes can elevate and save the Indian. As to the best means or "policy" for introducing these blessings among them, perhaps no *one system* would be equally successful among all the *tribes*. My opinion is, that those sent either by the government or the church to labor for the benefit of savages, should have full liberty to adopt such plans, and modify them, as circumstances and experience might require. No one thinks of trammelling a general in command of an army with specific laws to

govern him in the field of battle. Mind is more difficult to conquer than body, and he who would mould the former should, like the officer in the field, be allowed to exercise some discretion as to the plans to be adopted. To elevate the condition of the Red man, our chief concern is with *mind* and *heart*. To exert an influence upon these much often depends upon *little things*, and a thousand opportunities for making favorable impressions will occur which can never be anticipated or provided for by instructions drawn up a thousand miles from the Indian country. Let competent persons then be employed to labor with and operate upon the Indians, — persons of integrity and conscience, and having full liberty to avail themselves of all the advantages which experience and observation can afford.

Such has been the unsettled state of the Winnebagoes since the commencement of their school and farm, that no mode of treatment or policy adopted could be fairly tested by its practical effects upon the nation. Many of them have applied for aid in building houses to live in; but in view of their expected removal, no such assistance has been afforded.

259. No beneficial effects, either "physical or intellectual," are perceived by an "intermixture" of European blood with the Indian. I should suppose about one eighth of the Winnebagoes possess more or less white blood.

260. The numerical strength of this tribe is advancing, and has been since they removed across the Mississippi river.

262. A visible change in the cleanliness, both as regards the "costume" and person of the Winnebagoes, has taken place within the last fifteen years.

263. Females still perform field labor, though not without the aid of the men, as heretofore. The wife of a chief observed, not long since, that it was not now thought a disgrace for a man to work.

264. The Christian religion exerts but a feeble influence upon this tribe; indeed it may be said that Christian teachers have never been introduced among them for the purpose of preaching the gospel. When I first entered their school, no interpreter could be had to translate religious instruction, and before any of the children learned the English language in the institution, I was requested by the government to take charge of their agency. This withdrew me from the school, and filled my hands with other business, though I preached every sabbath to the white community belonging to the establishment. On accepting the agency, I resolved to appoint persons, from the different churches of the country, to teach in the school, labor on the farm, and have an eye to the religious improvement of the Indians. The object in selecting from

the different denominations was to enlist the sympathies of each, and to give satisfaction to all. The persons thus selected were formed into a religious association before the Indians, called "The Church in the Wilderness." Never have I seen more harmony in a Christian community, and the deepest solicitude seemed to be felt for the Indians. Many of the children of the school became interested on the subject of religion, and the prospect of influencing their tribe was most encouraging. But, in the midst of these favorable circumstances, I was removed from office, and an attempt made by my successor to place the whole concern on a sectarian footing. Against this course the Indians themselves, connected with the school, remonstrated; but the plan previously adopted for religious operations was broken up, and the interest on the subject of religion among the children, passed away.

Since my return as superintendent of the school, I have not deemed it expedient to resume the organization of a church, but have preached every sabbath to the white community and to the Indians understanding the English language, as they were disposed to attend. We never can succeed, however, in introducing the Christian religion among the savages without employing Christians to do it. I am aware that it is a delicate matter for government to act on this subject; and, to prevent all cause for the charge of partiality, it was my policy, as before stated, to employ professors of religion belonging to different churches, with the understanding, however, that they could associate in the capacity of *one church* before the Indians. This policy I would earnestly recommend *now*. It is the only plan that can be adopted, under the auspices of government, that would not be liable to objections by some religious denomination. To place the school and farm in charge of any one denomination, and to exclude the rest, would give offence. To divide the funds among several Christian parties, and suffer them to go before the Indians with their denominational distinctions and predilections, would greatly retard, if not defeat, the object intended. But form *one Christian community* before the Indian, drawn from the different churches, and you have the good feelings of all, and, at the same time exclude those petty distinctions of SECTS, so injurious to religion among the whites. I repeat, this plan is practicable, for I have tried it.

I am not without solicitude on this subject. Government has placed me among the Indians with the expectation that I will improve their morals: this I cannot do without introducing among them the Christian religion, and to succeed in this, I need the example and aid of all in the employ of the department.

The task of converting savages to Christianity is by no means an easy one. Think of the slow progress of religion among our own people, with all the facilities enjoyed; yet the obstacles among *us*, opposing the gospel, are not half so numerous as among the Indians, while the means of grace among the whites, perhaps, can never be made fully to bear upon the Indians. To convert our own people, we have only to overcome the objections of a depraved heart to the holiness of the gospel; but to convert the red

man, we must first convince him that his own religion is false, and that *ours is true.* This being done, we must still encounter the corruptions of the human heart. The white man who has no religion is convinced, in judgment, that the Christian religion is true, and yet for years rejects it, notwithstanding all the Bibles and other books and religious privileges surrounding him. In view of this fact, what can we hope from the Indians, with the public means employed for their conversion? Yet embrace the Christian religion *they must,* or perish; for it is one of the solemn records of inspiration, that "the nations and kingdoms that will not serve God shall perish."

265. An effort is now being made, with a prospect of most pleasing success, to induce the children of the school to sign a temperance pledge. But few refuse. The cause which operates upon the minds of Indians, leading to intemperance, is simply a love of excitement — the same that operates upon white men. To reclaim the Indians from the sin of drunkenness, the same means should be used which prove successful with the whites. It is not known that any further legislation on the part of Congress would be of service in checking this vice. The late law, rendering the Indians competent witnesses against whiskey-sellers, will do much good. It is very desirable that the States bordering on the Indian country should pass a similar law. If the change proposed in the system of trade should be adopted, I would have high hopes from that quarter.

4. PRESENT GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION, NUMBERS, AND MEANS, OF THE IROQUOIS.

BY W. P. ANGEL, ESQ.

NEW YORK SUB-AGENCY, *Ellicottville, January*, 1848.

SIR:—In pursuance of the instructions of the Department communicated to me in May last, I have procured the census and statistics of the several tribes of the Iroquois within the limits of this State, so far as the same was practicable, and herewith transmit the returns to you.

As there are some matters of general interest which the tables do not exhibit, I have deemed it proper to present them in this communication.

THE SENECAS.

The Senecas are, at present, by far the most numerous branch of the Iroquois. They now occupy their Reservations in Western New York, and a small party are still located upon the lands of the Corn-planter, in Warren county, Pennsylvania.

The *Alleghany* Reservation, belonging to the Senecas, is situated wholly within the county of Cattaraugus, upon both sides of the Alleghany river, averaging about one mile in width, and extending about forty miles up the said river from the Pennsylvania line. An accurate survey, made for the Indians a few years since, gives something over 33,000 acres as the area of this Reservation. It embraces almost the entire extent of the level lands bordering upon the river, and a considerable portion of all that is susceptible of cultivation in the valley. The bed of the river is very much depressed, and the lands on either side reach a great elevation, and except at occasional intervals, where small streams find their way through the hills to the river, are so steep and precipitous as to forbid all attempts at settlement and cultivation. The lands of the Indians were formerly covered with an extensive growth of white pine timber, which has been the object of the cupidity of the whites ever since the settlement of the country.

The removal and sale of this timber have heretofore afforded to the Indians a considerable means of subsistence, and as it has always commanded a ready sale and

fair price, they have relied upon it to the neglect of agricultural pursuits. The soil is generally of good quality, producing readily large quantities of corn and other spring crops. Winter wheat is not generally successful, though I apprehend this is owing more to the climate than to the incapacity of the soil to produce it. The more hardy kinds of fruit are produced in limited quantities, and, with proper attention, might be greatly increased. The Indians have two large saw-mills upon the river, which they rent to white people, and which yield them an annual revenue of about six hundred dollars. Other premises are also leased by individuals for ferries, and for depositing and rafting lumber, and the entire amount of rents paid for all these purposes must reach very near the amount of two thousand dollars per annum. The Indians upon this reservation, with few exceptions, live in circumstances of comfort, and some have accumulated a considerable amount of property. They may be said to be advancing steadily in their efforts at social improvement, and nothing is wanting but proper encouragement and protection to render them prosperous, and place them beyond the reach of want. The present population of this reservation consists of about eight hundred Senecas, one hundred Onondagas, thirty Cayugas, and twenty Oneidas.

The CATTARAUGUS reservation, also the property of the Senecas, is situated mostly in the county of Erie, on the Cattaraugus Creek, and extending from Lake Erie inland about thirteen miles. It embraces about thirty thousand acres, with a level surface, and a soil equal in richness and fertility to any tract of land of equal extent within the limits of the State.

Considerable attention has been paid by the Indians on this reservation to agricultural pursuits, and a very great number exhibit evidences of prosperity, and even wealth, in the appearance of their houses, barns, fields, and crops, and stocks of cattle, that would suffer nothing in comparison with a white population of equal extent in any of the interior counties.

Many of them have of late paid considerable attention to improving their dwellings; and on passing through the principal thoroughfare of this reservation, a stranger would scarcely be reminded of the presence of an Indian population. Large frame houses painted white, and in many instances furnished with green window-blinds, comfortable barns, and extensive and well-fenced fields, would be presented to his view in as rapid succession as in any other farming community. It is true that this state of prosperity is not universal. As in all communities within the reach of ardent spirits, there are to be found some who are idle and dissolute; and there is still another class here who occupy the remote portions of the reservation, whose pride and prejudice still cause them to regard the pursuit of agriculture as a condition of servitude and degradation. Yet the prosperity that universally attends those who are diligent in the cultivation of the soil is fast overcoming this feeling; and the example of the thriving and prosperous, with their comfortable houses, furniture and clothing, well-filled granaries, and their horses and cattle, is operating powerfully upon the judgment of the proud hunter

to the removing of his prejudice, and stimulating him to undertake the improvement of his own condition. In the progress and prosperity of this people the friends of humanity have every encouragement to persevere in the task of reclaiming them from their original state of ignorance and barbarity.

The lands they inhabit are capable of producing in profusion all the necessaries and many of the luxuries of life, and they only need to be made acquainted with the science of agriculture to become an important branch of the producing population of this section of the State.

They have now upon their reservation two churches, one council-house, several school-houses, and one saw-mill upon the Cattaraugus creek. Many of the Indians residing here have received a good English education; two have regularly studied the profession of the law, and one is a regularly licensed physician, who practises among his people, and each of whom is a valuable and useful man. The population of this reservation consists, in round numbers, of about twelve hundred Senecas, thirty Onondagas, and one hundred and seven Cayugas.

The Tonewanta Reservation, also occupied by the Senecas, but which is now claimed by the Ogden Company, under the treaty of 1842, is situated on the Tonewanta creek, in the county of Genesee, and comprises about fifteen thousand acres. It is in the midst of a rich wheat-growing country, of a level surface and good soil. Any of the crops common to this latitude are readily produced, and as the land is easy of cultivation, the band find no difficulty in supplying their wants, while many families annually raise a surplus for sale. There is a saw-mill on this reservation, but the possession is in constant dispute between the Indians and Ogden Company, and neither is able to derive any considerable benefit from it. The progress of this band of Senecas in moral and mental improvement is materially retarded by their unhappy difficulties with the Company, though the necessity they feel resting upon them to sustain themselves and meet the expenses of the controversy, has already stimulated them to considerable activity in all the departments of productive industry. Upon the issue of the contest this stimulus will undoubtedly be turned to good account, in the benefit they will derive from the results of their experience, and the demonstration of the success that has followed their efforts to make the cultivation of the soil minister to their comfort and wants. The present population of this reservation consists of about six hundred and seventy-five Senecas, nine Cayugas, and six Onondagas, including one of their chiefs.

The TUSCARORA tribe occupy a reservation in the county of Niagara, about three miles easterly from Lewiston, and seven miles northeasterly from Niagara Falls. The reservation is one mile wide and three miles long. By the treaty of 1838, the Ogden Company purchased this reservation, but, owing to some disagreement with the Indians in relation to the valuation of the improvements, the contract remains unexecuted, and the Indians retain the occupancy of the lands. Adjoining this reservation on the

south, they also own and occupy five thousand acres, which they purchased of the Holland Company and hold in fee. Both tracts are good quality of wheat lands, and the raising of winter wheat is the principal object of cultivation. One of their chiefs, Mr. John Mountpleasant, informed me that one thousand bushels of wheat were raised on his farm the past season, eight hundred of which he raised himself, and two hundred were raised upon lands which he rented to others upon shares. Another of their chiefs, Mr. William Chew, informed me that at harvest time, last summer, he still had in his barn three hundred bushels of wheat of the crop of the previous year. The principal chief of this tribe, William Mountpleasant, is a wealthy man, living in a fine stone house, and besides the farm which he occupies himself, rents to white people some three hundred acres of improved lands, from which he receives a large amount of rent. These are by no means solitary cases, and I mention them as exhibiting gratifying evidence of the progress this band are making in husbandry and improvement. In this band, I found not a single person who now adheres to their ancient superstitions, the entire mass professing or acknowledging the Christian religion. They are sober, temperate and industrious, and in the scale of social improvement occupy a high place among their aboriginal brethren of the State. They have one meeting-house, which they also occupy for a council-house, and one school-house. The present population of the Tuscaroras is about three hundred, with whom also reside about twenty Onondagas.

The ONONDAGAS occupy a reservation in the county of Onondaga, about six miles south of Syracuse. This reservation contains seven thousand acres. It is situated principally in the Onondaga Valley, and the soil is of the best quality and well adapted to agricultural purposes. Wheat and corn are easily produced, and many kinds of fruit are already cultivated to a considerable extent. The Onondagas also own a saw-mill, from which, together with some portion of their lands, which they rent to others, they derive a large revenue. They are generally industrious and in comfortable circumstances, though their proximity to a populous village, and their facility for procuring intoxicating drinks, is manifest in the conduct of many, who indulge in idleness and dissipation. They have a council-house, school-house, and meeting-house, with an organized church and a temperance society. The chiefs and principal men are making considerable efforts to suppress intemperance among them, with gratifying success. The present population at Onondaga is about two hundred and seventy.

The ONEIDAS are located some two miles south of Oneida Castle, in the counties of Oneida and Madison. There are but a few families remaining there, who own and occupy their farms in severalty. Their lands are good farming lands, and are generally well-fenced, and under a good state of cultivation. They have a meeting-house, in which they also hold their councils; and a school-house, in which a school is sustained by the Missionary Society, a principal portion of the time. Their present number is about two hundred.

The ST. REGIS band occupy lands in the northwest corner of the county of Franklin, N. Y., and in Canada, and upon the islands of the St. Regis river, where the boundary line between Canada and the United States reaches the St. Lawrence. This line divides their village, leaving the principal part of the population in Canada. Indians of this band, who acknowledge the jurisdiction of the United States, and receive annuities from the State of New York, are on either side of the line, and improve lands both in Canada and New York. The same is the case with that portion of the band who are subject to the jurisdiction of the British Government, and who now number about 600 souls. It was impossible to ascertain the quantity of land under their control. It is mostly of good quality, and bears corn and other spring crops in abundance. These Indians all profess to be believers in the Christian religion, and many of them are members of the Catholic Church located in Canada, and employ a priest, who resides among them. They have a good school-house, built with funds furnished by the State, in which a school is regularly maintained. They are generally sober and industrious, with occasional instances of intemperate drinkers. The number under the jurisdiction of the United States, or who belong to what is known among them as the American Party, is now about four hundred and sixty.

The number of Indians from Canada, or from tribes not belonging to the Iroquois, now living in New York, is not as great as is usually supposed. Upon this subject the New York Indians are jealous and sensitive, and will not permit the intrusion among them of Indians who are not entitled to partake of their annuities, or occupy their lands. The few that have been found living here are mostly connected by marriage with the local bands, and are allowed to remain as a matter of favor.

There are yet remaining on the eastern extremity of Long Island, a few of the old Montauk tribe, who live principally by fishing and following the sea. In the town of Southampton, Suffolk county, there are about fifteen, and twenty in the town of Easthampton, of the full blood. They have but little property, and seldom anything beyond a temporary supply for their present wants.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

W. G. ANGEL, *Sub-Agent.*

Hon. WM. MEDILL,

Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington.

XII. STATISTICS AND POPULATION. B.

SYNOPSIS.

I. Period of 1850. Official Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1850.

- A. Statement of the amount of investments for the Indian tribes in stocks drawing interest.
- B. Statement of interest appropriated by Congress for the several tribes, of which the government is trustee, in lieu of investments.
- C. Estimate of the current expenses of the Indian Bureau at the seat of government.
- D. Estimate of the funds required during the fiscal year (1st July, 1851, to 30th June, 1852) for the payment of annuities and fulfilling treaty stipulations with the Indian tribes.
- E. Estimates for sums required, during the present year, (to June 30th, 1851,) for the service of the department.

II. Period of 1820. Letter of Hon. W. H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, 1820.

- A. Annuities due to Indian tribes in 1820.
- B. Appropriations and expenditures for the survey and sale of public lands.
- C. Schedule of sales before the organization of public land-offices.
- D. Statement of the amount of sales, from the opening of the land-offices to the 30th September, 1819.
- E. Estimate of the number of acres of public lands which have been surveyed and sold, and the number which remain unsold, 30th September, 1819.
- F. Estimate of the quantity of land purchased from the Indians to 15th October, 1820.

III. Topic of lands purchased from the Indians. Message of the President, 1840.

- A. Statement of purchases of land made from each tribe since the establishment of the present federal government, chronologically arranged.
- B. List of tribes, alphabetically arranged, who have ceded territory, since the establishment of the present government.
- C. Aggregates of lands, compensations, exchanges, and names of tribes, from the origin of the government to 1840.

Appendix to Statistics. Population of the United States — Tenth Census.

STATISTICS AND POPULATION.

SEVENTY-FIVE years have elapsed since the United States, with the assumption of sovereignty in 1776, began the management of the difficult and complicated subject of Indian Affairs. In taking up this topic, with the view of exhibiting the several classes of statistical facts which belong to its consideration on an enlarged basis, it is deemed proper, as a starting point, to introduce it with the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1850. This paper denotes, with clearness, after a brief view of the current transactions with the several tribes, the amount of their vested fund [A]; the interest annually payable thereon [B]; the current official expenses of the Bureau [C]; the current expenses of the Department at large, and the payment of annuities and expenses of fulfilling treaty stipulations for the fiscal year commencing 1st July, 1851 [D]; and the estimates of the special sums asked from Congress to complete the fiscal obligations of the office for the year ending 30th June, 1851 [E].

From these data, which exhibit the point of expenditure at which the Department now (1850) stands, a view of the same classes of facts, as completely as they have been obtained, is thrown back for a period of thirty years, when the whole annual sum asked for, by Mr. Crawford, for treaty expenditures, was but $152,575. The same class of payments, including special estimates resulting from the operation of former treaties, stands now at $2,299,272 65. This is wholly exclusive of the current expenses of the Department, which amount to $121,500. Nothing could more conclusively show the progress of this branch of the public business, since the Indian area of the Mississippi Valley began to enter freely as an element in the estimates, than the liberal sums which have been paid to the Indian tribes for their lands; the exact and punctual manner in which their funds have been managed, and the continually expanding importance of this department. It is a documentary history of our dealings with the Indian tribes, which will outlive all accusation; and must serve to convince the world, that they have been treated, under every question of the conflicting triplicate jurisdiction, between THEMSELVES, the STATES, and the UNITED STATES, with justice, a high regard

for their natural rights, and a degree of patient magnanimity, beyond the aborigines of any people whose history has been preserved.

The policy of a removal of the tribes from positions within the limits of the States, where they not only felt the conflicts of jurisdiction, but their exposure to annihilation became evident; and the policy of their removal to the west of the Mississippi river, where they could concentrate in masses under their own laws, and colonize under the protection of the government; were brought forward and submitted to Congress in 1825, by President Monroe. Under this system, many fragments of tribes have been rescued from destruction; others, arrested in a course of rapid depopulation; and entire tribes transferred to scenes of fertile territory and prosperity, where they have advanced in all the elements of civilization. The statistics belonging to this topic are submitted in their order, and will continue to be exhibited in the progress of the work.

The quantity of land sold by the tribes; the prices paid for them; the application of the amounts in annuities, or otherwise; and the general effects of the disposition of their surplus domain, and their concentration on smaller, but ample tracts, constitute another branch of their statistics, the publication of which is now commenced.

Connected with these objects of deep statistical value, are the data showing their varying population from the earliest dates.

H. R. S.

I. PERIOD OF 1850.

I. OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Office Indian Affairs, November 27th, 1850.

SIR:—Before proceeding to submit for your consideration a general view of our Indian affairs and relations during the last twelve months, I would respectfully refer to the accompanying reports of the superintendents, agents, and missionaries, in the Indian country, for more particular information in relation to local operations, and the condition of the various tribes, than can be fitly embodied in a report of this description.

Among the less remote tribes, with which we have fixed and defined relations, and which, to a greater or less extent, have felt the controlling and meliorating effects of the policy and measures of the government, for preserving peace among them and improving their condition, an unusual degree of order and quietude has prevailed. It is gratifying to know, that amongst this class, comprising a large portion of the red race within our widely extended borders, there probably has never, during the same period of time, been so few occurrences of a painful nature. All have been peaceful towards our citizens, while, with the exception of the Sioux and Chippewas, they have preserved a state of peace and harmony among themselves. These two tribes are hereditary enemies, and scarcely a year passes without scenes of bloody strife between them. From their remoteness and scattered condition, it is difficult to exercise any effective restraint over them, while their proximity to each other affords them frequent opportunities for indulging their vengeful and vindictive feelings. Each tribe seems to be constantly on the watch for occasions to attack weaker parties of the other, when an indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children, is the lamentable result.

During the last spring, mutual aggressions of an aggravated character threatened to involve these tribes in a general war; but the acting superintendent, Governor Ramsey, aided and assisted by the commanding officer at Fort Snelling, promptly interposed, and by timely and judicious efforts prevented such a catastrophe.

Such occurrences are not only revolting to humanity, but they foster that insatiable passion for war, which, in combination with love of the chase, is the prominent characteristic feature of our wilder tribes, and presents a formidable obstacle in the way of their civilization and improvement. We know not yet to what extent these important objects may be accomplished; but the present and improving condition of some of our semi-civilized tribes affords ample encouragement for further and more extended effort. Experience, however, has conclusively shown that there is but one course of policy, by which the great work of regenerating the Indian race may be effected.

In the application of this policy to our wilder tribes, it is indispensably necessary that they be placed in positions were they can be controlled, and finally compelled, by stern necessity, to resort to agricultural labor or starve. Considering, as the untutored Indian does, that labor is a degradation, and that there is nothing worthy of his ambition but prowess in war, success in the chase, and eloquence in council, it is only under such circumstances that his haughty pride can be subdued, and his wild energies trained to the more ennobling pursuits of civilized life. There should be assigned to each tribe, for a permanent home, a country adapted to agriculture, of limited extent and well-defined boundaries, within which all, with occasional exceptions, should be compelled constantly to remain until such time as their general improvement and good conduct may supersede the necessity of such restrictions. In the mean time, the government should cause them to be supplied with stock, agricultural implements, and useful materials for clothing; encourage and assist them in the erection of comfortable dwellings, and secure to them the means and facilities of education, intellectual, moral, and religious. The application of their own funds to such purposes would be far better for them than the present system of paying their annuities in money, which does substantial good to but few, while to the great majority it only furnishes the means and incentive to vicious and depraving indulgence, terminating in destitution and misery, and too frequently in premature death.

The time is at hand for the practical application of the foregoing views to the Sioux and Chippewas, as well as to some of the more northern tribes on the borders of Missouri and Iowa. Congress had made an appropriation for negotiations with the Sioux for a portion of their lands, which should, as far as practicable, be conducted on the principles laid down in the instructions given to the commissioners appointed for that purpose last year, and which were communicated with the Annual Report of my predecessor. Those instructions contemplated the purchase of a large extent of their territory, and their concentration within narrower limits upon lands remote from the

white settlements and the Chippewas — objects of primary importance in view of the general policy already stated.

Since the treaties of 1837 and 1842, with the Chippewas, a considerable portion of those Indians have continued, by sufferance, to reside on the ceded lands east of the Mississippi river, in Wisconsin and Minnesota, where they have for some years been brought into injurious contact with our rapidly advancing and increasing population in that quarter. Having ample facilities for procuring ardent spirits, they have become much injured and corrupted by unrestrained indulgence in the use of that accursed element of evil. To remedy this unfortunate state of things, it was determinad at an early period of the present year, to have these Indians removed northward to the country belonging to their tribe. Measures for this purpose were accordingly adopted; but, in consequence of the very late period at which the appropriation requisite to meet the necessary expenses was made, only a small number have as yet been removed. Their entire removal, however, will not sufficiently relieve our citizens from annoyance by them, as they will for some time have the disposition, and be near enough, to return with facility to their old haunts and hunting-grounds. Nor will the situation of the Chippewas, generally, then be such as their well-being requires. They own a vast extent of territory on each side of the Mississippi, over which they will be scattered, following the chase and indulging in their vagrant habits, until the wild products of the country, on which they depend for a subsistence, are exhausted, and they are brought to a state of destitution and want. Efforts should therefore be made, at as early a period as practicable, to concentrate them within proper limits, where, with some additional means beyond those already provided, effective arrangements could be made to introduce among them a system of education, and the practice of agriculture and the simpler mechanic arts. The best portion of their country for this purpose is west of the Mississippi river; but it is not owned by the whole tribe in common — a considerable part of it being the exclusive property of particular bands, who are not parties to any of our treaties, and receive no annuities or other material aid from the United States. This circumstance not only excites dissatisfaction with the government, but produces much jealousy and bad feeling towards the rest of the tribe, which may hereafter lead to serious difficulty; and as the game on which they mainly depend for the means of living must soon fail them, the government will be under the necessity of interposing to save them from starvation. A wise forecast and the dictates of a benevolent policy alike suggest that timely measures be taken to avert so disastrous a result. This may easily be done, and at a moderate expense compared with the importance of the objects to be accomplished.

In order to enable the department to carry out these views in reference to the whole Chippewa tribe, I respectfully recommend that Congress be asked for an appropriation at the ensuing session, to defray the expense of negotiating a joint treaty with the different bands, for the purpose of acquiring so much of their country on the east side

of the Mississippi as we may require for a long time to come; to provide that the whole of their remaining lands, together with their present and future means, shall be the common property of the whole tribe, so that all will be placed upon an equal footing; and that as large a proportion of their funds as practicable shall be set apart and applied in such a manner as will secure their comfort, and most rapidly advance them in civilization and prosperity. With such arrangements for this tribe, and the adoption of a like policy towards the Winnebagoes, now located in their vicinity on the west side of the Mississippi, and the Menomonees, soon to be removed there, the whole face of our Indian relations in that quarter would in a few years present an entire and gratifying change. We should soon witness in this, our northern colony of Indians, those evidences of general improvement now becoming clearly manifest among a number of our colonized tribes in the southwest; and which present, to the mind of the philanthropist and the Christian, encouraging assurance of the practicability of regenerating the red race of our country, and elevating them to a position, moral and social, similar, if not equal, to our own. There are two evils in the section of country referred to, operating injuriously upon the welfare and interests of the Indians in that quarter, and our citizens engaged in trade among them, which require prompt attention, and which must be suppressed before our Indian relations there can be placed upon a safe and satisfactory footing. These are, first, the immense annual destruction of the buffalo and other game by the half-breeds from the British side of the line, generally in the employment of the Hudson's Bay Company; and, secondly, the introduction of ardent spirits among our Indians by the traders of that company. The embarrassment and injury to our Indians resulting from the devastation of game by these foreign depredators have justly occasioned much dissatisfaction among them, and, if not soon checked, serious difficulties may well be apprehended. The introduction of ardent spirits among the Indians, by the persons referred to, is not only an aggravated evil, but is derogatory to the authority and dignity of this government.

Our laws and regulations prohibit the introduction of spirituous liquor among the Indians, as well as the ingress of foreigners into their country for purposes of trade, or indeed for any purpose, without permission from the proper authorities. A strict compliance with these laws and regulations is required of our traders, while the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company, in contemptuous disregard of them, frequently come over on our side of the line, and, through the nefarious means of ardent spirits, carry on a corrupting traffic with the Indians, injurious alike to them and to our licensed and bonded traders. Suitable measures should be promptly adopted to put a stop to these abuses; for which purpose, the establishment of a military post and an Indian agency in that quarter will be indispensable, and, in the present state of affairs, this cannot be done at too early a period.

It was expected that the Menomonees, for whom a location has been provided between the Winnebagoes and Chippewas, would be removed this year; but before

the exploration of their new country by a party of these Indians had been completed, the season was too far advanced for the tribe to emigrate before the approach of winter. The President, therefore, in a just spirit of humanity, gave them permission to remain in Wisconsin until the first day of June next.

The Stockbridge and Munsee Indians, residing in Wisconsin, having, in 1848, ceded all their lands to the government, are expected to settle somewhere in the same region of country. The treaty which provides for their removal stipulates that, in the selection of a country for their future residence, they shall be consulted; and they have expressed a preference for a site in the vicinity of the St. Peters river. As soon as a suitable location can be found for them, and their removal effected, Wisconsin, like most of the other States, will be relieved substantially of the evils of an Indian population.

As usual with the Winnebagoes, in whatever situation placed, a considerable number of them have been restless and discontented in their new location on the Upper Mississippi, to which they were removed in the year 1848. This has arisen less from any well-grounded objection to the country, than from their own reckless disposition and vagrant habits, together, possibly, with an omission on the part of the government to do all that might have been done for their comfortable settlement in their new home. There was considerable difficulty in effecting their removal; and a portion of them, eluding the agent of the government charged with the superintendence of their emigration, remained behind. These, with others who returned to their old haunts in Iowa and Wisconsin, gave serious annoyance to our citizens by their threatening conduct and actual depredations. The white population became more or less alarmed, and strong representations were made to the government of the necessity for their immediate removal. The urgency appearing to be great, there was but little time to make the necessary arrangements for the purpose. A resort to military force was considered inexpedient, as it might have tended to exasperate their feelings and lead to actual hostilities. And it was greatly to be desired, that they should be taken to their country under circumstances calculated to allay their discontent, and dispose them to remain.

My predecessor, therefore, with the concurrence and approbation of the head of the department, entered into a contract with a gentleman recommended for his high character and great influence over these Indians, to remove them in a kind and judicious manner, and to make suitable and satisfactory arrangements for their comfortable and permanent settlement. It appears that the measure has thus far been attended with corresponding results, and that the contractor is entitled to credit for his energy and success in the prosecution of his undertaking.

In examining the reports of my predecessors for several years, I find a measure of policy strongly urged, with reference to the tribes located on the borders of our Western States, in which I fully concur. It is by a partial change in their relative positions,

to throw open a wide extent of country for the spread of our population westward, so as to save them from being swept away by the mighty and advancing current of civilization, which has already engulphed a large portion of this hapless race. To a large majority of those that have been removed there from the States, we are under obligations of the highest character, enjoined alike by contract and conscience, to secure to them their present homes and possessions for ever; and, ere it be too late, we should make all the arrangements necessary and proper to a faithful discharge of this solemn duty.

Below the most southern of our colonized tribes, we have an ample outlet to the southwest; but another of higher latitude is required, leading more directly towards our remote western possessions. A beginning will be made in carrying this measure of policy and humanity into effect by the purchase, as contemplated, from the Sioux of a large portion of their country; and it may be fully consummated by the removal of a few tribes between the Sioux territory and the Kansas river, with whom we have no treaty stipulations, guarantying in perpetuity their present possessions. Suitable locations may be found for them south of that river, where, secure in comfortable and permanent homes, they would be stimulated by the salutary influence and example of neighboring and more enlightened tribes.

That the border tribes in question are in danger of ultimate extinction from the causes indicated, must be evident to every well-informed and reflecting mind; and it is equally clear that the adoption of the policy recommended, is the only practicable means of averting the melancholy fate with which they are threatened. If they remain as they are, many years will not elapse before they will be over-run and exterminated; or, uprooted and broken-spirited, be driven forth towards the setting sun to perish amidst savage enemies on the plains, or the sterile and inhospitable regions of the Rocky Mountains. Such a catastrophe would be an abiding reproach to our government and people, especially when it is considered that these Indians, if properly established, protected, and cherished, may at no distant day become intelligent, moral, and Christian communities, fully understanding and appreciating the principles and blessings of our free institutions, and entitled to equal participation in the rights, privileges, and immunities of American citizens.

It is among the tribes of our Southern colony that we find the most satisfactory and encouraging evidences of material advancement in civilization; and we need no better vindication of the wisdom and humanity of our Indian policy, thus far, than the gratifying results among a number of these tribes. Surrounded in the States where they formerly resided by a white population continually pressing upon them, and without the natural enterprise and energy, or the intellectual culture, requisite to enable them to contend with a superior race in any of those employments and pursuits upon which the dignity and happiness of man depend — discouraged and depressed by their inferior and helpless condition, they, with a fatal and ruinous facility, adopted

only the vices of the white man, and were fast wasting away. In a few years, they would have become extinct, and, like other once numerous and powerful tribes, their names would have been preserved only in the records of history. Removed from this unfortunate and to them unnatural position; placed where they have the assurance and guarantee of permanent homes; where they are, in a great measure, free from those influences arising out of a close contact with a white population, so injurious and fatal to them in their untutored state; and where the elements of civilization could be steadily and systematically introduced among them — they are gradually increasing in numbers and rapidly advancing in prosperity.

Several of these tribes have already abandoned their original and crude forms of government, and adopted others, fashioned more or less after the model of our own — having regularly established constitutions of republican character, and written laws adapted to their peculiar state of affairs, with proper and responsible officers to carry them into execution. They are adopting agricultural and mechanical pursuits; and, through the efforts of the government and of various Christian societies, having become impressed with the necessity and advantages of education, they are making highly commendable exertions to disseminate more generally its blessings among them.

In addition to the means furnished by government and liberally provided by missionary associations, they make large appropriations from their own funds towards the establishment and support of manual-labor schools, which have been found efficient auxiliaries in imparting to them a knowledge of letters, agriculture, and mechanic arts, and of advancing them in civilization and Christianity. During the few years that institutions of this description have been in operation, they have done much towards the accomplishment of these great objects; and, had they effected nothing more than to excite the desire for instruction now existing among a number of the tribes, the expenditure they have occasioned would not have been in vain. Introduced, however, as an experiment, we were liable to errors in regard to them, which experience alone could develope; and after much reflection, I am satisfied that there are defects in the system as at present organized, which must be remedied in order to ensure its full degree of efficiency and usefulness. In my judgment, confirmed by the experience of others, the great error committed has been in establishing most of the institutions upon too large a scale. In consequence of the heavy expenditures required to establish and maintain them, they are necessarily limited in number, and so wide apart as to be at an inconvenient distance from the great majority of those for whose benefit they are intended. Hence, the advantages and benefits of the schools are confined almost entirely to the neighborhoods within which they are respectively located; for the Indians at a distance being naturally averse to having their children taken so far from their homes, it often happens that the full complement of scholars cannot be obtained. Besides, the congregation of large numbers of Indian children, by affording them more unrestricted opportunities of indulging in the use of their own

language, seriously interferes with their acquisition of the English tongue, a knowledge of which is generally a pre-requisite to their civilization. By diminishing the size and expense of these institutions, they could be multiplied and extended; there would be less difficulty in obtaining the desired number of resident pupils; while others in the vicinity could be taught as day-scholars, and the benefits of a practical education be thus more widely diffused.

The only considerable number of Indians who have retained any portion of their original possessions, and survived the perils of immediate contact with a white population, fast thickening around them, are those remaining in the State of New York, comprising a mere remnant of the once numerous and powerful Iroquois, or "Six Nations." After rapidly diminishing for many years, they seem at length to have reached the lowest point in their declining fortunes. Having been placed by the humane legislation of the State in a situation similar to that of our colonized tribes, they present the interesting spectacle of a once barbarous people in a state of rapid transition to civilization and prosperity. A striking indication of their progress is the important change they have made in their civil polity. Impressed with the disadvantages of their ancient and irresponsible oligarchical form of government, and its tendency to retard their advancement, a majority succeeded, in 1848, in effecting an entire revolution. Having formally assembled in convention, they adopted a republican constitution, and their government and affairs are now well conducted on principles similar to those on which ours are administered. There are still, however, individuals among them, who, from their connection with the old system, are opposed to the new order of things; but, as the object of these malcontents is to regain their lost power, rather than to promote the public good, no encouragement has been given to them either by the State of New York or the general government.

It is much to be regretted that no appropriation was made at the last session of Congress for negotiating treaties with the wild tribes of the great western prairies. These Indians have long held undisputed possession of this extensive region, and regarding it as their own, they consider themselves entitled to compensation, not only for the right of way through their territory, but for the great and injurious destruction of game, grass, and timber, committed by our troops and emigrants. They have hitherto been kept quiet and peaceable by reiterated promises that the government would act generously towards them; and considerations of economy, justice, and humanity, require that these promises should be promptly fulfilled. They would, doubtless, be contented with a very moderate remuneration, which should be made in goods, stock animals, agricultural implements, and other useful articles.

As a further measure for securing the friendship and good conduct of these Indians, it is earnestly recommended that a delegation of their principal and most influential men be brought in for the purpose of visiting some of our larger cities and more densely populated portions of country. These delegates would thus be impressed with

an idea of the great superiority of our strength, which, being imparted to their people, would have a powerful and most salutary influence upon them.

Our information in regard to the Indians in Oregon and California is extremely limited; but the deficiency, it is hoped, will shortly be supplied by the agents and commissioners provided for at the last session of Congress. Copies of the instructions given to these officers are herewith submitted, together with a report from General Lane, late governor and acting superintendent of Indian affairs in Oregon, containing the latest official information, in possession of the office, respecting the Indians in that far distant region, and received too late to accompany the Annual Report of last year.

After the three agents authorized by Congress for the Indians in California were appointed, it was found that no appropriation had been made for their salaries and the necessary expenses of their agencies. Their functions as agents were therefore suspended; but, as there was an appropriation for negotiating treaties with the Indians in that State, they were constituted commissioners for that purpose. They will thus have an opportunity of acquiring information useful to them as agents, and be on the spot to enter upon their duties in that capacity when the requisite appropriations shall have been made.

Commissioners have, also, been appointed for the highly important purpose of negotiating treaties with the various Indian tribes adjacent to the line between the United States and Mexico. They are expected to accompany the boundary commission, and are charged with the duty of collecting all such statistical and other information concerning those Indians as may aid the department in adopting the proper policy and measures for their government, and to carry out in good faith the stipulations of our recent treaty with the Mexican republic.

The ruinous condition of our Indian affairs in New Mexico demands the immediate attention of Congress. In no section of the country are prompt and efficient measures for restraining the Indians more imperiously required than in this territory, where an extraordinary state of things exists, which, so long as it continues, will be a reproach to the government. . . . . .

There are over thirty thousand Indians within its limits, the greater portion of which, having never been subjected to any salutary restraint, are extremely wild and intractable. For many years they have been in the constant habit of making extensive forays, not only within the territory itself, but in the adjoining provinces of Mexico — plundering and murdering the inhabitants, and carrying off large quantities of stock, besides numerous captives, whom they have subjected to slavery and treated with great barbarity and cruelty. Humanity shudders in view of the horrible fate of such of their female captives as possess qualities to excite their fiendish and brutal passions. Our citizens have suffered severely from their outrages within the last two years, of which their attack last fall upon Mr. White's party,

while travelling to Santa Fé, is one of many instances. They murdered the whole party, (nine or ten in number,) except his wife, child, and servant, whom they carried off. Our only Indian agent in the territory, who is stationed at Santa Fé, on hearing of the lamentable occurrence, promptly made every effort in his power to rescue the captives and bring the Indians to punishment. The military officers in the territory, also, made commendable exertions for the same purpose; but, unfortunately, with no other result than the discovery of the dead body of Mrs. White, which was found by a military party in pursuit of some Indians supposed to have her in their possession. It was evident that she had just been murdered, as the body was still warm. The sad duty of interring the corpse was performed by the military with becoming decency and respect. Proper efforts have been continued to rescue the child and servant, but as yet without success. Renewed instructions have recently been given, directing a large reward to be offered, which, it is hoped, will lead to a favorable result. But their atrocities and aggressions are committed, not only upon our citizens, but upon the Pueblo Indians, an interesting semi-civilized people, living in towns or villages called *pueblos;* whence they derive their name. Before the country came into our possession, they were in the habit of repairing the injuries they sustained by retaliation and reprisals upon their enemies, but from this they are now required to desist; and thus, the duty is more strongly imposed upon us of affording them adequate protection. The interference of the government is required, also, to secure them against violations of their rights of person and property by unprincipled white men, from whose cupidity and lawlessness, they are continually subject to grievous annoyance and oppression.

To prevent serious disputes between these Indians and the white inhabitants, it is essentially necessary that commissioners be appointed to ascertain and define the boundaries of their lands, which they claim to hold under grants from Spain and Mexico; and to negotiate treaties with them for the purpose of establishing proper relations between them and the government and citizens of the United States. It is believed that by pursuing a wise and liberal policy towards them — which their peculiar situation indicates and invites — they will, in a few years be fitted to become citizens, and being industrious, moral, and exemplary in their habits, will constitute a valuable portion of the population of the territory. For a brief period, however, they will require agents to regulate their intercourse and manage their relations with the other Indians and the whites. The same commissioners could be charged with the farther duty of entering into the necessary conventional arrangements with the wild tribes of the territory. To manage these Indians properly, they also must have agents; and, in order to break up their practice of committing depredations and taking captives, they should be placed in situations where a proper vigilance and control can be exercised over them. Their forays into the Mexican territory can only be prevented by locating them at a considerable

distance from the boundary line, and the establishing of military posts to prevent them from crossing it. The boundaries of the country allotted to the several tribes respectively should be clearly defined, and they should not be allowed to go beyond them without special permission. Thus situated and restrained, a portion of them would need the assistance of the government, until brought to apply themselves to husbandry for the means of subsistence, instead of depending on plunder and the chase. The adoption of this or some other efficient system of measures would involve an expense far less than the amount for which the government will otherwise become liable on account of the just claims of our citizens and those of Mexico for spoliations committed by these Indians, while it would obviate the serious evils that must result from the settlement and improvement of the country being greatly retarded. An obligation of the highest character rests upon us, to redeem the captives among the Indians in New Mexico, represented to be numerous; and liberal appropriations will have to be made for that purpose.

For interesting and more particular information respecting our Indian affairs in this territory, and especially in relation to the agency and organization required for their proper management, I respectfully refer to the accompanying letter (No. 33) from the Hon. H. N. Smith and the report from agent Calhoun.

We know but little of the Indians in Utah, beyond the fact that they are generally peaceable in their disposition and easily controlled; but further and full information as to their peculiar condition and wants may soon be expected from the agent recently sent among them. I therefore refrain, for the present, from making any recommendation in regard to them, except that our trade and intercourse laws be extended over them.

Our Indian relations in Texas remain in the awkward and embarrassing state set forth in the Annual Reports from this office for the last five years, and particularly in that of my immediate predecessor. The laws providing for the regulation of trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes are not in force in Texas; nor can they, I apprehend, be extended there without the consent of that State. Thus, while an unfortunate state of things exists in Texas similar to that in New Mexico, and requiring in general the same remedial measures, we have not the power to put them in full and complete operation. The constitution, it is true, gives to Congress the power to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes; but that it can be rightfully exercised in such manner as to punish the citizens of that State for trespassing on lands occupied by the Indians, or trading with them, unless licensed by the government, is a proposition that may well be controverted. What is required, in regard to the Indians in Texas, is full and absolute authority to assign to them a suitable country, remote from the white population, for their exclusive occupancy and use, where we can make our own arrangements for regulating trade and intercourse with them, and adopt other measures for their gradual civilization and improvement.

With this view, I respectfully suggest that a commissioner or commissioners be appointed to confer with the proper authorities of Texas on this important subject, for the purpose of effecting the conventional arrangements indispensable to a satisfactory adjustment of our Indian affairs in that State.

This measure, I submit, would be fully justified, if recommended alone by the consideration that it would probably result in curtailing the immense and comparatively useless expense to which the government is now subjected in maintaining the large military force deemed necessary for the protection and defence of the citizens of Texas.

The arrangements adopted last year for the removal of the Seminole Indians in Florida to the country occupied by their brethren west of the Mississippi, failed of entire success; only a portion were removed, and a number still remain within the district temporarily assigned them, on the gulf-side of the peninsula. These continue, as heretofore, in charge of the military, and this department has no control or jurisdiction over them.

Notwithstanding the efforts that have been made, and the heavy expense incurred, during the last six years, to effect the removal of the Choctaws remaining in Mississippi, a considerable number still continue indisposed to migrate to the country provided for the tribe west of the State of Arkansas. Anxiety is felt that the State of Mississippi shall be speedily relieved of this incumbrance, and the Indians transferred to more comfortable homes among their brethren, where they would be comparatively prosperous and happy. In view of past results, it is evident that more efficient measures are necessary to accomplish their removal. These, it is hoped, may be devised and put into successful operation at an early day.

Conceding the general wisdom and justice of the policy, adopted in 1847, of paying the annuities to the Indians on the *per capita* principle, in my judgment, there are material objections to the manner in which it has been practically applied. The regulation on this subject provides that a portion of the annuities may be set apart by the Indians for national and charitable purposes. These purposes, however, have never been particularly defined; rules are not prescribed for determining the amounts to be provided for them, nor have measures been taken to encourage the Indians to make so wise and beneficial a disposition of their funds. They naturally desire to receive individually the full amount of their respective shares; and, consequently, their entire annuities have been distributed equally among them. However fair and equitable this mode of payment may appear, it is not altogether just to the chiefs, nor consistent with sound policy. It is through the medium of the chiefs that the government holds intercourse and dealings with the tribes, in the transaction of their more important business, and it is not unreasonable that they should expect more from the government than the common Indians receive, in consideration of their station and the services they perform. But, according to the present mode of paying

their annuities, the Indians are all and alike placed on a common level; and, as no discrimination is made in favor of the chiefs, their influence is not only diminished, but a feeling of contempt for governmental authority in general is extensively inspired. Evils of no ordinary magnitude are thus produced, which, it is believed, may be remedied by a proper exercise of the discretionary power over this subject vested in the President and the Secretary of the Interior.

The greatest difficulty which the government and individuals have to contend with in their efforts to ameliorate the condition of our Indians, is their strong and uncontrollable appetite for ardent spirits, and the facility with which they can still be procured, notwithstanding the stringency of our laws and the strenuous efforts of the agents and military to prevent its introduction among them. It is a deplorable fact that there are many persons engaged in the villanous business of smuggling liquor into the Indian country, while others, less daring, but equally depraved, are stationed near their borders for the purpose of carrying on an unholy traffic with them. The States within which these miscreants take refuge should be invoked to put an effectual stop to their abominations.

The work of collecting and digesting statistical and other information illustrative of the history, condition, and future prospects, of the Indian tribes, has been unremittingly prosecuted, and the results, it is believed, will not only be of much general interest, but highly useful to the department in the administration of our Indian affairs. The first part of these investigations is in press, and will be laid before Congress at an early period of the ensuing session.

A striking disparity exists between the financial estimates of this office, submitted to Congress at the commencement of the last session, and those prepared for submission at the commencement of the next. The latter exceed the former by a very large amount, and, to prevent misconception, a brief explanation may be necessary.

Estimates are divided into two classes, technically called *regular* and *special*. The first class relates exclusively to objects of fixed and permanent character, and to appropriations therefor, to be expended within the ensuing fiscal year; the latter, to temporary and miscellaneous objects, and to appropriations therefor, to be expended within the current as well as the fiscal year. Heretofore the practice has been to submit the regular estimates alone at the opening of Congress, and the special estimates from time to time during the progress of the session. But in preparing the estimates for the present year, care has been taken, pursuant to your instructions, to make them so full and comprehensive as to embrace both classes in one general estimate, thereby, as far as practicable, placing before Congress, at a single view, and at the commencement of the session, every object, of whatever character, for which an appropriation may be required. Hence the estimates of the present year, thus aggregated and combined, exceed the regular estimates of the last $1,423,033 49, and yet they fall short of the actual appropriations, at the recent session, on Indian account, some

$18,000 — while the regular estimates of last year exceed the corresponding class in the present general estimate $4,390, — the difference being occasioned by the omission of sundry items and the reduction of others.

Great care has also been taken to make the explanatory remarks accompanying the estimates conformable to law. They succinctly, but clearly, exhibit the grounds on which the several items are respectively founded; and, although the aggregate is large, it cannot, in my judgment, be materially diminished without detriment to the public service.

The present force of this office is less than in former years, and inadequate to the prompt discharge of its greatly augmented and increasing duties. An additional number of clerks and a thorough reorganization of the department are indispensably necessary. But as a full and satisfactory exposition of the measures required in this connection would involve elaborate detail, they will form the subject of a special communication.

Respectfully submitted,

L. LEA,
Commissioner.

Hon. A. H. H. STUART,
Secretary of the Interior.

A.

STATEMENT EXHIBITING THE AMOUNT OF INVESTMENTS FOR INDIAN ACCOUNT IN STATE STOCKS, &c.

Names of the Tribes for whose account stock is held in trust.	Names of the States which issued the bonds.	Rate per cent.	Amount of each lot of bonds.	Aggregate amount of the bonds for each tribe.	Amount of the annual interest on each.	Aggregate amount of the annual interest for each tribe.	Amount of the cost of each lot of bonds.	Aggregate cost of the bonds for each tribe.	When the interest is payable.	Where the interest is payable.	Where the interest is deposited until wanted.	Treaties, on reference to which it may be seen for what objects the interest is applied.
Cherokees	Kentucky	5	$94,000 00		$4,700 00		$94,000 00		Semi-ann.	N. Y.	Tr. U. S.	Treaty, Dec. 1835.
	Tennessee	5	250,000 00		12,500 00		250,000 00		do.	do.	do.	do.
	Alabama	5	300,000 00		15,000 00		300,000 00		do.	do.	do.	do.
	Maryland	6	761 39		45 68		880 00		Quarterly	Balt.	do.	do.
	Michigan	6	64,000 00		3,840 00		69,120 00		Semi-ann.	N. Y.	do.	do.
	Maryland	5	41,138 00		2,056 90		42,490 00		Quarterly	Balt.	do.	Treaty, Feb. 27, 1819.
	Missouri	5½	10,000 00		550 00		10,000 00		Semi-ann.	N. Y.	do.	do.
				$759,899 39		$38,692 58		$766,490 00				
	Maryland	6	130,850 43		6,851 02		150,000 00		Quarterly	Balt.	do.	Treaty, Sept. 1833.
Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawotomies (wills)	U. S. loan, 1847	6	21,791 83		1,307 51		25,707 10		Semi-ann.	Wash.	do.	do.
	U. S. loan, 1842	6	39,921 93		2,395 31		44,204 00		do.	do.	do.	do.
	U. S. loan, 1843	5	157 60		7 88		156 00		do.	do.	do.	do.
				192,721 79		11,561 72		220,067 50				
Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawotomies (education)	Indiana	5	68,000 00		3,400 00		72,264 09		Semi-ann.	N. Y.	do.	do.
	U. S. loan, 1847	6	6,525 54		391 53		7,697 97		do.	Wash.	do.	do.
	U. S. loan, 1842	6	5,556 71		333 40		6,016 05		do.	do.	do.	do.
				80,082 25		4,124 93		85,978 11				
Incompetent Chickasaws	Indiana	5		2,000 00		100 00		2,000 00	do.	N. Y.	do.	Treaty, May, 1834.
Chickasaw orphans	Arkansas	5	3,000 00		150 00		3,000 00		do.	do.	do.	do.
	U. S. loan,	6	770 03		46 20		908 38		do.	Wash.	do.	do.
	U. S. loan, 1842	6	433 68		26 02		508 01		do.	do.	do.	do.
				4,203 71		222 22		4,416 39				
Shawnees	Maryland	6	29,341 50		1,760 49		33,912 40		Quarterly	Balt.	do.	Treaty, Aug. 1831.
	Kentucky	5	1,000 80		50 00		980 00		Semi-ann.	N. Y.	do.	do.
	U. S. loan, 1842	6	1,734 71		104 08		2,032 03		do.	Wash.	do.	do.
				32,076 21		1,914 57		36,924 43				

A [CONTINUED.]

STATEMENT EXHIBITING THE AMOUNT OF INVESTMENTS FOR INDIAN ACCOUNT IN STATE STOCKS, &c.

Names of the Tribes for whose account stock is held in trust.	Names of the States which issued the bonds.	Rate per cent.	Amount of each lot of bonds.	Aggregate amount of the bonds for each tribe.	Amount of the annual interest on each.	Aggregate amount of the annual interest for each tribe.	Amount of the cost of each lot of bonds.	Aggregate cost of the bonds for each tribe.	When the interest is payable.	Where the interest is payable.	Where the interest is deposited until wanted.	Treaties, on reference to which it may be seen for what objects the interest is applied.
Senecas	Kentucky	5		5,000 00		250 00		4,900 00	Semi-ann.	N. Y.	Tr. U.S.	Treaty, Feb. 1831.
Senecas and Shawnees	Kentucky	5	6,000 00		300 00		5,880 00		do.	do.	do.	do.
	Missouri	5½	7,000 00		385 00		7,121 87		do.	do.	do.	do.
	U. S. loan, 1843	5	3,641 04		182 05		3,713 87		do.			
				16,641 04		867 05		16,715 74				
Kanzas schools	Missouri	5½	16,000 00		990 00		18,000 00		do.	do.	do.	Treaty, June, 1825.
	U. S. loan, 1847	6	1,780 00		92 40		1,816 75		do.	Wash.	do.	do.
	U. S. loan, 1843	5	2,700 00		135 00		2,727 27		do.	do.	do.	do.
	U. S. loan, 1842	6	4,444 66		266 67		5,026 30		do.	do.	do.	do.
				26,664 72		1,484 07		27,570 32				
Menomonees	Kentucky	5	77,000 00		3,850 00		75,460 00		do.	N. Y.	do.	Treaty, Sept. 1836.
	U. S. loan, 1843	5	3,117 38		155 87		3,179 72		do.	Wash.	do.	do.
	U. S. loan, 1842	6	26,114 66		1,566 89		29,604 48		do.	do.	do.	do.
	U. S. loan, 1847	6	21,321 10		1,279 26		22,601 16		do.	do.	do.	do.
				127,553 36		6,852 02		130,925 36				
Chippewas and Ottawas	Kentucky	5	77,000 00		3,850 00		75,460 00		do.	N. Y.	do.	Treaty, March, 1836.
	Michigan	6	3,000 00		180 00		3,000 00		do.	do.	do.	do.
	U. S. loan, 1843	5	6,368 27		318 41		6,426 46		do.	Wash.	do.	do.
	U. S. loan, 1842	6	16,588 97		995 34		18,183 30		do.	do.	do.	do.
	U. S. loan, 1847	6	14,374 47		862 46		16,700 62		do.	do.	do.	do.
				117,331 71		6,206 21		119,770 38				

A [CONTINUED.]

STATEMENT EXHIBITING THE AMOUNT OF INVESTMENTS FOR INDIAN ACCOUNT IN STATE STOCKS, &c.

Names of the Tribes for whose account stock is held in trust.	Names of the States which issued the bonds.	Rate per cent.	Amount of each lot of bonds.	Aggregate amount of the bonds for each tribe.	Amount of the annual interest on each.	Aggregate amount of the annual interest for each tribe.	Amount of the cost of each lot of bonds.	Aggregate cost of the bonds for each tribe.	When the interest is payable.	Where the interest is payable.	Where the interest is deposited until wanted.	Treaties, on reference to which it may be seen for what objects the interest is applied.
Creek orphans.....	Alabama	5	82,000 00	.....	4,100 00	.....	82,000 00	.....	Semi-ann.	N. Y.	Tr. U.S.	Treaty, June, 1832.
	Missouri	5½	28,000 00	.....	1,540 00	.....	28,487 48	.....	do.	do.	do.	do.
	U.S. loan, 1843	5	13,700 00	.....	685 00	.....	13,840 00	.....	do.	Wash.	do.	do.
	U.S. loan, 1842	6	49,900 84	.....	1,994 05	.....	56,078 03	.....	do.	do.	do.	do.
				173,600 84		9,319 05		180,405 51				
Choctaws, under convention with Chickasaws	Alabama	5	.....	500,000 00	.....	25,000 00	.....	500,000 00	do.	N. O.	do.	Treaty, Jan. 17, 1837.
Delawares (educa'n)	U.S. loan, 1842	6	.....	7,805 28	.....	468 38	.....	9,144 27	do.	Wash.	do.	Treaty, 1838.
Osages (education)	U.S. loan, 1843	5	7,400 00	.....	370 00	.....	7,474 74	.....	do.	do.	do.	Treaty, 1825.
	U.S. loan, 1842	6	24,679 56	.....	1,480 00	.....	27,656 76	.....	do.	do.	do.	do.
				32,079 56		1,850 77		35,131 50				
Stockbridge and Munsees.....	U.S. loan, 1842	6	.....	5,204 16	.....	312 25	.....	6,096 16	do.	do.	do.	Treaty, May, 1840.
Choctaws (education)	U.S. loan, 1842	6	60,893 62	.....	3,653 61	.....	68,236 73	.....	do.	do.	do.	Treaty, Sept. 1830.
	U.S. loan, 1843	5	1,545 44	.....	77 27	.....	1,530 00	.....	do.	do.	do.	do.
	U.S. loan, 1847	6	18,026 97	.....	1,081 61	.....	19,979 75	.....	do.	do.	do.	do.
				80,466 03		4,812 49		89,746 48				
Chippewas of Swan Creek	U.S. loan, 1843	5	.....	5,869 43	.....	293 47	.....	5,986 82	do.	do.	do.	Treaty, May, 1834.
Ottawas of Blanchard's Forks.....	U.S. loan, 1843	5	.....	7,850 41	.....	392 52	.....	8,007 42	do.	do.	do.	Treaty, Aug. 1831.
Ottawas of Rochedo Boeng.....	U.S. loan, 1843	5	.....	1,650 43	.....	82 52	.....	1,683 44	do.	do.	do.	do.
				2,178,721 32		114,806 32		2,251,959 83				

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, *Office Indian Affairs, November 27th*, 1850.

B.

Statement exhibiting the Annual Interest appropriated by Congress to pay the following Tribes of Indians, in lieu of investing the sum of money provided by treaties and laws in stocks.

NAMES OF TRIBES.	Amount provided by treaty for investment.	Rate per cent.	Amount of interest annually appropriated.	AUTHORITY BY WHICH MADE.
Delawares	$46,080	5	$2,304	Treaty, September 29, 1829.
Chippewas and Ottawas	200,000	6	12,000	Resolution of the Senate, May 27, 1836.
Sioux of Mississippi	800,000	5	45,000	Treaty, September 29, 1837.
Sacs and Foxes of Missouri	175,400	5	8,770	Treaty, October 21, 1837.
Winnebagoes	1,185,000	5	59,250	Treaties, November 1, 1837, and October 13, 1846.
Sacs and Foxes, Mississippi	1,000,000	5	50,000	Treaties, October 21, 1837, and October 11, 1842.
Iowas	157,500	5	7,875	Resolution of the Senate, January 19, 1838.
Osages	69,120	5	3,456	Do. do. do. do.
Creeks	350,000	5	17,500	Treaty, November 23, 1838.
Senecas of New York	75,000	5	3,750	Treaty, May 20, 1842, and law of Congress, June 27, 1846.
Kanzas	200,000	5	10,000	Treaty, January 14, 1846.
Pottawatomies	643,000	5	32,150	Treaty, June 5, 1846.
Choctaws	872,000	5	43,600	Treaty, September 27, 1830, and laws of 1842 and 1845.
	$5,273,100		$265,655	

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Office Indian Affairs, November 27th, 1850.

C.

Estimate of Funds required for the fiscal year, commencing the first day of July, 1851, *and terminating the thirtieth day of June,* 1852. *To wit: Office Expenses, Compensation to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and to the Clerks and Messengers in the Office of the Commissioner, and for Contingencies of the Office.*

Laws.	Vol.	Page.	Section.	Capacity.	Acts making provision.	Rate of salary.	Total.
Statutes at large	4	564	1	Commissioner	1832, July 9	3000	3000
" "	3	446	3 &	Chief clerk	1818, April 20, and	1700	1700
" "	6	204	4		1847, March 3		
" "	5	27	1	One clerk	1836, May 9	1600	1600
" "	3	446	3	One clerk	1818, April 20	1400	1400
" "	5	27	1	Three clerks	1836, May 9, and	1400	4200
" "	6	288	1		1848, Aug. 12		
" "	5	27	1	Two clerks	1836, May 9, and	1200	2400
" "	6	258	1		1848, Aug. 12		
" "	3	446	3 &	One clerk	1818, April 20, and	1200	1200
" "	6	204	4		1847, March 3		
" "	5	27	1	Two clerks	1836, May 9	1000	2000
" "		26 &				700&	1200
" "	5	27	1	Two messengers	1836, May 9	500	
				Contingent expenses of the office, to wit:			
				Blank books, binding, and stationery		1000	2000
				Labor		200	
				Miscellaneous items		800	
						Dolls	20,700

L. LEA, Commissioner.

Office Indian Affairs, November 27th, 1850.

D.

ESTIMATE OF FUNDS

Required for the fiscal year, commencing 1st July, 1851, and ending 30th June, 1852, to meet the current Expenses of the Indian Department, and the Payment of Annuities and other Objects provided for by Treaties with various Indian Tribes.

Laws.	Vol.	Page.	Sect.	Objects.	Acts making provision.	Rate of salary.	Amount.	Total.	
				CURRENT EXPENSES OF INDIAN DEPARTMENT.					
				Pay of Superintendents of Indian Affairs:					
Statutes at large	4	735	2	viz., one in Missouri	1834, June 30	1500 00	1,500 00		
Pamp. copy last sess.		27	2	one in Oregon	1850, June 5	2500 00	2,500 00		
								4,000 00	A.
				Pay of Indian Agents:					
Statutes at large	4	736	4	viz., seven under act of	1834, June 30	1500 00	10,500 00		
" "	3	163	3	three " "	1837, March 3	1500 00	4,500 00		
" "	6	20	1	one " "	1846, June 27	1500 00	1,500 00		
Pamp. copy last sess.		27	4	three " "	1850, June 5	1500 00	4,500 00		
" "		141	1	three " "	1850, Sept. 28	3000 00	9,000 00		
								30,000 00	A.
				Pay of Indian Sub-agents:					
Statutes at large	4	736	5	viz., eighteen under act of	1834, June 30	750 00	13,500 00	13,500 00	B.
				Pay of Interpreters:					
Statutes at large	4	737	9	viz., fifty-five under act of	1834, June 30	300 00	16,500 00	16,500 00	C.
Pamp. copy 1845	6	21	1	Pay of clerk to superintendent at St. Louis	1846, June 27	1200 00	1,200 00	1,200 00	
" " "	6	21	1	Pay of " acting sup't of Western Ter'y	1846, June 27	1000 00	1,000 00	1,000 00	
				Buildings at agency and repairs thereof				2,000 00	
Statutes	4	738	15	Presents to Indians	1834, June 30			5,000 00	
"	4	738	16	Provisions for Indians	1834, June 30			11,800 00	D.
				Contingencies Indian Department				36,500 00	
				Amount carried forward				$121,500 00	

D [CONTINUED.]

ESTIMATE OF FUNDS REQUIRED FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1851.

Laws.	Vol.	Page.	Sect.	Annuities, &c.	Acts making Provision.	Amount.	Total.	
				Amount brought forward	.....	.....	$121,500 00	
		58 &	7 &	*Christian Indians.*				
Statutes at large	4	183	last	Permanent annuity	Per act 26 May, 1824, and 20 May, 1826	400 00		
				Chippewas of Saganaw.			400 00	
Statutes at large	7	51	4	Permanent annuity	4th art. treaty 3 Aug. 1795	1,000 00		
	7	106	2	" "	2d art. treaty 17 Nov. 1807	800 00		
	7	204	4	" "	4th art. treaty 24 Sept. 1819	1,000 00		
	7	285	8	Permanent provision for the support of blacksmiths,	8th " " "	2,000 00		
	7	330	7	and for farming utensils and cattle, and the em-	7th art. treaty 14 Jan. 1837			
	8	608	1	ployment of persons to aid them in agriculture				
	7	291	6	Education during pleasure of Congress	6th art. treaty 5 Aug. 1826	1,000 00		
							5,800 00	
				Chippewas, Menomonees, Winnebagoes, and New York Indians.				
Statutes at large	7	304	5	Education during pleasure of Congress	Per 5th art. treaty 11 Aug. 1827	1,500 00		
				Chippewas of Lake Superior and the Mississippi.			1,500 00	
Statutes at large	7	536	2	Fifteenth of twenty instalments in money	2d art. treaty 29 July, 1837.	9,500 00		
	7	536	2	" " "	" " "	19,000 00		
	7	536	2	" " for the establish-				
				ment of three smith's shops, supporting three	" " "	3,000 00	.....	Fixed by treaty.
				smiths, and furnishing iron and steel				
	7	536	2	Fifteenth of twenty instalments for the support of				
				farmers, purchase of implements, grain or seed,	" " "	1,000 00	.....	Fixed by treaty.
				and to carry on their agricultural pursuits				
	7	536	2	Fifteenth of twenty instalments for the purchase				
				of tobacco	" " "	500 00		
	7	536	2	Fifteenth of twenty instalments for the purchase				
				of provisions	" " "	2,000 00		
	7	592	4	Tenth of twenty-five instalments in money	4th art. treaty 4 Oct. 1842	12,500 00		
	7	592	4	" " " in goods	" " "	10,500 00		
	7	592	4	" " " for the support of				
				two smith's shops, including pay of smiths and	" " "	2,000 00		
				assistants, and furnishing iron and steel				
				Amount carried forward	.....	.....	$129,200 00	

D [CONTINUED.]

ESTIMATE OF FUNDS REQUIRED FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1851.

Laws.	Vol.	Page.	Sect.	Annuities, &c.	Acts making provision.	Amount.	Total.	
				Amount brought forward	.....	$60,000 00	$129,200 00	
Statutes at large	7	592	4	Tenth of twenty-five instalments for the pay of two farmers	4th art. treaty 4 Oct. 1842	1,000 00	.....	Fixed by treaty.
	7	592	4	" " for the pay of two carpenters	" " "	1,200 00	.....	" "
	7	592	4	" " for the support of schools...	" " "	2,000 00		
	7	592	4	Tenth of twenty-five instalments for the purchase of provisions and tobacco	" " "	2,000 00		
Pamp. copy '47–48		106	4	Fifth of five instalments in goods	4th art. treaty 21 Aug. 1847	3,600 00		
" " "		102	3	Fifth of forty-six instalments to be paid to the Chippewas of Mississippi	3d art. treaty 2 Aug. 1847	1,000 00		
							70,800 00	
				Chickasaws.				
Statutes at large	1			Permanent annuity	Per act 25 Feb. 1799	3,000 00	3,000 00	
				Choctaws.				
Statutes at large	7	99	2	Permanent annuity	2d art. treaty 16 Nov. 1805	3,000 00	.....	E.
" "	7	212	13	" " "	13th art. treaty 18 Oct. 1820	600 00	.....	Support of light horsemen.
" "	7	236	10	Life annuity to chief Bob Cole	10th art. treaty 20 Jan. 1825	150 00		
" "	7	235	2	Permanent annuity for education	2d art. treaty 20 Jan. 1825	6,000 00		
" "	7	335	15	Life annuity to three district chiefs	15th art. treaty 27 Sept. 1830	750 00		
" "	7	368	21	" " " to one Wayne warrior	21st art. treaty 27 Sept. 1830	25 00		[June 1834.
" "	7	212	6	Permanent provision for blacksmith	6th art. treaty 18 Oct. 1820	600 00	.....	Pay fixed by law 30
" "	7	212	6	Iron, steel, &c., for shop	9th art. treaty 20 Jan. 1825	320 00	.....	Estimated by the ag't.
							11,445 00	
				Creeks.				
Statutes at large	7	36	4	Permanent annuity	4th art. treaty 7 Aug. 1790	1,500 00		
	7	69	2	" "	2d art. treaty 16 June 1802	3,000 00		
	7	287	4	" "	4th art. treaty 24 Jan. 1826	20,000 00		
	7	367	8	Twentieth of twenty instalments in money	8th art. treaty 24 March 1832	10,000 00		[June 1834.
	7	287	8	Permanent provision for blacksmith and assistant ...	8th art. treaty 24 Jan. 1826	840 00	.....	Pay fixed by law 30
	7	287	8	Iron and steel for shop	.....	270 00	.....	Estimated by the ag't.
	7	368	13	Fifteenth of twenty instalments for the pay of two blacksmiths and assistants	13th art. treaty 24 March 1832	1,680 00	.....	Pay fixed by law 30 June 1834.
				Amount carried forward	.....	.....	$214,445 00	

D [CONTINUED.]

ESTIMATE OF FUNDS REQUIRED FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1851.

Laws.	Vol.	Page.	Sect.	Annuities, &c.	Acts making provision.	Amount.	Total.	
				Amount brought forward			$214,445 00	
	7	368	13	Iron, steel, &c., for shops		540 00		Est. by the agent.
	7	368	13	Permanent provision for the pay of a wheelwright	8th art. treaty 24 Jan. 1826	600 00		Pay fixed by law 30 June 1834.
	7	368	13	Twenty-first of thirty-three instalments for education	13th art. treaty 24 Mar. 1832 & 4th art. treaty 4 Jan. 1845	3,000 00		
Pamp. copy '45–46		5	4					
Statutes	7	575	3	Interest, at 5 per cent., on $350,000	3d art. treaty 23 Nov. 1838	17,500 00		
Pamp. copy '45–46		5	4	Eighth of twenty instalments for education	4th art. treaty 4 Jan. 1845	3,000 00		
Statutes	7	419	5	Blacksmith and assistant (during the pleasure of the President)	5th art. treaty 14 Feb. 1833	840 00		Pay fixed by law 30 June 1834.
"	7	419	5	Iron, steel, and coal " "	" " "	270 00		Est. by the agent.
"	7	419	5	Wagon-maker " "	" " "	600 00		Pay fixed by law 30 June 1834.
"	7	287	8	Agricultural implements " "	8th art. treaty 24 Jan. 1826	2,000 00		
"	7	419	5	Education " "	5th art. treaty 14 Feb. 1833	1,000 00		
							66,640 00	
				Delawares.				
Statutes at large	7	51	4	Permanent annuity	4th art. treaty 3d Aug. 1795	1,000 00		
	7	114	3	" "	3d art. treaty 30 Sept. 1809	500 00		
	7	188	5	" "	5th art. treaty 3 Oct. 1818	4,000 00		
	7	327	3	" "	Suppl'y treaty, 24 Sept. 1829	1,000 00		
				Life annuity to chiefs	Private art. to supp'ly treaty 24 Sept. '29 to treaty 3 Oct. '18	200 00		
	7	399	1	" "	Sup. 2d art. to treaty 26 Oct. '32	200 00		
	7	75	3	Permanent provision for the purchase of salt	3d art. to treaty 7 June 1803	100 00		Est. by the Dep't.
	7	188	6	" " for blacksmith and assistant	6th art. treaty 3 Oct. 1818	720 00		Pay fixed by law 30 June 1834.
	7	188	6	Iron, steel, &c., for shop		220 00		Est. by the agent.
				Interest on $46,080, at 5 per cent., being the value of thirty-six sections of land set apart by treaty of 1829, for education	Resol. Senate, 18 Jan. 1838	2,304 00		
							10,244 00	
				Florida Indians, or Seminoles.				
Statutes at large	7	325	6	Twenty-ninth of thirty instalments for blacksmiths' establishment	6th art. treaty 18 Sept. 1823 & 4th art. treaty 9 May 1832	1,000 00		F. Fixed by treaty.
		369	& 4					
Pamp. copy '45–46		5	6	Eighth of fifteen instalments in goods	6th art. treaty 4 Jan. 1845	2,000 00		
" "		5	6	" " " in money	4th art. treaty 4 Jan. 1845	3,000 00		
							6,000 00	
				Amount carried forward			$297,329 00	

D [CONTINUED.]

ESTIMATE OF FUNDS REQUIRED FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1851.

Laws.	Vol.	Page.	Sect.	Annuities, &c.	Acts making provision.	Amount.	Total.	
				Amount brought forward			$297,329 00	
				Iowas.				
Statutes at large	7	568	2	Interest on $157,500 at 5 per cent.	2d art. treaty 19 Oct. 1838	7,875 00		
							7,875 00	
				Kickapoos.				
	7	392	4	Eighteenth of nineteen instalments as annuity	4th art. treaty 24 Oct. 1832	5,000 00		
							5,000 00	
				Kansas.				
				Interest on $200,000 at 5 per cent.	2d art. treaty 14 Jan. 1846	10,000 00		
							10,000 00	
				Miamies.				
Statutes at large	7	301	4	Permanent annuity	4th art. treaty 23 Oct. 1826.	25,000 00		[June 1834.
	7	191	5	Permanent provision for blacksmith and assistant	5th art. treaty 6 Oct. 1818.	720 00		Pay fixed by law 30
	7	191	5	Iron, steel, &c., for shop		220 00		Est. by the Dep't.
	7	301	4	Permanent provision for the purchase of 1000 lbs. tobacco, 2000 lbs. iron, 1000 lbs. steel	4th art. treaty 23 Oct. 1826	770 00		" "
	7	191	5	Permanent provision for pay of miller in lieu of gunsmith	5th art. treaty 6 Oct. 1818 & 5th art. treaty 24 Oct. 1834	600 00		[June 1834. Pay fixed by law 30
	7	459 & 5						
	7	191	5	Permanent provision for the purchase of 160 bushels of salt	5th art. treaty 6 Oct. 1818	320 00		Estimated by the ag't.
	7	301	6	Education and support of the poor, during pleasure of Congress	6th art. treaty 23 Oct. 1826	2,000 00		
	7	583	2	Eleventh of twenty instalments in money	2d art. treaty 28 Nov. 1840	12,500 00		
	7	583	6	Permanent provision for payment in lieu of laborers	6th art. treaty 28 Nov. 1840	250 00		
	7	191	5	" " for agricultural assistance	5th art. treaty 6 Oct. 1818	200 00		
							42,580 00	
				Eel River (Miamies).				
	7	51	4	Permanent annuity	4th art. treaty 3 Aug. 1795	500 00		
	7	91	3	" "	3d art. treaty 21 Aug. 1805	250 00		
	7	114	3	" "	3d separate arts. treaty 30 Sept. 1809	350 00		
		116						
							1,100 00	
				Menomonees.				G.
	7	507	2	Sixteenth of twenty instalments as annuity	2d art. treaty 3 Sept. 1836	20,000 00		
				Amount carried forward			$363,884 00	

D [CONTINUED.]

ESTIMATE OF FUNDS REQUIRED FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1851.

Laws.	Vol.	Page.	Sect.	Annuities, &c.	Acts making provision.	Amount.	Total.	
				Amount brought forward			$363,884 00	
Statutes at large	7	507	2	Sixteenth of twenty instalments for two blacksmiths and assistants	3d art. treaty 3 Sept. 1836	1,440 00		Pay fixed by law 30 June 1834.
	7	507	2	Sixteenth of twenty instalments for iron, steel, &c., for shops	" " "	440 00		Est. by the Dep't.
	7	507	2	Sixteenth of twenty instalments for the purchase of provisions	" " "	3,000 00		
	7	507	2	Sixteenth of twenty instalments for the purchase of 2000 lbs. tobacco	" " "	300 00		
	7	507	2	Sixteenth of twenty instalments for farming utensils, cattle, &c.	" " "	500 00		
	7	507	2	Sixteenth of twenty instalments for thirty barrels of salt	" " "	150 00		
							25,830 00	
				Omahas.				
Statutes at large	7	329	4	Blacksmith and assistant (during the pleasure of President)	4th art. treaty 15 July 1834	720 00		Pay fixed by law 30 June 1834.
	7	329	4	Iron, steel, &c., for shops " "	" " "	220 00		Est. by the Dep't.
	7	329	4	Agricultural implements " "	" " "	500 00		
							1,440 00	
				Otoes and Missourias.				
Statutes at large	7	430	4	Education (during the pleasure of President)	4th art. treaty 21 Sept. 1833	500 00		
	7	430	5	Pay of farmer " " "	5th art. treaty 21 Sept. 1833	600 00		Pay fixed by law 30 June 1834.
	7	329	4	Blacksmith and assistant, during the pleasure of Pres't	4th art. treaty 15 July 1830	720 00		" " "
	7	329	4	Iron, steel, &c., for shop " " "	" " "	220 00		Est. by the Dep't.
							2,040 00	
				Ottawas.				
	7	51	4	Permanent annuity	4th art. treaty 3 Aug. 1795	1,000 00		
	7	106	2	" "	2d art. treaty 17 Nov. 1807	800 00		
	7	179	4	" "	4th art. treaty 17 Sept. 1818	1,500 00		
	7	220	4	" "	4th art. treaty 29 Aug. 1821	1,000 00		
							4,300 00	
				Ottawas and Chippewas.				
Statutes at large	7	492	4	Seventeenth of twenty instalments	4th art. treaty 28 March 1836	30,000 00		
				Amount carried forward		$30,000 00	$397,494 00	

ESTIMATE OF FUNDS REQUIRED FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1851.

Laws.	Vol.	Page.	Sect.	Annuities, &c.	Acts making provision.	Amount.	Total.	
				Amount brought forward	.....	$30,000 00	$397,494 00	
Statutes at large	7	497	4	Interest to be paid as annuity on $200,000	Per resolution Senate 27 May 1836	12,000 00		
	7	492	4	Education for twenty years and during the pleasure of Congress	4th art. treaty 28 May 1836	5,000 00		
	7	492	4	Missions for twenty years and during the pleasure of Congress	" " "	3,000 00		
	7	492	4	Vaccine medicine and pay of physicians so long as the Indians remain on their reservations	" " "	300 00		
	7	492	4	Seventeenth of twenty instalments for the purchase of provisions	" " "	2,000 00		
	7	492	4	Seventeenth of twenty instalments for purchase of 6500 lbs. tobacco	" " "	500 00	.....	Est. by the agent.
	7	492	4	" " " for 100 barrels of salt	" " "	200 00	.....	" "
	7	492	4	" " " for 500 fish barrels...	" " "	400 00	.....	" "
	7	493	7	Three blacksmiths and assistants for twenty years and during the pleasure of Congress	7th art. treaty 28 March, 1836	2,160 00	.....	Pay fixed by law 30 June, 1834.
	7	493	7	Iron, steel, &c., for shops, for twenty years and during the pleasure of Congress	" " "	660 00	.....	Est. by the agent.
	7	493	7	Gunsmith at Mackinac for twenty years and during the pleasure of Congress	" " "	600 00	.....	Pay fixed by law 30 June, 1834.
	7	493	7	Iron, steel, &c., for shop, for twenty years and during the pleasure of Congress	" " "	220 00	.....	Est. by the agent.
	7	493	7	Two farmers and assistants (during pleasure of President)	" " "	1,600 00	.....	Pay fixed by the Dept.
	7	493	7	Two mechanics " "	" " "	1,200 00	.....	" "
							59,840 00	
				Osages.				
				Interest at 5 per cent. $69,120, being the valuation of fifty-four sections of land set apart by treaty of 2d June 1825, for education purposes	Per resolution Senate 19 Jan. 1838	3,456 00		[treaty.
Statutes at large	7	576	2	Fourteenth of twenty instalments as annuity	2d art. treaty 11 Jan. 1839	20,000 00	.....	Pay fixed by law and
	7	576	2	" " for two smiths' establishments	" " "	2,000 00	.....	Pay fixed by law 30 June 1834.
	7	576	2	" fifteenth instalment for pay of two millers	" " "	1,200 00		
							26,656 00	
				Amount carried forward	.....	.....	$483,990 00	

D [CONTINUED.]

ESTIMATE OF FUNDS REQUIRED FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1851.

Laws.	Vol.	Page.	Sect.	Annuities, &c.	Acts making provision.	Amount.	Total.	
				Amount brought forward	.....	.....	$483,990 00	
				Piankeshaws.				
Statutes at large	7	51	4	Permanent annuity	4th art. treaty 3 Aug. 1795	500 00		
	7	101	3	" "	3d art. treaty 30 Dec. 1805	300 00		
							800 00	
				Pawnees.				
Statutes at large	7	448	4	Agricultural implements (during the pleasure of the President)	4th art. treaty 9 Oct. 1833	1,000 00		
							1,000 00	
				Pottawatomies of Huron.				
Statutes at large	7	106	2	Permanent annuity	2d art. treaty 17 Nov. 1807	400 00		
							400 00	
				Pottawatomies.				
Statutes at large	7	51	4	Permanent annuity	4th art. treaty 3 Aug. 1795	1,000 00		
	7	114	3	" "	3d art. treaty 30 Sept. 1809	500 00		
	7	185	3	" "	3d art. treaty 2 Oct. 1818	2,500 00		
Statutes at large	7	317	2	" "	2d art. treaty 20 Sept. 1828	2,000 00		
	7	318	2	Life annuity to chief	" " "	100 00		
	7	320	2	Permanent annuity	2d art. treaty 29 July, 1829	16,000 00		
	7	379	3	Nineteenth of twenty instalments as annuity	3d art. treaty 20 Oct. 1832	15,000 00		
	7	379	3	Life annuities to chiefs	" " "	400 00		
	7	395	3	Nineteenth of twenty instalments as annuity	3d art. treaty 26 Oct. 1832	20,000 00		
	7	432	3	Seventeenth of twenty instalments as annuity	3d art. treaty 26 Sept. 1833	14,000 00		
	7	433	3	Life annuity to chiefs	" " "	700 00		
	7	442	2	Seventeenth of twenty instalments as annuity	2d sup. art. to treaty 26 Sept. 1833	2,000 00		
	7	75	3	Permanent provision for the purchase of salt	3d art. treaty 7 June 1803	140 00	.....	Est. by the Dep't.
	7	296	3	Permanent provision for the purchase of 160 bushels of salt	2d art. treaty 16 Oct. 1826	320 00		
		296	3	Education, during the pleasure of Congress	" " "	2,000 00	.....	Pay fixed by law 30 June 1834.
	7	296	3	Permanent provision for blacksmith and assistant	" " "	720 00		
	7	296	3	Permanent provision for iron, steel, &c., for shop	" " "	220 00		
	7	318	2	Education, during the pleasure of Congress	2d art. treaty 20 Sept. 1836	1,000 00		
				Amount carried forward	.....	.....	$486,190 00	

D [CONTINUED.]

ESTIMATE OF FUNDS REQUIRED FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1851.

Laws.	Vol.	Page.	Sect.	Annuities, &c.	Acts making provision.	Amount.	Total.	
				Amount brought forward			$486,190 00	
	7	318	2	Permanent provision for the payment of money in lieu of tobacco	2d art. treaty 20 Sept. 1828 & 10th art. treaty 5 June 1846	300 00		[June 1834.
	7	318	2	Permanent provision for blacksmith and assistant	2d art. treaty 20 Sept. 1828	720 00		Pay fixed by law 30
	7	318	2	Permanent provision for iron, steel, &c. for shop	" " "	220 00		Est. by the Dep't.
Statutes at large	7	321	2	Permanent provision for blacksmith and assistant	2d art. treaty 29 July 1829	720 00		Pay fixed by law 30 June 1834.
	7	321	2	" " for iron, steel, &c. for shop	" " "	220 00		Est. by the Dep't.
	7	320	2	" " for purchase of 50 bbls. salt	" " "	250 00		
	7	401	4	Education, during the pleasure of Congress	4th art. treaty 27 Oct. 1832	2,000 00		
Pamp. copy '45–46		27	7	Interest on $643,000 at 5 per cent.	7th art. treaty 5 June 1846	32,150 00		
							115,180 00	
				Quapaws.				H.
Statutes at large	7	426	4	Nineteenth of twenty instalments as annuity	4th art. treaty 18 May 1833	2,000 00		
	7	425	3	Education, during the pleasure of the President	3d art. treaty 18 May 1833	1,000 00		[June 1834.
	7	425	3	Blacksmith and assistant " "	" " "	840 00		Pay fixed by law 30
	7	425	3	Iron, steel, &c., for shop " "	" " "	220 00		Est. by the Dep't.
	7	425	3	Pay of farmer " "	3d art. treaty 18 May 1833	600 00		Pay fixed by law 30
							4,660 00	June 1834.
				Six Nations of New York.				
Statutes at large	7	46	6	Permanent annuity	6th art. treaty 11 Nov. 1794	4,500 00		
							4,500 00	
				Senecas of New York.				
Statutes at large	4	442	1	Permanent annuity in lieu of interest on stock	Per act 19 Feb. 1831	6,000 00		
Pamp. copy '45–46		35	2	Interest in lieu of investment on $75,000 at 5 per cent.	Per act 27 June 1846	3,750 00		
							9,750 00	
				Stockbridges.				
Pamp. copy '48–49		138	9	Interest on $16,500 at 5 per cent.	9th art. treaty 24 Nov. 1848	825 00		
							825 00	
				Sioux of Mississippi.				I.
Statutes at large	7	539	2	Interest on $300,000 at 5 per cent.	2d art. treaty 29 Sept. 1837	15,000 00		
	7	539	2	Fifteenth of twenty instalments as annuity in goods	" " "	10,000 00		
	7	539	2	" " " for the purchase of medicines, agricultural implements, support of farmers, physicians, blacksmiths, &c.	" " "	8,250 00		
				Amount carried forward			$621,105 00	

D [CONTINUED.]

ESTIMATE OF FUNDS REQUIRED FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1851.

Laws.	Vol.	Page.	Sect.	Annuities, &c.	Acts making provision.	Amount.	Total.	
				Amount brought forward	.....	.....	$621,105 00	
	7	539	2	Fifteenth of twenty instalments for the purchase of provisions	2d art. treaty 29 Sept. 1837	5,500 00		
							38,750 00	
				Sacs and Foxes of Missouri.				
Statutes at large	7	544	2	Interest on $157,400 at 5 per cent.....	2d art. treaty 21 Oct. 1837	7,870 00		
							7,870 00	
				Sacs and Foxes of Mississippi.				
Statutes at large	7	85	3	Permanent annuity	3d art. treaty 3 Nov. 1804	1,000 00		
	7	375	3	Twentieth of thirty instalments as annuity	3d art. treaty 21 Sept. 1832	20,000 00		[June 1834.
	7	375	4	" " " for gunsmith	4th art. treaty 21 Sept. 1832	600 00	.....	Pay fixed by law 30
	7	375	4	" " " for iron, steel, &c. for shop	" " "	220 00	.....	Est. by the agent.
Statutes at large	7	375	4	Twentieth of thirty instalments for blacksmith and assistant	" " "	840 00	.....	Pay fixed by law 30 June, 1834.
	7	375	4	Twentieth of thirty instalments for iron, steel, &c. for shop.....	" " "	220 00	.....	Est. by the agent.
Statutes at large	7	375	4	Twentieth of thirty instalments for forty bbls. of salt	" " "	200 00	.....	Est. by the Dep't.
	7	375	4	Twentieth of thirty instalments for forty kegs of tobacco	" " "	600 00	.....	" "
	7	541	2	Interest on $200,000 at 5 per cent.....	2d art. treaty 21 Oct. 1837	10,000 00		
	7	596	2	" $800,000 at 5 per cent.....	2d art. treaty 11 Oct. 1842	40,000 00		
							73,680 00	
				Shawnees.				
Statutes at large	7	51	4	Permanent annuity	4th art. treaty 3 Aug. 1795	1,000 00		
	7	161	4	" "	4th art. treaty 29 Sept. 1817	2,000 00		
	7	75	3	Permanent provision for the purchase of salt	3d art. treaty 7 June 1803	60 00	.....	Est. by the Dep't.
	7	356	4	Blacksmith and assistant, during the pleasure of President	4th art. treaty 8 Aug. 1831	840 00	.....	Pay fixed by law 30 June, 1834.
	7	356	4	Iron, steel, &c. for shop, during the pleasure of Pres't	" " "	220 00		
							4,120 00	
				Senecas and Shawnees.				
	7	179	4	Permanent annuity.....	4th art. treaty 17 Sept. 1818	1,000 00	.....	Est. by the agent.
				Amount carried forward	.....	.....	$745,525 00	

D [CONTINUED.]

ESTIMATE OF FUNDS REQUIRED FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1851.

Laws.	Vol.	Page.	Sect.	Annuities, &c.	Acts making provision.	Amount.	Total.	
				Amount brought forward	.....	.....	$745,525 00	[June 1834.
	7	352	4	Blacksmith and assistant, during the pleasure of Pres't	4th art. treaty 20 July 1831	840 00	.....	Pay fixed by law 30
	7	352	4	Iron, steel, &c., for shops, during the pleasure of Pres't	" " "	220 00	.....	Est. by the Dep't.
				Senecas.			2,060 00	
Statutes at large	7	161	4	Permanent annuity	4th art. treaty 29 Sept. 1817	500 00		K.
	7	179	4	" "	4th art. treaty 17 Sept. 1818	500 00		
	7	349	4	Blacksmith and assistant, during the pleasure of the President	4th art. treaty 28 Feb. 1831	840 00	.....	Pay fixed by law 30 June 1834.
Statutes at large	7	349	4	Iron and steel for shop, " "	.....	220 00	.....	Est. by the agent.
	7	394	4	Pay of miller, " "	4th art. treaty 28 Sept. 1831	600 00	.....	Pay fixed by law 30
				Wyandots.			2,660 00	June 1834.
Laws U. S.	10	951	3	Permanent annuity.....	3d art. treaty 17 March 1842	17,500 00		
Old edition.	10	952	8	Permanent provision for blacksmith and assistant ...	8th art. treaty 17 March 1842	720 00	.....	" " "
	10	952	8	" " for iron, steel, &c., for shops...	.....	370 00	.....	Est. by the agent.
	10	951	4	" " for education.....	4th art. treaty 17 March 1842	500 00		
				Winnebagoes.			19,090 00	
Statutes at large	7	323	2	Twenty-third of 30 instalments as annuity	2d art. treaty 1 Aug. 1829	18,000 00		
	7	371	3	Twentieth of 27 " "	3d art. treaty 15 Sept. 1832	10,000 00		
	7	323	2	Twenty-third of 30 do. for 50 bbls. of salt.....	2d art. treaty 1 Aug. 1829	250 00	.....	Est. by the Dep't.
	7	323	2	" " " for 3000 lbs. tobacco.....	" " "	350 00	.....	" "
	7	372	5	Twentieth of 27 do., for 1500 "	5th art. treaty 15 Sept. 1832	175 00	.....	" "
	7	324	3	Twenty-third of 30 do., for 3 blacksmiths and assist's	3d art. treaty 1 Aug. 1829	2,160 00	.....	Pay fixed by law 30 June 1834.
	7	324	3	" " " for iron, steel, &c.. for shops	.....	660 00	.....	Est. by the agent.
	7	324	3	" " " for laborers and oxen.....	3d art. treaty 1 Aug. 1829	365 00		
	7	371	4	Twentieth of 27 " for education	4th art. treaty 15 Sept. 1832	3,000 00		
	7	372	5	" " " for six agriculturists, purchase of oxen, ploughs, and other implements	5th art. treaty 15 Sept. 1832	2,500 00		
Statutes at large	7	372	5	Twentieth of 27 instalments for pay of two physicians	" " "	400 00		
	7	546	2	Interest on $1,100,000 at 5 per cent.	4th art. treaty 1 Nov. 1837	55,000 00		
Pamp. copy '46–47		52	4	" " 85,000 "	4th art. treaty 13 Oct. 1846	4,250 00		
				Weas.			97,110 00	
Statutes at large	7	187	5	Permanent annuity.....	5th art. treaty 2 Oct. 1818	3,000 00	3,000 00	
							$869,445 00	

OFFICE INDIAN AFFAIRS, Nov. 7th, 1850.

L. LEA, Commissioner.

E.

SPECIAL ESTIMATE OF FUNDS

Required for the service of the Indian Department within the present fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851.

Objects.	Amount.	Total.
1. For fulfilling treaty with the Wyandots, viz., investment in United States stock—per 1st article treaty 1st April, 1850	$100,000	
Payment of debts, &c.—per 1st article treaty 1st April 1850	85,000	
Expense of negotiations, &c.—per 2d article treaty 1st April, 1850.	2,000	
		$187,000
2. For fulfilling treaty with the Utahs, viz., purchase of presents, agricultural implements, &c.—per 8th article treaty 30th Dec. 1849	10,000	
Expenses of designating boundaries—per 7th article treaty 30th December, 1849	8,000	
		18,000
3. For fulfilling treaty with the Navajoes, viz., purchase of presents, agricultural implements, &c.—per 10th article treaty 9th September, 1849	10,000	
Expense of designating boundaries—per 9th article treaty 9th September, 1849	8,000	
		18,000
4. For arrearages of compensation (from 1st October, 1850, to 30th June, 1851) of three Indian agents for the Indian tribes of California—per act 28th September, 1850	6,750	
		6,750
5. For expenses of holding treaties with the various Indian tribes of California, in addition to the appropriation for the same object made 30th September, 1850	75,000	
		75,000
6. For expenses of removal and subsistence of the Chippewas of Lake Superior and the Mississippi, from the lands ceded under the treaties of 29th July, 1837, and 4th October, 1842, in addition to the appropriation for the same object made 30th September, 1850	25,000	
		25,000
7. For expenses of the removal of the sub-agency for the Chippewas of Lake Superior and the Mississippi from the old site at La Pointe to the new one at Sandy Lake, including the erection of the necessary buildings at the latter place	3,000	
		3,000
8. For compensation and expenses of the committee of Old Settler party of Cherokees, their clerks, &c., for services rendered in pursuance of the provision contained in the 5th article of the treaty of 17th August, 1846, in addition to the appropriation made 30th September, 1850	1,500	
		1,500
9. For this sum to enable the Department to satisfy the claims of the Creek Indians for mills stipulated to be furnished under the 3d section of the treaty of 15th November, 1827, and 5th article of the treaty of 14th February, 1833	5,400	
		5,400
10. For compensation to the three special agents and the necessary interpreters for the Indian tribes of Texas, including the purchase of presents, authorized by the act of 30th September, 1850	15,000	
		15,000
11. For expenses of holding treaties with the wild tribes of the Prairie, and for bringing on delegations to the seat of government	200,000	
		200,000
12. For collecting and compiling the necessary information, constructing, engraving and printing maps, showing the Indian country and the position of the lands of the different Indian tribes within the limits of the United States	10,000	
		10,000

E [CONTINUED.]

SPECIAL ESTIMATE OF FUNDS, &c.

Objects.	Amount.	Total.
13. For interest on the amounts awarded Choctaw claimants under the 14th article of the treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, of 27th September, 1830, for lands on which they resided, but which it is impossible to give them, and in lieu of the scrip that has been awarded under the act of 23d August, 1842, not deliverable East, by the 3d section of the said law, per act of 3d March, 1845, for the half year ending 30th June, 1852	21,800	21,800
14. For expenses of the removal and subsistence of Choctaws from the State of Mississippi to the Choctaw country west of that river, in addition to former appropriations for the same object	20,000	20,000
15. For payment to the Winnebago Indians of this sum erroneously charged against the fund of $10,000, set apart (out of the consideration to be paid for the lands ceded) by the 8th clause of the 4th article of the treaty of 1st of November, 1837	6,228 28	6,228 28
16. For payment to the Cherokee nation of the amount due under the 9th article of the treaty of 6th August, 1846, as ascertained by the proper accounting officers, pursuant to the resolution of Congress of 7th August, 1848	627,603 95	
17. For the amount paid to agents and others employed by the government in carrying out the provisions of the treaty with the Cherokees of 1835–6, and improperly charged to and paid out of the treaty fund as decided by the Senate	96,999 42	724,603 37
18. For interest on the aggregate amount of said sums, viz., $724,603 37, at the rate of five per cent. per annum, according to the award of the Senate of September 5th, 1850, under the provisions of the 11th article of the above-mentioned treaty		
19. For the re-appropriation of the following sums (carried to the surplus fund, per warrants numbered 13 and 19, and dated respectively 30th June, 1846, and 30th June, 1847) under the following heads, viz.:		
"Fulfilling treaties with Kanzas"	8,707 21	
"Fulfilling treaties with Wyandots"	355 28	
"Support of blacksmiths, &c., for Osages"	6,506 59	
"Payment of claims for Osage depredations"	14,375 50	
"Purchase of cows and calves for Osages"	312 16	30,256 74
20. For continuing the collection, and for publishing the statistics and other information, authorized by the act of 3d March, 1847, and subsequent acts	15,300	
For supplying deficiency in the amount appropriated at the last session for the same object	4,061	19,361
21. For the expenses of an agent to collect information to enable the Department to execute the law of Congress providing for the per capita payment to Cherokees under the treaty of 1835–6, so far as relates to those Indians east of the Mississippi	1,500	1,500
22. For the removal and subsistence of Indians		52,510 37
23. For liquidated balance found due the Creek Indians for losses sustained during the last war with Great Britain by that portion of the tribe that was friendly to and co-operated with the United States, in accordance with the promise of the government, and pursuant to the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate of May, 1850		110,417 90
		$1,551,327 66

OFFICE INDIAN AFFAIRS, Nov. 7th, 1850. L. LEA, Commissioner.

E.—*Recapitulation.*

Amount required	for current expenses	$121,500	
" "	for annuities, &c.	747,945	
" "	for additional items	1,551,327	66
		$2,420,722	66

OFFICE INDIAN AFFAIRS, November 7th, 1850.

L. LEA, Commissioner.

EXPLANATIONS TO GENERAL ESTIMATE.

(A.) The items for pay of superintendents and agents are greater by $16,000 than for the same objects the past year, owing to the employment of one additional superintendent and six agents, authorized by the acts of 5th of June and 28th September, 1850.

(B.) Item increased $750 over estimate of last year, one additional sub-agent being employed within the State of California, under the discretionary power vested in the President in the 5th section of the act of 30th June, 1834, organizing the Indian Department.

(C.) Item increased $3,500 over estimate of last year, additional interpreters being necessary for the new agencies established.

(D.) Item additional to the estimate of last year, because of there being then a sufficient balance on hand from previous appropriations. The extension of our Indian relations in California, Oregon, New Mexico, and Texas, makes the appropriation asked for necessary.

(E.) Items for the Choctaws less by $32,500 than the estimate of last year; that amount, being for annuity and education, having expired by limitation with the appropriation for the fiscal year 1850–51.

(F.) Items for the Seminoles less by $1,000 than for the last year; that amount, being for agricultural implements, having expired by limitation.

(G.) Item for the Menomonees less by $600 than for the last year; that amount, being for pay of miller, not required, the Indians not removing to their new homes as was expected.

(H.) Item for the Quapaws less by $240 than for last year, that amount being for an arrearage due to the assistant smith for the previous year, viz., 1849–50.

(I.) Item for the Stockbridges less by $2,000 than for last year, it not being required; the payment of this annuity being conditioned on the removal of the tribe, which has not yet taken place.

(K.) Items for the Senecas less by $100 than for last year; that sum being for the purchase of supplies for smith-shop, being reduced in consequence of the re-establishment of the shop for the Senecas and Shawnees, authorized by the act of 30th September, 1850.

EXPLANATIONS TO SPECIAL ESTIMATE.

Items 1, 2 and 3 are new items under treaties ratified at the close of the last session of Congress.

4.—No appropriation having been made at the last session for the payment of the salaries for the California agents authorized by the act of 28th of September last, the amount asked for is to cover a deficiency for that object arising within the fiscal year 1850–51.

5.—It was originally estimated by the Department that the amount required for holding treaties with the Indian tribes of California would be $100,000, and that sum was solicited at the last session. Congress, however, appropriated but $25,000; a sum wholly insufficient, in the judgment of this office, to effect the objects contemplated. As the views previously entertained on this subject have undergone no change, but, on the contrary, have been much strengthened by information subsequently derived from reliable sources, the application is renewed, and an appropriation of the difference, it is hoped, will be made.

6.—In the explanation given to a similar item for the same object at the late session, it was stated that the amount then asked for (and which was appropriated), $25,000, was based on the best data then in the possession of the Department, and on partial information received from the Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Minnesota Territory; and that that office had been written to for further information as to the sum requisite; and if, when received, it should be such as to render a change in the amount asked for necessary, it would be communicated. The communications received from Governor Ramsey on the subject exhibit an amount far beyond that entertained by the Department for the accomplishment of the object, and it is even greater than it is now thought can be requisite. The Department has therefore fixed the amount at $25,000, which, added to that appropriated by the act of 30th September last, makes the sum of $50,000 for the purpose.

7.—This is an expense rendered necessary by the removal of the sub-agency, in view of the removal of the Indians, and is one-half less than the amount reported as necessary by the sub-agent.

8.—It was found on an examination of the report of the committee, that errors had crept into it, and, on representations made to the Department by those interested, it was deemed proper to direct that the Board should be again convened, and a revision be made of their previous acts. It is to cover the expense of this second sitting of the Board that the amount is solicited.

9.—The treaty of 1827 with the Creeks sets apart the sum of $2,000 for the erection of four horse-mills.—that of 1833 stipulates for the erection of four railway mills, for grinding corn. Neither of these provisions has, it appears on examination, been carried out, except to the extent of building one mill, at a cost of $600. For the erection of the four mills under the treaty of 1833, it is estimated $4000 will be required. In order, therefore, to satisfy these claims, an appropriation of the amount embraced in the estimate will be necessary.

10.—As a temporary arrangement, until Congress could legislate upon the subject, appropriations have from time to time been made for keeping up an agency among the Texas Indians, and at the last session two others were added. It is proposed to continue the arrangement, as no legislation has yet been had, placing our Indian relations in that State on a more permanent basis.

11.—This item formed the subject of a special estimate to Congress at its late session, was passed by the Senate, and its consideration by the proper committees in the House was postponed until the next session — the season having so far advanced, that nothing could be effected. Believing the attainment of the objects contemplated to be of great, if not vital importance to the peace of the frontier, the subject is again respectfully submitted, reference being had to the communications that accompanied the previous application.

12.—Like the foregoing, this item was embraced in the estimates of last year, and its consideration by the proper committees postponed. It is, therefore, re-submitted with the same explanation that accompanied it last year, which is in the following words: "The constant embarrassements to which the Department and the Indian committees in Congress are subjected, for the want of proper maps, showing the country inhabited by the different Indian tribes, and the position of their lands, has induced the submission to Congress for its favorable consideration of an item which, though conjectural in amount, will, it is believed, be required to accomplish the work in a satisfactory manner. It is designed to place the work under the direction of the Topographical Bureau; and the maps to embrace an extent of country running from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.".

13.—The appropriation made at the late session covers the interest due to the 1st January, 1852. In order to make the appropriation conform to the fiscal year, the amount required for the last half of the year is embraced in the present estimate.

14.—The favorable reports from the emigrating agents induce the belief that the remnant of the tribe yet in Mississippi will soon remove West; and that there may be no impediment in the way for the want of funds to meet the expense, this further sum, it is deemed essential, should be placed at the disposal of the Department.

15.—As explanatory of this item, a copy of the communication from the then Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, dated 2d March, 1850, is herewith submitted, marked A.

The Secretary, it will be perceived by his endorsement on that paper, opened the case and referred it back for the reconsideration of Commissioner Brown, who decided that the charges against the fund of the Indians were erroneous, and that they were entitled to be reimbursed the amount. Under this decision, an appropriation of the sum asked for is necessary to satisfy the demand.

16, 17, and 18.—A reference to the accompanying printed copy, marked B—of the report of the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate, made August 8th last, to which is appended that of the accounting officers, dated

3d December previous — will explain, with sufficient distinctness, the fairness of these items, and the propriety of the requisite appropriations being made.

19.—These amounts were carried to the surplus fund; but having since ascertained that they are needed to meet objects for which they were originally made, re-appropriations are solicited.

The objects to which these sums are applied are as follows, viz.:

That for the Kanzas to agricultural assistance, being balances of appropriations made under the 4th article of the treaty of 30th June, 1825.

That for the Wyandots, for unpaid claims for improvements arising under the 5th article of the treaty of 17th March, 1842; and those for the Osages, for the objects expressed, arising under the 2d article of the treaty of 11th January, 1839.

20.—These sums, as stated in the estimate, are required for continuing the collection, and for publishing the statistics and other information authorized by the Act of March 3d, 1847, and subsequent acts. The second item being a deficiency in the amount appropriated 30th September last, for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1851; the first being the amount required for the year 1851–52, as follows;—

Salary of person charged with the work	$1,600
Copyist	720
Drawing materials for draughtsmen, and for travelling expenses in visiting objects connected with the Statistics, &c.	480
Engraving and printing drawings, lithographs, and maps for the second part of the work	8,000
Printing, stereotyping, paper, presswork, and binding for the same (1200) copies	4,500
	$15,300

21.—The object to be accomplished is fully expressed in the item. It is to ascertain what Cherokees are east of the Mississippi river, who are entitled to participate in the per capita payments to be made under the treaty of 1835–36.

22.—This sum is required in order to settle the claim adjudicated by the accounting officers of the Treasury in favor of the Chickasaw nation of Indians, for losses, &c., on provisions purchased in 1837 — thus:

Whole amount allowed		$112,042 99
Amount paid out of appropriation for removal and subsistence of Indians		58,124 14
Amount in the Treasury applicable	1,408 48	59,532 62
Balance required		$52,510 37

23. — As explanatory of this item, see copy of report herewith, and accompanying documents marked C, from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate, dated May 10th, 1850.

II. PERIOD OF 1820.

I. OFFICIAL LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
16*th November*, 1820.

SIR:—In obedience to a resolution of the Senate of the United States, of the 3d of April, 1820, directing that the Secretary of the Treasury "cause to be prepared and laid before the Senate, at the commencement of the next session of Congress, a statement of money annually appropriated, and paid, since the Declaration of Independence, for purchasing from the Indians, surveying, and selling, the public lands; showing, as near as may be, the quantities of land which have been purchased; the number of acres which have been surveyed, the number sold, and the number which remain unsold; the amount of sales, the amount of forfeitures, the sums paid by purchasers, and the sums due from purchasers, and from receivers in each land-district," I have the honor to submit the inclosed letter of the Register of the Treasury, with the documents to which it refers, (marked from A to F, inclusive,) which contain the several statements required by the resolution.

I remain, with respect,
Your most obedient servant,
WM. H. CRAWFORD.

The Hon. JOHN GAILLARD,
President pro tem. of the Senate.

II. OFFICIAL LETTER OF THE REGISTER OF THE TREASURY.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Register's Office, 8th November, 1820.

SIR:—I have the honour to transmit certain statements, which have been formed by the Commissioner of the General Land-Office, under your instructions; also, by the Second Auditor and the Register of the Treasury, for the purpose of complying with a resolution of the Senate of the United States, passed the 3d of April, 1820.

The Second Auditor of the Treasury, in his statement, marked A, shows the sums which have been paid, and remain to be paid, under treaties made with the Indian tribes, to indemnify them for their cessions of lands to the United States, and otherwise, amounting to $2,542,916 00

Statement B exhibits the annual appropriations made by law on account of the surveys of public lands, from the 4th of March, 1789, to the 31st of December, amounting to $1,802,140 22

From which are deducted so much thereof carried to surplus fund 125,651 14

1,676,489 00

The payments for the surveys of land, from the Declaration of Independence to the 4th of March, 1789, were 24,227 00

$4,243,632 00

Statement C shows the amount of land sold, before the opening of the land-offices, and comprises a period from the Declaration of Independence to that time, amounting, in acres, to 1,536,552

in money or public debt $1,944,244 00

Statements D and E show the total amount of lands sold, at the several land-offices, from their institution to 30th Sept., 1819, . . . 18,601,930 sold for 44,054,452 00

Total sales, ... Acres, 20,138,482 $45,998,696 00

The said statements also exhibit—

The total amount of lands surveyed, in the several land-office districts, at	Acres,	72,805,092
Whereof sold,	"	18,601,930
To be sold,	"	54,203,162
And that there have been surveyed for military bounties,	Acres,	12,315,360

Of the sales made to the 30th September, 1819, there had been paid by purchasers,	$22,229,180 00
And remain to be paid,	22,000,657 00

The Commissioner of the General Land-Office, in his statement marked F, estimates the whole amount purchased from the Indians, under the various treaties and cessions, at one hundred ninety-one millions, nine hundred seventy-eight thousand, five hundred and thirty-six acres. This statement exhibits the date of the treaties, and the places where held, the tribes with whom made; the estimated number of acres ceded by each tribe, with remarks in relation to the cessions.

I have the honor to be, sir,
With great respect,
Your most obed't and most humble servant,
JOSEPH NOURSE.

Hon. Wm. H. Crawford,
Secretary of the Treasury.

A.

STATEMENT OF ALL ANNUITIES

Payable by the United States to Indians or Indian Tribes, or under Treaties with Indians; distinguishing the several Annuities, the periods during which they are respectively payable, and exhibiting the capitals or present value of such Annuities, computing annual interest at six per centum.

Names of Indians, or Indian Tribes.	Amount of annuities.	Terms of annuities.	Termination of limited annuities.	Periods during which annuities are payable.	Total amount of limited capitals.	Total amount of permanent capitals.	Total amount of annuities.	Total amount of capitals.
Piankeshaws	500	Permanent		On or before the 3d August, annually		8,333 33⅓	500	8,333 33⅓
"	300	"		30th December, annually		5,000	300	5,000
	800							
Kaskaskias	500	Permanent		3d August, annually		8,333 33⅓	500	8,333 33⅓
Six Nations	4,500	Permanent		11th November, annually		75,000	4,500	75,000
Little Billy, (a chief)	50	During life		"	833 33⅓		50	833 33⅓
	4,550							
Cherokees	6,000	Permanent		2d October, annually		100,000	6,000	100,000
"	3,000	"		25th " "		50,000	3,000	50,000
"	6,000	Ten years	Sept. 14, 1826	14th September, annually	100,000		6,000	100,000
	15,000							
Chickasaws	3,000	Permanent		15th July, annually		50,000	3,000	50,000
"	12,000	Ten years	20 Sept. 1826	20th September, annually	200,000		12,000	200,000
Wm. Colbert, (a chief)	100	For life		"	1,666 66⅔		100	1,666 66⅔
Chickasaws	20,000	Fifteen y'rs	19 Oct. 1828	19th October, annually	333,333 33⅓		20,000	333,333 33⅓
	35,100							
Creeks	1,500	Permanent		On or before the 1st August, annually		25,000	1,500	25,000
Amount carried forward	1,500				$635,833 33⅓	$321,666 66⅔	$57,450	$957,500

A [CONTINUED.]

ANNUITIES PAYABLE BY THE UNITED STATES TO INDIANS, &c.

Names of Indians, or Indian Tribes.	Amount of annuities.	Terms of annuities.	Termination of limited annuities.	Periods during which annuities are payable.	Total amount of limited capitals.	Total amount of permanent capitals.	Total amount of annuities.	Total amount of capitals.
Amount brought forward	$1,500	.....	.....	.....	$635,833 33⅓	$321,666 66⅔	$57,450	$957,500
Creeks	11,000	10 years	14 Nov. 1823	14th November, annually	183,333 33⅓	.....	11,000	183,333 33⅓
"	3,000	Permanent	.....	16th June, annually	.....	50,000	3,000	50,000
"	10,000	10 years	22 Jan. 1829	22d January, annually	166,666 66⅔	.....	10,000	166,666 66⅔
	25,500							
Sacs	600	Permanent	.....	3d November, annually	.....	10,000	600	10,000
Foxes	400	Permanent	.....	3d November, annually	.....	6,666 66⅔	400	6,666 66⅔
Great Osage	1,000	Permanent	.....	10th November, annually	.....	16,666 66⅔	1,000	16,666 66⅔
Little Osage	500	Permanent	.....	10th November, annually	.....	8,333 33⅓	500	8,333 33⅓
Choctaws	3,000	Permanent	.....	16th November, annually	.....	50,000	3,000	50,000
"	400	"	.....	"	.....	6,666 66⅔	400	6,666 66⅔
"	2,000	"	.....	"	.....	33,333 33⅓	2,000	33,333 33⅓
"	6,000	20 years	Oct. 24, 1826	24th October, annually	100,000	.....	6,000	100,000
" (2 medal chiefs, $150 each)	300	During life	.....	16th November, annually	5,000	.....	300	5,000
	11,700							
Senecas	1,000	Permanent	.....	29th September, annually	.....	16,666 66⅔	1,000	16,666 66⅔
Young King, (a chief)	200	During life	.....	26th April, quarter-yearly	3,333 33⅓	.....	200	3,333 33⅓
	1,200							
Quapaws	1,000	Permanent	.....	24th August, annually	.....	16,666 66⅔	1,000	16,666 66⅔
Delawares	1,000	Permanent	.....	On or before the 1st Aug. annually	.....	16,666 66⅔	1,000	16,666 66⅔
Amount carried forward	1,000	.....	.....	.....	$1,094,166 66⅔	$553,333 33⅓	$98,850	$1,647,500 00

A [CONTINUED.]

ANNUITIES PAYABLE BY THE UNITED STATES TO INDIANS, &c.

Names of Indians, or Indian Tribes.	Amount of annuities.	Terms of annuities.	Termination of limited annuities.	Periods during which annuities are payable.	Total amount of limited capitals.	Total amount of permanent capitals.	Total amount of annuities.	Total amount of capitals.
Amount brought forward	$1,000	.....	.....	.....	$1,094,166 66⅔	$553,333 33⅓	$98,850	$1,647,500 00
Delawares	500	Permanent	.....	30th September, annually	.....	8,333 33⅓	500	8,333 33⅓
"	4,000	"	.....	3d October, annually	.....	66,666 66⅔	4,000	66,666 66⅔
	5,500							
Shawnees	1,000	Permanent	.....	3d August, annually	.....	16,666 66⅔	1,000	16,666 66⅔
"	2,000	"	.....	29th September, annually	.....	33,333 33⅓	2,000	33,333 33⅓
	3,000							
Ottawas	1,000	Permanent	.....	3d August, annually	.....	16,666 66⅔	1,000	16,666 66⅔
"	800	"	.....	17th November, annually	.....	13,333 33⅓	800	13,333 33⅓
"	1,000	15 years	29 Sept. 1832	29th September, annually	16,666 66⅔	.....	1,000	16,666 66⅔
"	1,500	Permanent	.....	17th " "	.....	25,000	1,500	25,000
	4,300							
Chippewas	1,000	Permanent	.....	3d August, annually	.....	16,666 66⅔	1,000	16,666 66⅔
"	800	"	.....	17th November, annually	.....	13,333 33⅓	800	13,333 33⅓
"	1,000	15 years	.....	29th September, annually	16,666 66⅔	.....	1,000	16,666 66⅔
"	1,000	Permanent	.....	24th " "	.....	16,666 66⅔	1,000	16,666 66⅔
	3,800							
Eel River	500	Permanent	.....	3d August, annually	.....	8,333 33⅓	500	8,333 33⅓
"	250	"	.....	21st " "	.....	4,166 66⅔	250	4,166 66⅔
"	250	"	.....	30th September, annually	.....	4,166 66⅔	250	4,166 66⅔
"	100	"	.....	"	.....	1,666 66⅔	100	1,666 66⅔
Amount carried forward	1,100	.....	.....	.....	$1,127,500 00	$798,333 33⅓	$115,550	$1,925,833 33⅓

A [CONTINUED.]

ANNUITIES PAYABLE BY THE UNITED STATES TO INDIANS, &c.

Names of Indians, or Indian Tribes.	Amount of annuities.	Terms of annuities.	Termination of limited annuities.	Periods during which annuities are payable.	Total amount of limited capitals.	Total amount of permanent capitals.	Total amount of annuities.	Total amount of capitals.
Amount brought forward	.....	.....	.....	.....	$1,127,500 00	$798,333 33⅓	$115,550	$1,925,833 33⅓
Pottawatomies	1,000	Permanent	.....	On or before the 3d August, annually	.....	16,666 66⅔	1,000	16,666 66⅔
" (those that reside on the river Huron, &c.)	400	"	.....	17th November, annually	.....	6,666 66⅔	400	6,666 66⅔
" (exclusive of the foregoing)	500	"	.....	30th September, annually	.....	8,333 33⅓	500	8,333 33⅓
" (exclusive of the foregoing)	1,300	15 years	29 Sept. 1832	29th " "	21,666 66⅔	.....	1,300	21,666 66⅔
" (exclusive of the foregoing)	2,500	Permanent	.....	2d October, annually	.....	41,666 66⅔	2,500	41,666 66⅔
	5,700							
Miamies	1,000	Permanent	.....	3d August, annually	.....	16,666 66⅔	1,000	16,666 66⅔
"	600	"	.....	21st " "	.....	10,000	600	10,000
"	500	"	.....	30th September, annually	.....	8,333 33⅓	500	8,333 33⅓
"	200	"	.....	"	.....	3,333 33⅓	200	3,333 33⅓
"	15,000	"	.....	6th October, annually	.....	250,000	15,000	250,000
	17,300							
Weas	500	Permanent	.....	3d August, annually	.....	8,333 33⅓	500	8,333 33⅓
"	250	"	.....	21st " "	.....	4,166 66⅔	250	4,166 66⅔
"	100	"	.....	30th September, annually	.....	1,666 66⅔	100	1,666 66⅔
"	300	"	.....	6th October, annually	.....	5,000	300	5,000
"	1,850	"	.....	2d " "	.....	30,833 33⅓	1,850	30,833 33⅓
	3,000							
Kickapoos	2,000	10 years	30 Aug. 1829	30th August, annually	33,333 33⅓	.....	2,000	33,333 33⅓
Amount carried forward	.....	.....	.....	.....	$1,182,500 00	$1,210,000 00	$143,550	$2,392,500 00

A [CONTINUED.]

ANNUITIES PAYABLE BY THE UNITED STATES TO INDIANS, &c.

Names of Indians, or Indian Tribes.	Amount of annuities.	Terms of annuities.	Termination of limited annuities.	Periods during which annuities are payable.	Total amount of limited capitals.	Total amount of permanent capitals.	Total amount of annuities.	Total amount of capitals.
Amount brought forward	.....	.....	.....	.....	$1,182,500 00	$1,210,000 00	$143,550	$2,392,500 00
Ottawas and Chippewas residing on the Illinois and Milwaukee rivers, &c., including also the Pottawatomies	1,000	12 years	24 Aug. 1826	24th August, annually	16,666 66⅔	.....	1,000	16,666 66⅔
Shawnees and Senecas of Lewistown	1,000	Permanent	.....	17th September, annually	.....	16,666 66⅔	1,000	16,666 66⅔
Peoria, Kaskaskias, Catokiah, Michigania, and Tamorois tribes of the Illinois nation	300	12 years	25 Sept. 1830	25th September, annually	5,000	.....	300	5,000
Wyandots	1,000	Permanent	.....	3d August, annually	.....	16,666 66⅔	1,000	16,666 66⅔
Wyandots, Munsees, Delawares, and those of the Shawnee and Seneca nations who reside with the Wyandots	825	Permanent	.....	4th July, annually	.....	13,750	825	13,750
Wyandots	400	"	.....	17th November, annually	.....	6,666 66⅔	400	6,666 66⅔
"	4,500	.....	.....	29th September, annually	.....	75,000	4,500	75,000
	$6,725				$1,204,166 66⅔	$1,338,750 00	$152,575	$2,542,916 66⅔

NOTE. In addition to the 6,725 dollars allowed the Wyandots, &c. aforesaid, there is secured to them by treaty of 4th July, 1805, an annuity of 175 dollars; for the payment whereof, the capital of $2,916 66 has been secured to the President of the United States in trust by the Connecticut Land Company, and by the company incorporated by the name of "The Proprietors of half a million acres of land lying south of Lake Erie, called Sufferers' Land."

A [CONTINUED.]

ANNUITIES PAYABLE BY THE UNITED STATES TO INDIANS, &c.

RECAPITULATION.

	ANNUITIES.	CAPITALS.
Limited Annuities which expire in 1823	$11,000	$183,333 33⅓
Do. do. do. 1826	25,000	416,666 66⅔
Do. do. do. 1828	20,000	333,333 33⅓
Do. do. do. 1829	12,000	200,000
Do. do. do. 1830	300	5,000
Do. do. do. 1832	3,300	55,000
Life Annuities	650	10,833 33⅓
Limited Annuities and Capitals	72,250	1,204,166 66⅔
Permanent Annuities and Capitals	80,325	1,338,750
	$152,575	$2,542,916 66⅔

NOTE. In addition to the above, there is a permanent annuity of 150 bushels of salt to the Delawares, Shawnees, Pottawatomies, Miamies, Kickapoos, Eel Rivers, Weas, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias Indians, per treaty 7th June, 1803; and 160 bushels to the Miamies, per treaty of 6th October, 1818, the usual cost of which has been $2 50 per bushel at Fort Wayne. The Kickapoos, per treaty of 30th August, 1819, relinquished to the United States their proportion of the salt annuity under the treaty of 7th June, 1803; but this Department is not yet advised of the exact amount thereof by the Indian agent, who will attend to the proper deduction upon the distributions subsequent to the treaty of 30th August, 1819.

WM. LEE.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Second Auditor's Office, October,* 1820.

B.

Statement of Appropriations and Expenditures on account of the Surveys of Public Lands, from the 4th March, 1789, to the 31st December, 1819; furnished in pursuance of a Resolution of the Senate of the United States, of the 3d April, 1820.

Appropriations.	Amount appropriated.	Amount carried to surplus fund.	Balance of appropriation.	Expenditures.	Amount expended.
1797	$27,000		$27,000	1797	$5,964 26
1798	10,000		10,000	1798	6,034 40
1799	11,519	$5,731 41	5,789 59	1799	12,769 93
1800	4,000		4,000	1800	11,910 94
1801	28,200		28,200	1801	17,723 27
1802	42,496 90		42,496 90	1802	18,386 36
1803	29,743	500	29,243	1803	18,691 74
1804	55,900	13,450 50	42,449 50	1804	27,438 95
1805	96,400	725 20	95,674 80	1805	69,187 62
1806	146,400	2,942 17	143,457 83	1806	108,895 02
1807	79,580	3,494 18	76,085 82	1807	98,115 59
1808	60,874	2,345 04	58,528 96	1808	73,229 39
1809	34,640	29,711 28	4,928 72	1809	52,963 01
1810	36,400	704 66	35,695 34	1810	54,356 99
1811	146,900	363 30	146,536 70	1811	85,931 49
1812	58,020	401 10	57,618 90	1812	46,431 71
1813	70,560	13,793 91	56,766 09	1813	38,370 61
1814	67,000	25,038 69	41,961 31	1814	33,776 94
1815	39,700	26,174 70	13,525 30	1815	47,083 98
1816	175,700	150	175,550	1816	113,099 47
1817	228,266 32	125	228,141 32	1817	232,408 43
1818	177,541		177,541	1818	175,034 51
1819	175,300		175,300	1819	237,418 49
					1,585,223 10
				Balance unexpended on the 31st Dec. 1819	91,265 98
	$1,802,140 22	$125,651 14	$1,676,489 08		$1,676,489 08

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Register's Office, November* 8, 1820.

JOSEPH NOURSE, Register.

C.

Schedule in relation to the Sales of Public Lands, before the Land Offices were opened.

Years.	To whom sold.	Acres.	Lands reverted.		Total from sales.	
			Acres.	Amount.		
1787	Sundry persons at vendue in the city of New York....	72,974	35,457	$29,782 65	$117,108 22	
	Ohio Company	964,285	.....	.....	500,000 00	
1778	John Cleves Symmes	248,540	.....	.....	70,455 38	
1789	Commonwealth of Pennsylva.	202,187	.....	.....	151,640 25	
1796	Sales at Pittsburg and Philad.	48,566	.....	.....	105,040 26	
		1,536,552			$944,244 11	Specie or public debt.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Register's Office, November* 8, 1820.

JOSEPH NOURSE, Register.

D.

STATEMENT OF THE AMOUNT OF SALES OF PUBLIC LANDS,

From the opening of the Land Offices to the 30th of September, 1819; the amount of Forfeitures; the Sums paid by Purchasers, and the Sums due from Purchasers and from Receivers on that day: pursuant to a Resolution of the Senate, dated 3d of April, 1820.

Offices.	Amount of Sales.	Amount of Forfeitures.	Sums paid by Purchasers.	Balances due, September 30, 1819.	
				From Purchasers.	From Receivers.
Marietta	$354,770 88	$4,096 96¼	$235,825 80	$118,845 99¼	$17,776 85
Chilicothe	2,196,140 09	45,275 85½	1,905,028 52	274,275 58	35,041 77
Steubenville	3,097,996 79	45,568 66	2,735,254 69¾	299,036 13	5,173 17
Cincinnati	5,769,685 06½	130,756 20¼	4,537,783 55¼	1,211,761 91	50,253 11
Zanesville	1,793,695 79	17,133 06½	1,334,866 70¼	459,142 24	
Vincennes	2,861,221 20½	21,356 07½	1,355,135 56¼	1,469,500 69	1,076 23¾
Jeffersonville	2,456,178 09	11,941 75	1,410,090 51¼	1,214,962 22	4,529 46
Canton or Wooster	2,001,370 91	4,343 88½	1,384,287 22½	618,595 23¼	34,794 38½
Shawneetown	1,153,897 67	4,631 17	371,118 82¼	781,601 46¼	4,196 93¾
Kaskaskia	814,054 80	1,630 96	286,282 46	529,788 33½	46,876 49½
Edwardsville	795,531 85	2,021 58	241,127 44	556,145 08	51,380 11
Detroit	67,113 86	359 95	21,780 68	114,768 96	5,389 14
Franklin	1,894,905 69	12,273 56	527,107 48	1,380,071 77	39,818 77
St. Louis	1,141,340 65½	4,892 78	306,433 55¾	839,799 87¾	27,757 06¼
West of Pearl river	2,343,987 58	51,141 89	1,047,431 43	1,298,091 40	41,092 59½
East of Pearl river	2,266,076 04¾	7,500 43¾	832,768 82½	1,439,200 17¾	183,466 74½
Huntsville	8,431,691 32¼	26,646 26½	2,519,665 18	5,936,360 62¾	79,422 91¾
Cahaba	4,614,794 54¼	21,107 60	1,177,192 19	3,458,709 95½	50,336 27¾
	$44,054,452 83¼	$412,678 64¾	$22,229,180 63¾	$22,000,657 64	$678,382 18¼

GENERAL LAND OFFICE, October, 1820.

JOSIAH MEIGS.

NOTE. There were sales prior to the opening of the Land Offices, viz.:

The Triangle on Lake Erie	202,187	Acres.
In Ohio, sold at New York, in 1787	72,974	"
" at Pittsburg, in 1796	43,446	"
" at Philadelphia, in 1796	5,120	"
" to Ohio Company, in 1792	964,285	"
" to J. C. Symmes, in 1792	248,540	"
	1,536,552.	

E.

Estimate of the number of Acres of Public Lands which have been surveyed, the number sold, and the number which remained unsold on the 30th September, 1819, pursuant to a Resolution of the Senate, dated 3d of April, 1820.

Districts.	Number of acres surveyed.	Number of acres sold.
Marietta	576,000	156,035
Chilicothe	2,128,480	1,020,630
Steubenville	1,935,360	1,446,618
Cincinnati	3,709,440	2,733,688
Zanesville	1,504,880	886,295
Wooster	1,244,160	889,514
Delaware	852,480	none
Piqua	691,200	none
Vincennes	5,532,500	1,386,771
Jeffersonville	2,862,920	1,218,757
Terre Haute	761,600	none
Brookville	769,000	none
Shawneetown	3,018,240	562,296
Kaskaskia	2,188,800	407,027
Edwardsville	2,625,960	394,730
Palestine	391,680	none
Vandalia	1,105,920	none
Detroit	2,073,600	58,450
St. Louis	6,777,760	470,990
Franklin	3,801,600	662,434
West of Pearl river	3,787,840	1,124,286
East of Pearl river	5,253,120	951,131
Huntsville	5,460,480	1,427,407
Cahaba	3,893,760	1,268,319
Tuscaloosa	3,525,120	none
Conecah	69,120	none
Opelousas	1,428,480	none
New Orleans	538,240	none
Cape Girardeau	1,405,440	none
Arkansas	1,359,360	none
Davidsonville, Lawrence Co.	none for sale	none
In Ohio, prior to the year 1797	1,536,552	1,536,552
Surveyed	72,805,092	18,601,930
Sold	18,601,930	
Unsold	54,203,162*	

* But subject to various private claims and reservations for schools, &c.

Estimate of Lands surveyed for Military Bounties.

	Surveyed.	Remaining unlocated.	
In Ohio for bounties to soldiers of the Revolution	1,380,000	87,500	
In Illinois do. do. do.	5,760,000	2,411,520	The lots being too large or
In Missouri do. do. do.	837,760	348,440	too small, or otherwise unfit
In Arkansas do. do. do.	4,337,600	the whole	for bounties.

NOTE. The estimate of lands surveyed, includes all surveys received to this day.
" " of lands sold, includes all sold up to 30th September, 1819.

GENERAL LAND OFFICE, Oct. 15, 1820. JOSIAH MEIGS.

F.

ESTIMATE OF THE QUANTITY OF LAND THAT HAS BEEN PURCHASED FROM THE INDIANS.

Date of the treaties.	With what tribe made.	Estimate of the amount in acres.	Page in the Land Laws.	REMARKS.
Fort Stanwix, 22d October, 1784	Six Nations		55	Triangle, sold in Pennsylvania, 202,187 acres, added at foot hereof.
Greenville, 3d August, 1795	Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, &c.	11,808,499	56	The quantity, after deducting part of Connecticut Reserve, and Virginia military lands.
Fort Industry, 4th July, 1805	Wyandots, Ottawas, Chippewas, &c.	1,030,400	59	
Detroit, 17th Nov. 1807	do. do. do.	7,862,400	60	
Brownstown, 25th Nov. 1808	do. do. do.		62	Cession for a road, included in a subsequent cession.
Fort Wayne, 7th June, 1803	Delawares, Shawnees, Pottawatomies, Eel River, Weas, &c.	2,038,400	63	Right given to the United States of locating land on the roads leading from Vincennes to Kaskaskia and Clarkesville, (included in subsequent cessions.
Vincennes, 7th August, 1803	Eel River, Wyandots, &c.		64	
Vincennes, 13th August, 1803	Kaskaskias	8,911,850	64	
Vincennes, 18th August, 1804	Delawares	1,921,280	66, 67	
27th " "	Piankeshaws			
Grouseland, 21st August, 1805	Delawares, Pottawatomies, Miamies, Eel River, and Weas	1,572,480	67	
Vincennes, 30th December, 1805	Piankeshaws	2,076,160	68	Reserving the right of locating a tract of two miles square, or 1280 acres, the fee of which is to remain with them forever.
Fort Wayne, 30th September, 1809	Delawares, Pottawatomies, Miamies, &c.	3,257,600	69	
Vincennes, 9th December, 1809	Kickapoos	138,240	71	The part ceded by the 9th article confirmed by the Kickapoos, 9th December, 1809.
Fort Harrison, 4th June, 1816	Weas and Kickapoos		71	Confirm former cessions.
St. Mary's, 2d October, 1818	do. do.			
St. Louis, 3d June, 1816	Winnebagoes		72	Confirm to the United States all and every cession of land heretofore made by their nation to the British, French, or Spanish governments, within the limits of the United States or their territories.
St. Louis, 24th August, 1816	Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatomies	1,274,880	72	They relinquish all claim to cession by the Sacs and Foxes, 3d November, 1804.

F [CONTINUED.]

ESTIMATE OF THE QUANTITY OF LAND THAT HAS BEEN PURCHASED FROM THE INDIANS.

Date of the treaties.	With what tribe made.	Estimate of the amount in acres.	Page in the Land Laws.	REMARKS.
By 2d art. they cede 3 leagues square at the mouth of Ouisconsin	.....	144,000		
St. Louis, 3d Nov. 1804	Sacs and Foxes	9,803,520	73	Confirm all cession of lands made by their tribes to the British,
St. Louis, 1st June, 1816	Sioux	.....	74	French, and Spanish governments, within the limits of the United States or their territories.
Tellico, 25th October, 1805	Cherokees	.....	74	Cede all lands north of Duck river, &c. This cession is wholly in the State of Tennessee.
Tellico, 27th Oct. 1805	Cherokees	.....	75	Cession for a road from Tellico to Tombigby.
Washington, 7th Jan. 1806	Cherokees	1,209,600	76	The residue of the cession is within the State of Tennessee.
Chickasaw Old Fields, 11th September, 1807	Cherokees	.....	77	Elucidation of the treaty entered into at Washington, 7 Jan. 1806.
Washington, 22d Mar. 1806	Cherokees	.....	78	Line established between Cherokees and Creeks, privilege for roads.
Turkeytown, 4th Oct. 1816	Cherokees	1,395,200	79	
Hopewell, 10th June, 1786	Chickasaws	.....	79	Boundary lines within which they are allowed to live and hunt on.
Chickasaw Bluffs, 24th October, 1801	Chickasaws	.....	80	Permission to open a road.
Chickasaw Country, 23d July, 1805	Chickasaws	345,600	80	The residue of the cession in the State of Tennessee.
Chickasaw Council House, 20th September, 1816	Chickasaws	.....	81	They cede all their right or title to lands north of Tennessee river, and relinquish all claim to territory on the south side of said river, and east of a line commencing at Caney creek, &c.
Hopewell, 3d January, 1786	Choctaws	.....	83	Boundary of lands for the Choctaws to live and hunt on.
Fort Adams, 17th Dec. 1801	Choctaws	2,641,920	83	
Fort Confederation, 17th October, 1802	Choctaws	853,760	84	
Mount Dexter, 16th Nov. 1805	Choctaws	4,142,720	85	They cede all their land on the east side of Tombigby from the
Choctaw Trading House, 24th October, 1816	Choctaws	.....	86	Chickasaw boundary to the northern line of the cession from the Choctaws, at Mount Dexter. (This land is included in the cession from the Creeks, by treaty, at Fort Jackson.)
Fort Jackson, 9th Aug. 1814	Creeks	14,284,800	87	The residue of the cession lies within the State of Georgia.
Fort Clark, 10th November 1808	Great and Little Osage	50,269,440	88	

F [CONTINUED.]

ESTIMATE OF THE QUANTITY OF LAND THAT HAS BEEN PURCHASED FROM THE INDIANS.

Date of the treaties.	With what tribe made.	Estimate of the amount in acres.	Page in the Land Laws.	REMARKS.
Foot of the Rapids,				
*29th September, 1817 ...	Wyandots	4,377,600	law 15th Con.	
*By article 2d	Pottawatomies, Ottawas, and Chippewas	430,080	1	
St. Mary's, 17th Sept. 1818	Wyandots, Senecas, Shawnees, and Ottawas	.....	2 17	Here follow a great many stipulations and grants to particular tribes. Reservations and grants.
St. Mary's, 2d Oct. 1818...	Pottawatomies.....	1,109,760	21	
St. Mary's, 3d Oct. 1818...	Delawares	.....	.....	They cede all claim to lands in Indiana. The United States provide a country for them on the west side of the Mississippi.
St. Mary's, 6th Oct. 1818 ..	Miamies	5,867,520	26	
St. Mary's, 20th Sept. 1818	Wyandots	.....	31	Cede two tracts of land in Michigan formerly reserved to them; a conditional reserve in lieu thereof.
St. Mary's, 2d Oct. 1818...	Weas.....	.....	33	They cede to the United States all the lands claimed and owned by them within the limits of the States of Indiana, Ohio, and
Edwardsville, 25th Sept. 1818	Peorias, &c.....	6,865,280	35	Illinois, subject to certain reservations.
St. Louis, 24th Aug. 1818..	Quapaws	30,690,560	39	The part north of Arkansas was ceded by the Osages by treaty
St. Louis, 25th Sept. 1818..	Great and Little Osages	7,892,000	51	at Fort Clark, 10th November, 1808; they also cede *all their claim* to lands east of the Mississippi.
Treaty Ground east of Old Town, 19th Oct. 1818	Chickasaws	.....	54	This cession is partly in the State of Tennessee, and partly in Kentucky.
Washington, 27th Feb. 1819	Cherokees	566,400	89	The residue of this cession is in the State of Tennessee and Georgia.
St. Louis, 30th March, 1817	Menomonees	.....	{ 1 s. 15 Con. { 129	They confirm to the United States all and every cession made by their tribe to the British, French, and Spanish governments, within the limits of the United States.
Cherokee Agency, 8 July, 1817	Cherokees	.....	135	Cession of lands in the State of Georgia for lands on the Arkansas river.
Creek Agency, 22d Jan. 1818	Creeks.....	.....	142	Cession of two tracts of land in the State of Georgia.
			1 s. 16th Con.	
Saginaw, 24th Sept. 1819 ..	Chippewa	4,321,280	119	Subject to several reservations.
Fort Harrison, 30th Aug. 1819	Kickapoos of Vermilion	3,173,120	124	They also cede all their lands on the Wabash river or any of its waters.
		191,776,349		
		202,187	Triangle, sold in Pennsylvania, omitted, see first item hereof.	
		191,978,536	Acres.	

GENERAL LAND OFFICE, October 15, 1820. JOSIAH MEIGS.

III. TOPIC OF LANDS PURCHASED FROM THE INDIANS.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, TRANSMITTING, IN COMPLIANCE WITH A RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE, A STATEMENT SHOWING THE PURCHASES OF INDIAN LANDS SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRESENT FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

To the Senate of the United States:—

I transmit herewith, in reply to the resolution of the Senate of 11th March last, a report from the Secretary of War, accompanied by a communication and other documents from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

M. VAN BUREN.

Washington, *July 20th*, 1840.

War Department, *July 20th*, 1840.

Sir: I have the honour to lay before you for transmission, if approved, to the Senate, in reply to the resolution adopted by that body on the 11th March last, requesting to be furnished with a statement of the purchases of Indian lands since the establishment of the present Federal Government, a report from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the accompanying statements.

Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

J. R. POINSETT.

The President *of the United States.*

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Office Indian Affairs, July 20th, 1840.

SIR: I have the honor to submit herewith, in reply to the resolution of the Senate of the 11th March, requesting the President "to cause to be communicated to the Senate a detailed chronological statement of the purchases of land made from each Indian tribe, within the limits of the United States, since the establishment of the present Federal Government," &c., three statements, marked Nos. 1, 2, and 3, which furnish the information with as much accuracy as it could be collected within the time allowed.

For the period between 4th March, 1829, and 9th May, 1836, the statement which accompanied the Annual Report of this Office for 1837 has been adopted, with the exception that it has been drawn out into greater detail. Computations have been made of the cost of the treaties made before and since that period, which are as correct as it has been possible to make them. In making these calculations, the aggregates designated in the statement (B) which accompanied my report to you of the 2d February, 1839, upon the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 14th of January of that year, have been assumed in all cases, except where they have been found to be erroneous.

Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

T. HARTLEY CRAWFORD.

Hon. J. R. POINSETT, *Secretary of War*.

A.

STATEMENT OF THE PURCHASES OF LAND

Made from each Indian Tribe, since the establishment of the present Federal Government, arranged chronologically.

Date of treaty.	Names of tribes.	No. of acres of land ceded.	No. of acres given in exchange, or reserved.	Value of land given in exchange, or reserved at $1 25 per acre.	Amount of consideration in money, goods, &c.	Aggregate of consideration.
1795	Wyandots, Delawares, &c.	11,808,499	None.		$210,000 00	$210,000 00
1801	Choctaws	2,641,920	"		2,201 00	2,201 00
1802	Do.	853,760	"			
1803	Delawares, Shawnees, &c.	2,038,400	"		4,000 00	4,000 00
1803	Kaskaskias	8,911,850	"		12,000 00	12,000 00
1804	Delawares and Piankeshaws	2,038,400	"		4,000 00	4,000 00
1804	Sacs and Foxes	9,803,520	"		22,234 50	22,234 50
1805	Wyandots, Ottawas, &c.	1,030,400	"		16,500 00	16,500 00
1805	Delawares, Pottawatomies, &c.	1,572,480	"		5,000 00	5,000 00
1805	Choctaws	4,142,720	"		108,000 00	108,000 00
1805	Piankeshaws	2,076,160	"		4,100 00	4,100 00
1805	Chickasaws	345,600	"		22,000 00	22,000 00
1806	Cherokees	1,209,600	"		44,000 00	44,000 00
1807	Chippewas	7,862,400	"		100,400 00	100,400 00
1808	Great and Little Osages	50,269,444	"		60,000 00	60,000 00
1809	Delawares, Miamies, &c.	3,257,600	"		18,000 00	18,000 00
1809	Kickapoos	138,240	"		2,700 00	2,700 00
1814	Creeks	14,284,800	"		120,000 00	120,000 00
1816	Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatomies	1,418,880	"		12,000 00	12,000 00
1816	Cherokees	1,395,200	"		65,000 00	65,000 00
1817	Wyandots	4,807,680	271,160	$338,950 00	222,800 00	561,830 00
1818	Pottawatomies	1,109,760	8,320	10,400 00	49,200 00	59,600 00
1818	Miamies	5,867,520	31,360	39,200 00	347,400 00	386,600 00
1818	Peorias	6,865,280	640	800 00	5,600 00	6,400 00
1818	Weas	Not known.	1,280	1,600 00	37,000 00	38,600 00
1818	Quapaws	50,690,560	None.		24,000 00	24,000 00
1818	Great and Little Osages	7,392,000	"		4,000 00	4,000 00
1819	Cherokees	566,400	*a*			
1819	Chippewas	4,321,280	10,240	12,800 00	41,200 00	54,000 00
1819	Kickapoos	3,173,120	2,048,000		54,000 00	*b* 54,000 00

a Acre in Arkansas given in exchange for every acre ceded, and other benefits which cannot now be computed.

b Value of lands given in exchange, or reserved, not computed, because afterward ceded.

A. [CONTINUED.]

STATEMENT OF THE PURCHASES OF LAND FROM EACH INDIAN TRIBE, ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY.

Date of treaty.	Names of tribes.	No. of acres of land ceded.	No. of acres given in exchange, or reserved.	Value of land given in exchange, or reserved at $1 25 per acre.	Amount of consideration in money, goods, &c.	Aggregate of consideration.
1820	Chippewas	10,240	None.	.....	*a*	
1820	Ottawas and Chippewas	St. Martin's island.	"	.....	*a*	
1820	Weas	Certain reservat'ns.	"	.....	$5,000 00	$5,000 00
1820	Choctaws	4,500,000	5,030,912	*b*	.....	*c*
1821	Ottawas and Chippewas	5,500,000	14,000	$17,500 00	150,000 00	167,500 00
1823	Florida Indians	Unknown.	None.	.....	106,000 00	106,000 00
1824	Sacs, Foxes, and Iowas	10,000,000	"	.....	60,000 00	60,000 00
1824	Quapaws	1,000,000	2,320	2,900 00	17,000 90	19,900 00
1825	Great and Little Osages	85,299,680	99,840	124,800 00	312,600 00	437,400 00
1825	Kanzas					
1825	Shawnees	400,000	1,600,000	2,000,000 00	44,000 00	2,044,000 00
1826	Creeks	4,132,480	4,140,000	5,175,000 00	763,000 00	5,938,000 00
1827	Pottawatomies	737,280	29,600	37,000 00	165,320 00	202,320 00
1827	Miamies	600,500	13,280	16,600 00	314,827 00	331,427 00
1828	Creeks	1,221,120	None.	.....	42,491 00	42,491 00
1828	Eel River Miamies	64,000	"	.....	21,250 00	21,250 00
1829	Pottawatomies	990,720	10,240	12,800 00	176,995 00	189,795 00
1830	Winnebagoes	2,530,000	25,600	32,000 00	717,800 00	749,000 00
1830	Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies	4,160,000	16,640	20,800 00	369,801 00	390,601 00
1830	Delawares	5,760	None.	.....	3,000 00	3,000 00
1831	Sacs, Foxes, Sioux, &c.	16,256,000	"	.....	317,732 00	317,732 00
1831	Choctaws	7,796,000	15,000,000 *d*	20,750,000 00	2,178,529 00	22,928,529 00
1831	Senecas	40,000	67,000	83,750 00	79,650 00	163,400 00

a Merchandise—amount not specified in treaty.
b Amount of benefits cannot now be computed.
c Lands given in exchange, afterwards ceded, therefore value not computed.
d And reservations.

A [CONTINUED.]

STATEMENT OF THE PURCHASES OF LAND FROM EACH INDIAN TRIBE, ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY.

Date of treaty.	Names of tribes.	No. of acres of land ceded.	No. of acres given in exchange, or reserved.	Value of land given in exchange, or reserved at $1 25 per acre.	Amount of consideration in money, goods, &c.	Aggregate of consideration.
1832	Creeks	5,128,000	11,100,800 *a*	$13,948,000 00	$1,861,080 00	$15,809,080 00
1832	Senecas and Shawnees	39,680	61,120	76,400 00	35,200 00	111,600 00
1832	Shawnees	92,800	101,280	126,600 00	35,900 00	162,500 00
1832	Ottawas	49,917	34,000	42,500 00	5,000 00	47,500 00
1832	Wyandots	16,000	320	400 00	24,000 00	24,400 00
1832	Menomonees	3,000,000	None.	.....	285,687 00	285,687 00
1833	Pottawatomies of the Prairie	1,536,000	28,160	35,200 00	425,146 00	460,346 00
1833	Pottawatomies of the Wabash	2,626,560	51,200	64,000 00	594,412 00	658,412 00
1833	Pottawatomies of Indiana	737,000	98,080	122,600 00	283,521 00	406,121 00
1833	Shawnees and Delawares	199,680	None.	.....	50,950 00	50,950 00
1833	Kaskaskias and Peorias	1,920	96,000	120,000 00	35,780 00	155,780 00
1833	Kickapoos	2,048,000	768,000	960,000 00	172,100 00	1,132,100 00
1833	Appalachicolas	5,120	None.	.....	14,000 00	13,000 00
1833	Piankeshaws and Weas	160,000	160,000	200,000 00	14,062 00	214,062 00
1833	Winnebagoes	2,816,000	2,003,840	2,504,800 00	440,682 00	2,945,482 00
1833	Sacs and Foxes	5,760,000	None.	.....	736,924 00	736,924 00
1833	Chickasaws	6,422,400	"	.....	3,046,000 00	*b* 3,046,000 00
1833	Ottawas	32,000	2,560	3,200 00	29,440 00	32,640 00
1834	Seminoles	4,032,640	None.	.....	295,500 00	295,500 00
1834	Quapaws	96,000	96,000	120,000 00	134,076 00	254,076 00
1834	Ottoes and Missourias	*c*	None.	.....	40,150 00	40,150 00
1834	Pawnees	*c*	"	.....	112,220 00	112,220 00
1835	Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies	5,104,960	5,000,000	6,250,000 00	1,374,289 00	7,624,289 00
1835	Pottawatomies	1,280	None.	.....	1,600 00	1,600 00

a 57,600 reserved for chiefs.

b $3,000,000 estimated nett proceeds to be paid them.

c Boundaries not defined in such manner as will admit of the area of the cession being ascertained.

A. [CONTINUED.]

STATEMENT OF THE PURCHASES OF LAND FROM EACH INDIAN TRIBE, ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY.

Date of treaty.	Names of tribes.	No. of acres of land ceded.	No. of acres given in exchange, or reserved.	Value of land given in exchange, or reserved at $1 25 per acre.	Amount of consideration in money, goods, &c.	Aggregate of consideration.
1835	Pottawatomies	2,560	None.	.....	$2,560 00	$2,560 00
1835	Do.	1,280	"	.....	800 00	800 00
1835	Do.	3,840	"	.....	2,400 00	2,400 00
1836	Caddoes	1,000,000	5,440	$6,800 00	80,000 00	86,800 00
1836	Cherokees	7,882,240	800,000	500,000 00 *a*	6,224,279 00	6,724,279 00
1836	Chippewas of Swan Creek	8,320	None.	.....	*b*	
1836	Wyandots	39,200	"	.....	*b*	
1836	Pottawatomies	6,400	"	.....	6,559 00	6,559 00
1836	Do.	1,920	"	.....	2,079 00	2,079 00
1836	Do.	23,040	"	.....	23,040 00	23,040 00
1836	Ottawas and Chippewas	13,734,000	"	.....	2,309,451 00	2,309,451 00
1836	Pottawatomies	2,560	"	.....	2,719 00	2,719 00
1836	Do.	2,560	"	.....	2,719 00	2,719 00
1837	Do.	14,080	"	.....	14,080 00	14,080 00
1837	Menomonees	4,184,320	"	.....	620,110 00	620,110 00
1837	Pottawatomies	6,400	"	.....	8,000 00	8,000 00
1837	Do.	2,560	"	.....	3,200 00	3,200 00
1837	Do.	26,880	"	.....	33,600 00	33,600 00
1837	Sacs and Foxes	256,000	"	.....	195,998 00	195,998 00
1837	Miamies	208,000	"	.....	208,000 00	208,000 00
1838	Chippewas	7,000,000	"	.....	870,000 00	870,000 00
1838	Sioux	5,000,000	"	.....	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00
1838	Sacs and Foxes	1,250,000	"	.....	377,000 00	377,000 00
1838	Winnebagoes	5,000,000	"	.....	1,500,000 00	1,500,000 00
1839	Miamies	177,000	"	.....	335,680 00	335,680 00
	Total	442,866,370	48,684,832	$53,757,400 00	$31,331,403 00	$85,088,803 00

a Valuation made by the treaty.

b Nett proceeds of sales of lands.

B.

LIST OF TRIBES,

(Alphabetically arranged,) who have ceded Territory since the Establishment of the present Federal Government, showing the amount paid, &c.

Names of Tribes.	Date of treaty.	No. of acres of land ceded.	Aggregate number of acres ceded.	No. of acres given in exch'ge or reserved.	Aggregate of acres given in exchange, or reserved.	Value of land given in exchange or reserved, at $1 25 per acre.	Aggregate value of land given in exchange or reserved.	Amount of consideration in money, goods, &c.	Aggregate of consideration in money, goods, &c.	Aggregate of consideration of each treaty.	Aggregate of consideration.
Appalachicolas	1833	5,120	5,120	None				$13,000 00	$13,000 00	$13,000 00	$13,000 00
Caddoes	1836	1,000,000	1,000,000	5,440	5,440	$6,800 00	$6,800 00	80,000 00	80,000 00	86,800 00	86,800 00
Cherokees	1806	1,209,600		None				44,000 00		44,000 00	
Cherokees	1816	1,895,200		"				65,000 00		65,000 00	
Cherokees	1819	566,400		*a*							
Cherokees	1836	7,882,240		800,000		*e* 500,000 00	*e* 500,000 00	6,224,279 00		6,724,279 00	
			11,053,440		800,000				6,333,279 00		6,833,279 00
Chickasaws	1805	845,600		None				22,000 00		22,000 00	
Chickasaws	1833	6,422,400		"	None	*f*		3,046,000 00		3,046,000 00	
			6,768,000						3,068,000 00		3,068,000 00
Chippewas	1807	7,862,400		"				100,400 00		100,400 00	
Chippewas	1819	4,321,280		10,240		12,800 00		41,200 00		54,000 00	
Chippewas	1820	10,240		None				*g*			
Chippewas	1836	8,320		"				*h*			
Chippewas	1838	7,000,000		"			12,800 00	870,000 00		870,000 00	
			19,202,240		10,240				1,011,600 00		1,024,400 00
Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies (united nation)	1816	1,418,880		None				12,000 00		12,000 00	
Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies (united nation)	1830	4,160,000		16,640		20,800 00		369,801 00		390,601 00	
Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies (united nation)	1835	5,104,960		5,000,000		6,250,000 00		1,374,289 00		7,624,289 00	
			10,683,840		5,016,640		6,270,800 00		1,756,090 00		8,026,890 00
Choctaws	1801	2,641,920		None				2,201 00		2,201 00	
Choctaws	1802	853,760		"							
Choctaws	1805	4,142,720		"				108,000 00		108,000 00	
Choctaws	1820	4,500,000		*b* 5,030,912				*i*			
Choctaws	1831	7,796,000		*c* 15,000,000				2,178,529 00		22,928,529 00	
			19,934,400		*d* 20,030,912	20,750,000 00	20,750,000 00		2,288,730 00		23,038,730 00
Creeks	1814	14,284,800		None				120,000 00		120,000 00	
Creeks	1826	4,132,480		4,140,000		5,175,000 00		763,000 00		5,938,000 00	
Creeks	1828	1,221,120		None				42,491 00		42,491 00	
Creeks	1832	5,128,000		11,158,400		13,948,000 00		1,861,080 00		15,809,080 00	
			24,766,400		15,298,400		18,123,000 00		2,786,571 00		21,909,571 00
Delawares	1830	5,760	5,760	None				3,000 00	3,000 00	3,000 00	3,000 00
Delawares, Shawnees, &c	1803	2,038,400	2,038,400	"				4,000 00	4,000 00	4,000 00	4,000 00
Delawares and Piankeshaws	1804	2,038,400	2,038,400	"				4,000 00	4,000 00	4,000 00	4,000 00

a Acre for acre, and other benefits that cannot now be computed. *b* Lands given in exchange afterward ceded, therefore value not computed. *c* And reservations not known.
d And reservations. *e* Valuation made by the treaty. *f* $3,000,000, estimated nett proceeds of sales of land ceded, to be paid to them.
g Merchandise; amount not specified in the treaty. *h* Nett proceeds of sales of the lands ceded. *i* Amount of benefits cannot now be computed.

B [CONTINUED.]

LIST OF TRIBES WHO HAVE CEDED TERRITORY, &c.

Names of Tribes.	Date of treaty.	No. of acres of land ceded.	Aggregate number of acres ceded.	No. of acres given in exch'ge or reserved.	Aggregate of acres given in exchange, or reserved.	Value of land given in exchange or reserved, at $1 25 per acre.	Aggregate value of land given in exchange, or reserved.	Amount of consideration in money, goods, &c.	Aggregate of consideration in money, goods, &c.	Aggregate of consideration of each treaty.	Aggregate of consideration.
Delawares, Pottawatomies, &c.	1805	1,572,480	1,572,480	None	[b]			5,000 00	5,000 00	5,000 00	5,000 00
Delawares, Miamies, &c.	1809	3,257,600	3,257,600	"	"			18,000 00	18,000 00	18,000 00	18,000 00
Eel River Miamies	1828	64,000	64,000	"	"			21,250 00	21,250 00	21,250 00	21,250 00
Florida Indians	1823	Unknown		"	"			106,000 00	106,000 00	106,000 00	106,000 00
Kaskaskias	1803	8,911,950	8,911,850	"	"			12,000 00	12,000 00	12,000 00	12,000 00
Kaskaskias and Peorias	1833	1,920	1,920	96,000	96,000	120,000 00	120,000 00	35,780 00	35,780 00	155,780 00	155,780 00
Kickapoos	1809	138,240		None				2,700 00		2,700 00	
Kickapoos	1819	3,173,120		2,048,000		[a]		54,000 00		54,000 00	
Kickapoos	1833	2,048,000		768,000		960,000 00	960,000 00	172,100 00		1,132,100 00	
			5,359,360		2,816,000				228,800 00		1,188,800 00
Menomonees	1832	3,000,000		None				285,687 00		285,687 00	
Menomonees	1837	4,184,320		"				620,110 00		620,110 00	
			7,184,320						905,797 00		905,797 00
Miamies	1818	5,867,520		31,360		$39,200 00		347,400 00		386,600 00	
Miamies	1827	600,500		13,280		16,600 00		314,827 00		331,427 00	
Miamies	1837	208,000		None				208,000 00		208,000 00	
Miamies	1839	177,000		"				335,680 00		335,680 00	
			6,853,020		44,640		55,800 00		1,205,907 00		1,261,707 00
Osages, Great and Little	1808	50,269,444		None				60,000 00		60,000 00	
Osages, Great and Little	1818	7,392,000		"				4,000 00		4,000 00	
Osages, Great and Little, and Kanzas	1825	85,299,680		99,840		124,800 00	124,800 00	312,600 00		437,400 00	
			142,961,124		99,840				376,600 00		501,400 00
Ottawas	1832	49,917		34,000		42,500 00		5,000 00		47,500 00	
Ottawas	1833	32,000		2,560		3,200 00		29,440 00		32,640 00	
			81,917		36,560		45,700 00		34,440 00		80,140 00
Ottawas and Chippewas	1820	St. Martin's	island.		None			[c]			
Ottawas and Chippewas	1821	5,500,000		14,000		17,500 00		150,000 00		167,500 00	
Ottawas and Chippewas	1836	13,734,000		None			17,500 00	2,309,451 00		2,309,451 00	
			19,234,000		14,000				2,459,451 00		2,476,951 00
Ottoes and Missourias	1834	[a]	[a]	None				40,150 00	40,150 00	40,150 00	40,150 00
Pawnees	1834	[a]	[a]	"				112,220 00	112,220 00	112,220 00	112,220 00
Peorias	1818	6,865,280	6,865,280	640	640	800 00	800 00	5,600 00	5,600 00	6,400 00	6,400 00
Piankeshaws	1805	2,076,160		None				4,100 00		4,100 00	
Piankeshaws and Weas	1833	160,000		160,000		200,000 00	200,000 00	14,062 00		214,062 00	
			2,236,160		160,000				18,162 00		218,162 00
Pottawatomies	1818	1,109,760		8,320		10,400 00		49,200 00		59,600 00	
Pottawatomies	1827	736,280		29,600		37,000 00		165,320 00		202,320 00	
Pottawatomies	1829	990,720		10,240		12,800 00		176,995 00		189,795 00	
Pottawatomies of the Prairie	1833	1,536,000		28,160		35,200 00		425,146 00		460,346 00	
Pottawatomies of the Wabash	1833	2,626,560		51,200		64,000 00		594,412 00		658,412 00	
Pottawatomies of Indiana	1833	737,000		98,080		122,600 00		283,521 00		406,121 00	
Pottawatomies	1835	1,280		None				1,600 00		1,600 00	

[a] Value of land reserved not computed, because afterward ceded.

[b] Boundaries not defined in such a manner as will admit of the area of the cession being ascertained.

[c] Merchandise; amount not specified in the treaty.

B [CONTINUED.]

LIST OF TRIBES WHO HAVE CEDED TERRITORY, &c.

Names of Tribes.	Date of treaty.	No. of acres of land ceded.	Aggregate number of acres ceded.	No. of acres given in exch'ge or reserved.	Aggregate of acres given in exchange, or reserved.	Value of land given in exchange or reserved, at $1 25 per acre.	Aggregate value of land given in exchange, or reserved.	Amount of consideration in money, goods, &c.	Aggregate of consideration in money, goods, &c.	Aggregate of consideration of each treaty.	Aggregate of consideration.
Pottawatomies	1835	2,560		None				2,560 00		2,560 00	
Pottawatomies	1835	1,280		"				800 00		800 00	
Pottawatomies	1835	3,840		"				2,400 00		2,400 00	
Pottawatomies	1836	6,400		"				6,559 00		6,559 00	
Pottawatomies	1836	1,920		"				2,079 00		2,079 00	
Pottawatomies	1836	23,040		"				23,040 00		23,040 00	
Pottawatomies	1836	2,560		"				2,719 00		2,719 00	
Pottawatomies	1836	2,560		"				2,719 00		2,719 00	
Pottawatomies	1837	14,080		"				14,080 00		14,080 00	
Pottawatomies	1837	6,400		"				8,000 00		8,000 00	
Pottawatomies	1837	2,560		"				3,200 00		3,200 00	
Pottawatomies	1837	26,880		"				33,600 00		33,600 00	
			7,832,680		225,600		282,000 00		1,797,950 00		2,079,950 00
Quapaws	1818	50,690,560		None				24,000 00		24,000 00	
Quapaws	1824	1,000,000		2,320		2,900 00		17,000 00		19,900 00	
Quapaws	1834	96,000		96,000		120,000 00		134,076 00		254,076 00	
			51,786,560		98,320		122,900 00		175,076 00		297,976 00
Sacs and Foxes	1804	9,803,520		None				22,234 50		22,234 50	
Sacs and Foxes	1833	5,760,000		"				736,924 00		736,924 00	
Sacs and Foxes	1837	256,000		"				195,998 00		195,998 00	
Sacs and Foxes	1838	1,250,000		"				377,000 00		377,000 00	
			17,069,520						1,332,150 50		1,332,156 50
Sacs, Foxes, and Iowas	1824	10,000,000	10,000,000	None				60,000 00	60,000 00	60,000 00	60,000 00
Sacs, Foxes, Sioux, and others	1831	16,256,000	16,256,000	"				317,732 00	317,732 00	317,732 00	317,732 00
Shawnees	1825	400,000		1,600,000		2,000,000 00		44,000 00		2,044,000 00	
Shawnees	1832	92,800		101,280		126,600 00		35,900 00		162,500 00	
Shawnees and Delawares	1833	199,680		None				50,950 00		50,950 00	
			692,480		1,701,280		2,126,600 00		130,850 00		2,257,450 00
Seminoles	1834	4,032,640	4,032,640	None				295,500 00	295,500 00	295,500 00	295,500 00
Senecas	1831	40,000		67,000		83,750 00		79,650 00		163,400 00	
Senecas and Shawnees	1832	39,680	79,680	61,120	128,120	76,400 00	160,150 00	35,200 00	114,850 00	111,600 00	275,000 00
Sioux	1838	5,000,000	5,000,000	None				1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00
Weas	1818	Not known		1,280		1,600 00		37,000 00		38,600 00	
Weas	1820	Cert'n res'vns		None				5,000 00		5,000 00	
					1,280		1,600 00		42,000 00		43,600 00
Winnebagoes	1830	2,530,000		25,600		32,000 00		717,800 00		749,800 00	
Winnebagoes	1833	2,816,000		2,003,840		2,504,800 00		440,682 00		2,945,482 00	
Winnebagoes	1838	5,000,000		None				1,500,000 00		1,500,000 00	
			10,346,000		2,029,440		2,536,800 00		2,658,482 00		5,195,282 00
Wyandots	1817	4,807,680		271,160		338,950 00		222,880 00		561,830 00	
Wyandots	1832	16,000		320		400 00		24,000 00		24,400 00	
Wyandots	1836	39,200		None				*a*			
			4,862,880		271,480		339,350 00		246,880 00		586,230 00
Wyandots, Delawares, &c.	1795	11,808,499	11,808,499	None				210,000 00	210,000 00	210,000 00	210,000 00
Wyandots, Ottowas, &c.	1805	1,030,400	1,030,400	"				16,500 00	16,500 00	16,500 00	16,500 00
			442,866,370		48,684,832		53,757,400 00		31,331,403 00		85,088,803 00

a Nett proceeds of sales of lands, &c.

C.

AGGREGATES OF LANDS, COMPENSATION, EXCHANGE, AND NAMES OF TRIBES,

From the Origin of the Government, to 1840.

Names of tribes.	No. of acres of land acquired.	No. of acres given in exchange, or reserved.	Value of land given in exchange, or reserved at $1 25 per acre.	Amount of consideration in money, goods, &c.	Aggregate consideration.	REMARKS.
Appalachicolas	5,120	None	.....	$13,000	$13,000	
Caddoes	1,000,000	5,440	$6,800	80,000	86,800	
Cherokees	11,053,440	800,000	500,000*a*	6,332,279	6,833,279	*a* Valuation made by the treaty. $3,000,000 estimated nett proceeds to be paid to them.
Chickasaws	6,768,800	None	.....	3,068,000	3,068,000	
Chippewas	19,202,240	10,240	12,800	1,011,600	1,024,400*b*	*b* And nett proceeds of sales of 8,320 acres of land and a quantity of merchandise; the quantity of which is not specified in the treaty.
Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies	10,683,840	5,016,640	6,270,800	1,656,090	8,026,890	
Choctaws	19,934,400	20,030,912*c*	20,750,000	2,288,730	23,038,730	*c* And reservations.
Creeks	24,766,400	15,298,400	19,123,000	2,786,571	21,909,571	
Delawares	5,760	None	.....	3,000	3,000	
Delawares, Shawnees, &c.	2,038,400	"	.....	4,000	4,000	
Delawares and Piankeshaws	2,038,400	"	.....	4,000	4,000	
Delawares, Pottawatomies, &c.	1,572,480	"	.....	5,000	5,000	
Delawares, Miamies, &c.	3,257,600	"	.....	18,000	18,000	
Eel River Miamies	64,000	"	.....	21,250	21,250	
Florida Indians	Unknown	"	.....	106,000	106,000	
Kaskaskias	8,911,850	"	.....	12,000	12,000	
Kaskaskias and Peorias	1,920	96,000	120,000	35,780	155,780	
Kickapoos	5,359,360	2,816,000	960,000	228,800	1,188,800	
Menomonees	7,184,320	None	.....	905,797	905,797	
Miamies	6,853,020	44,640	55,800	1,205,907	1,261,707	
Osages, Great and Little, and Osages and Kanzas	142,961,124	99,840	124,800	376,600	501,400	

C [CONTINUED.]

AGGREGATES OF LANDS, COMPENSATION, EXCHANGE, AND NAMES OF TRIBES,

From the Origin of the Government, to 1840.

Names of tribes.	No. of acres of land acquired.	No. of acres given in exchange, or reserved.	Value of land given in exchange, or reserved at $1 25 per acre.	Amount of consideration in money, goods, &c.	Aggregate consideration.	REMARKS.
Ottawas	81,917	36,560	$45,700	$34,440	$80,140	
Ottawas and Chippewas	19,234,400	14,000	17,500	2,459,451	2,476,951*a*	*a* And a quantity of merchandise—amount not specified in the treaty.
Ottoes and Missourias	*b*	None	.....	40,150	40,150	*b* Boundaries not defined in such manner as will admit of the area of cession being ascertained.
Pawnees	*b*	"	.....	112,220	112,220	
Peorias	6,865,280	640	800	5,600	6,400	
Piankeshaws	2,076,160	None	.....	4,100	4,100	
Piankeshaws and Weas	160,000	160,000	200,000	14,062	214,062	
Pottawatomies	7,832,680	225,000	282,000	1,797,950	2,079,950	
Quapaws	51,786,560	98,320	122,900	175,076	297,976	
Sacs and Foxes	17,069,520	None	.....	1,332,156	1,332,156	
Sacs, Foxes, and Iowas	10,000,000	"	.....	60,000	60,000	
Sacs, Foxes, Sioux, and others	16,256,000	"	.....	317,732	317,732	
Shawnees, and Shawnees and Delawares	692,480	1,701,280	2,126,600	130,850	2,257,450	
Seminoles	4,032,640	None	.....	295,500	295,500	
Senecas, and Senecas and Shawnees	79,680	128,120	160,150	114,850	275,000	
Sioux	5,000,000	None	.....	1,000,000	1,000,000	
Weas	*c*	1,280	1,600	42,000	43,600	*c* Precise number not known.
Winnebagoes	10,346,000	2,029,440	2,536,800	2,658,482	5,195,282	
Wyandots	4,862,880	271,480	339,350	246,880	586,230*d*	*b* And nett proceeds of sales of 39,200 acres of land.
Wyandots, Delawares, &c.	11,808,499	None	.....	210,000	210,000	
Wyandots, Ottawas, &c.	1,030,400	"	.....	16,500	16,500	
Totals	442,866,370	48,684,832	53,757,400	31,331,403	85,088,803	

APPENDIX TO STATISTICS.

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

SEVENTH CENSUS.

STATES.	White Population.	Free Colored Population.	Total Free.	Slaves.	Federal Representative Population.	No. of Repres.	Fractions.
Alabama	426,515	2,250	428,765	342,894	634,501	7	*72,289
Arkansas	126,071	587	162,658	46,982	190,848	2	3,444
California	165,000	1,800	166,800	.....	166,800	2	*74,000
Connecticut	363,189	7,415	370,604	.....	370,604	4	*89,498
Delaware	71,282	17,957	89,239	2,289	90,612	1	
Florida	47,120	926	48,046	39,341	71,650	1	
Georgia	513,083	2,586	515,669	362,966	733,448	8	*77,534
Indiana	983,634	5,100	988,734	.....	988,734	11	51,714
Illinois	853,059	5,239	858,298	.....	858,298	9	20,980
Iowa	191,830	292	192,122	.....	192,122	2	4,718
Kentucky	770,061	9,667	779,728	221,768	912,788	10	*75,470
Louisiana	254,271	15,685	269,956	230,807	408,440	4	33,632
Maine	581,920	1,312	583,232	.....	583,232	6	21,020
Massachusetts	985,498	8,773	994,271	.....	994,271	11	*57,251
Maryland	418,763	73,943	492,706	89,800	546,586	6	*78,076
Mississippi	291,536	898	292,434	300,419	472,685	5	4,175
Michigan	393,156	2,547	395,703	.....	392,703	4	20,895
Missouri	592,176	2,667	594,843	89,289	648,416	7	*86,204
New Hampshire	317,354	477	317,831	.....	317,831	3	36,725
New York	3,042,574	47,448	3,090,022	.....	3,090,022	33	*91,558
New Jersey	466,283	22,269	488,552	119	488,623	5	20,113
North Carolina†	552,477	27,271	580,458	288,412	753,505	8	3,889
Ohio	1,951,101	25,930	1,977,031	.....	1,977,031	21	9,289
Pennsylvania	2,258,480	53,201	2,311,681	.....	2,311,681	25	*62,833
Rhode Island	144,012	3,543	147,555	.....	147,555	2	*53,853
South Carolina	274,775	8,769	283,544	384,925	314,499	5	45,989
Tennessee	767,319	6,280	773,599	249,519	923,310	10	*89,992
Texas	133,131	926	134,057	53,846	166,064	2	*72,362
Vermont	312,756	710	313,466	.....	313,466	3	32,360
Virginia	894,149	53,906	948,055	473,026	1,231,870	13	13,744
Wisconsin	303,600	626	304,226	.....	304,226	3	23,120
	19,517,885	409,200	19,927,085	3,175,902	.....	233	
TERRITORIES.							
District of Columbia	38,027	9,973	48,000	3,687			
Minnesota	6,192	.....	6,192				
New Mexico	61,632	.....	61,631				
Oregon	20,000	.....	20,000				
Utah	‡25,000	.....	25,000				
	19,668,736	419,173	20,087,909	3,179,589	21,832,621*		

RECAPITULATION.

	Total Free Population.	Slaves.	Representative Population.
Free States	13,533,328	119	13,533,399
Slaveholding States	6,393,758	3,175,783	8,299,226
District and Territories	160,824	3,687	
	20,087,909	3,179,589	21,832,625*

Total Free Population	20,087,909
Total Slaves	3,179,589
	23,267,498
Ratio of Representation	93,702

[* The aggregate *Representative* population gives, as the nearest approximate ratio for 233 members, (the number fixed by law,) a ratio of 93,702; but this ratio gives only 220 members—leaving the remaining 13 to be assigned to the States having the largest residuary fractions. The States which thus gain a member are designated in the above table by a *.]

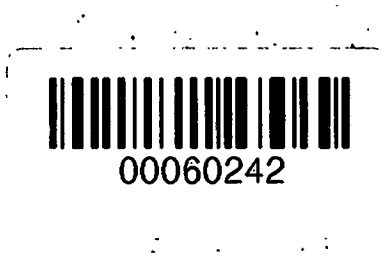
† Including 710 Indians.

‡ Estimates.

NOTE.

THE prepared statistics of population, including the ancient periods of Indian population in America, which are referred to in my report of August 14th, are crowded out of this volume, and are necessarily deferred until the next.

The figures introduced at the head of paragraphs by Rev. Mr. Worcester, in § IX. A.; by Rev. Mr. Lowry, in § XI. A.; and by Mr. Prescott, in § V. B., refer to the order of the topics of inquiry mentioned in the original circular of "Historical Inquiries," &c. issued by the department of Indian Affairs in 1847, and printed at the end of Part I.


00060242

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 15 June, 2016